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A grammar of the classical Arabic language

Mortimer Sloper
Howell

A GRAMMAR
OF THE
CLASSICAL ARABIC LANGUAGE,
TRANSLATED AND COMPILED FROM THE WORKS
OF THE
MOST APPROVED NATIVE OR NATURALIZED AUTHORITIES.

By MORTIMER SLOPER HOWELL, C.I.E., Hon. LL. D. (Edin.),

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- P. 906, l. 5. Read "XXII. 37."—l. 11. Read "o. f."—l. 17. Read آم —l. 25. Read فَعَالٌ .
- P. 926, l. 16. Read "Ma'rūf".
- P. 990, l. 17. Read عَارَضِيهَا .
- P. 1015, l. 12. I supply فيه تامل or فيه نظر before لانه in (CD. 189). وما زعمه من وهم سيبويه لانه
- P. 1096, l. 5. Read "But".
- P. 1098, l. 10. Read "AlḤumām".
- P. 1170, l. 8. Read سُفِيرَجَلٌ .
- P. 1213, l. 1. Read "orig."
- P. 1219, l. 13. Read "Jh, MAR".
- P. 1253, l. l. This "distinction" is the distinction between the signs of the *du.* and *pl.* and the ة of feminization as respects not being taken into account in forming the *dim.*
- P. 1334, l. 3. Read "the ى second".
- P. 1339, l. 20. Read "peculiar".
- P. 1396, l. l. Read مَهَلْبٌ .
- P. 1416, l. 8. Read "upon".
- P. 139A, l. 12. Read "l. 2."
- P. 152A, l. 13. Read "Khtt"—l. 14. Read "l'Égypte".
- P. 180A, l. l. Read "of the Hamza, the".
- P. 181A, l. 1. Read بَرِيْهِمْ .
- P. 182A, l. 7. So printed by Wüstenfeld (Bk. 671, l. 13); but the metre seems to require عَانَات without Tanwin. See p. 29, ll. 9-10.
- P. 187A, l. 6. Read "Ukl".



**Additions and Corrections to the Abbreviations of
References.**

* AArb. The *Asrār al'Arabīya* by KIAMB, edited by Seybold.

* ABk. Read "d. 494".

ALB. The Shaikh Muwaffaq ad Din Abū Muḥammad 'ABD ALLATĪF Ibn Yūsuf alMauṣilī by origin, ALBAGHDĀDĪ by birth, known as ALMUṬAḤḤIN and IBN ALLABBĀD, the Grammarian, Lexicologist and Physician (b. 555 or 557, d. 629).

AMArb. ABŪ MUḤAMMAD alḤasan Ibn Aḥmad alGhundaḡānī, known as ALASWAD ALA'RĀBĪ, the Lexicologist and Genealogist. He was lecturing in 428.

Amd. ABU-LKĀSİM ALḤasan Ibn Bishr ALĀMIDĪ, the Grammarian (d. 371), author of *AlMukhtalif wa-lMu'talif fī Asmā ash-Shu'arā*.

AN. ABU-NNADĀ Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad alGhundaḡānī, the Lexicologist and Genealogist.

* ABf. The Gloss of the Shaikh AḤMAD ARRIFĀ'Ī upon the BY, printed in Egypt in 1297.

* Aud. The Commentary named *Auḡāḡ alMasālik ilā Alfīya Ibn Mālik*, and commonly called the *Tauḡīḡ*, by IHsh on the IM, printed in Egypt in 1304.

* AWM. The *Kitāb alMu'jib fī Talkhīṣ Akhbār alMaghrib* (c.621), by the Ḥafīẓ Muḡyī-dDīn Abū Muḥammad 'ABD ALWĀḤID Ibn 'Alī atTamīmī ALMARRĀKUSHĪ, the Jurist and Historian (b. 581), edited by Dozy (The History of the Almohades).

* BM. The *Bughyat alMullamis fî Tārīkh Rijāl Ahl al-Andalus* by ABÙ JA'FAR Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Aḥmad IBN 'AMIRRA adḌabbī alAndalusī, the Traditionist and Historian (d. 599), edited by Codera and Ribera.

* BY. The Commentary of the Shaikh BUḤRUK ALYAMANĪ upon the *Lāmīyat alAḥfāl* by IM, printed in Egypt with the Gloss of ARf in 1297.

* DW. Before "and of Abū Nuwās" insert "of Abu-l'Atāhiya, edited by one of the Jesuit Fathers at Bairūt; of AlKhausā edited, with the Elegies of Sixty other Arab Poetesses, by one of the Jesuit Fathers at Bairūt."

* FKhr. The Chronicle entitled *AlĀdāb asSultāniya wa-d-Duwal alIslāmīya* (c. 701), by Fakhr adDīn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Ṭabāṭaba, known as IBN AṬṬIḤṬAḤ (b. 660 or 680, d. 703), edited by Ahlwardt.

* IABr. The *Kitāb atTakmila li Kitāb aṣṢila*, or, more shortly, the *Tukmilat aṣṢila*, by the Kāḍī and Ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh alKudā'ī alAndalusī alBalansī, known as IBN ALABBĀR, the Historian and Philologist (b. 595, k. 658 or 659), edited by Codera, being a supplement to the IBshk.

* IBshk. The *Kitāb aṣṢila fî Tārīkh A'imma alAndalus, etc.* (c. 534), by the Ḥāfiẓ Abu-l Kāsim Khalaf Ibn 'Abd AlMalik, known as IBN BASHKUWĀL, alAnṣārī alKhazrajī alAndalusī alKurtubī, the Traditionist and Historian (b. 490 or 493 or 494, d. 577 or 578 or 587), edited by Codera, being a continuation of the IFR.

* IFR. The *Kitāb Tārīkh 'Ulama alAndalus* by the Kāḍī and Ḥāfiẓ Abu-lWalid, or Abū Muḥammad, 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥam-

mad Ibn Yūsuf alʿAzdi alAndalusī alKurtubī, known as IBN AL-FARADĪ, the celebrated Jurist, Historian, Traditionist and Philologist (*b.* 351, *k.* 400 or 403), edited by Codera.

* IKhrd. The *Kiʿāb alMasālik wa -lMamālik* by Abu-lKāsim ʿUbaid Allāh Ibn ʿAbd Allāh IBN KHURDĀDHBA, the Historian and Geographer (*d.* about 300), edited by De Goeje.

IMda. The Kāḍi Abu -lʿAbbās, or Abū Jaʿfar, Aḥmad Ibn ʿAbd ArRaḥmān alLakhmī alJayyānī alKurtubī, known as IBN MADĀ, the Grammarian and Lexicologist (*b.* 513, *d.* 592 or 593).

ITlh. Abū Bakr Muḥammad IBN ṬALḤA alUmawī alIshbīlī, the Philologist and Grammarian (*b.* 545, *d.* 618).

IW. One of two Grammarians, father and son, distinguished in the Index of Proper Names, vii.

(1) ABU-LḤUSAIN Muḥammad IBN WALLĀD, so known, though the real name was AlWalīd, atTamīmī alMiṣrī, the Grammarian (*d.* 298); and

(2) ABU-LʿABBĀS Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn AlWalīd at-Tamīmī alMiṣrī alHanafī, known as IBN WALLĀD, the Grammarian (*d.* 332).

* Jrb. The Commentary of the Shaikh Fakr adDīn Aḥmad Ibn AlḤasan -alJārabardī, denizen of Tabriz, the Grammarian (*d.* 746), upon the SH of IH, cited from a MS, and from extracts given in the MASH.

* Kh. Add " Also the Commentary (*c.* 886) of the same Author upon the IM, cited from extracts given in the Sn."

Khtt. Abū Sulaimān Ḥamd, or Aḥmad, Ibn Muḥammad al-Bustī, known as ALKHAṬṬĀBĪ, the Jurist, Traditionist and Philologist (*b.* 319, *d.* 386 or 388).

* KIJ. An Extract from the *Kitāb alKharāj* by Abu-l-Faraj ḲUPĀMA IBN JA'FAR al Baghdādī, the Secretary (*d.* 337), edited by DeGoeje as an Appendix to the IKhrd.

* LTA. The *Kitāb alLubāb fī Takdhīb alAnsāb* (c. 615), an Abridgment by IATH from the *Ansāb* of the Ḥāfiẓ Tāj alIslām ABŪ SA'D, or ABŪ SA'ID, 'Abd AlKarīm Ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad atTamīmī aSSAM'ĀNĪ, or aSSIM'ĀNĪ, alMarwazī ashShāfi'ī, the Genealogist (*b.* 506, *d.* 562), cited from a Specimen edited by Wüstenfeldt.

* MAJh. The Marginal Annotations of N upon the Jh, printed in Egypt, with the text of the Jh, in 1282.

* MASdf. The work called *alMu'jam fī Aṣḥāb alKāfī* *alImām Abī 'Alī aṣṢadafī*, a Biographical Dictionary of the Pupils of Sdf, by IABr, edited by Codera.

MII. Abū Bakr, or Abū 'Abd Allāh, MUḤAMMAD IBN ISḤĀḲ Ibn Yasār alḲurashī alMuṭṭalibī by enfranchisement, alMadīnī (his grandfather Yasār having been taken prisoner by Khālīd Ibn AlWalīd from 'Ain atTamr in the year 12, and sent to Abū Bakr at AlMadīna, where he became the freedman of Abū Muḥammad, or Abu -sSā'ib, Ḳais Ibn Makhruma Ibn AlMuṭṭalib Ibn 'Abd Manāf alḲurashī alMuṭṭalibī alMakkī aṣṢaḥābī), the Biographer, Historian and Traditionist (*d.* 144 or 150 or 151 or 152 or 153).

* MINR. The *Mizān al'itidāl fī Nakd arRijāl*, a Biographical Dictionary of Traditionists, by Dh, lithographed at Lucknow.

Nsf. The Shaikh Najm adDin Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad anNasafī asSamarkandī, the Commentator, Traditionist and Glossarist (b. 461, d. 537), author of the TT.

Sdf. The Kādi and Ḥāfiẓ Abd 'Alī AlḤusain Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Firru Ibn Ḥayyūn asṢadafī alAndalusi asSarakustī, known as Ibn SUKKARA, the Reader and Traditionist (t. 514).

Sfw. The Sayyid Kuṭb adDīn 'Isā Ibn Muḥammad alḤusainī asṢafawī (d. 953), author of a Commentary on the IH.

* TR. The *Terājim Rijāl, etc.*, or Biographies of the Authorities cited by MII, by Dh, edited by Fischer.

* Tr. The *Tārīkh arRusul wa-lMulūk* by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr atṬabarī (b. 224 or 225, d. 310) cited from the Fifth Part edited by Kosegarten, and from the complete edition brought out by De Goeje and others, to which are appended Extracts from the *Dhail alMudhayyal*, a History of the Companions and Followers, by the same Author.

TSh. The *Ṭabaḳāt ashShu'arā*, or Classes of the Poets, by MIS and UISh.

* Also the *Ṭabaḳāt ashShu'arā*, or Classes of the Poets, named also the *Kitāb ashShi'r wa-shShu'arā*, or Book of Poetry and the Poets, by IKb, cited from a Fragment edited by Rittershausen.

* Tsr. The Appendix, styled *AtTuṣriḥ bi Maḍmūn atTaudīḥ* (c. 890), by Kh, to the Aud, cited from extracts given in the Sn and the MAd, and from a MS. The Author is sometimes called the Muṣarriḥ.

TT. The *Ṭalibat*, or *Ṭilbat*, atṬalaba fi-lLughā by Nsf, a Glossary of the words mentioned in the works of the Ḥanafī Jurists.

* WIH. The Commentary entitled *AlWāfiya fi Sharḥ alKāfiya* by IH upon his own work the Kāfiya, cited from a MS.



CORRECTION OF CHRONOLOGICAL LIST.

Dele No. 196 and Note 2. The proper place of ABk, who belonged to the Spanish School, and died in 494, is between No. 109 and No. 110. He was pupil of Mkk (95), and master of ISB (116). His biography is given by IBshk, but not in the BM.



cation of the *du.*—the form of the *sing.* is generally preserved—elision of the ة of femininization—of the ن of the *du.*—and of its ! ... 842—846

- § 229. The form of the *sing.* when unaltered in the *du.*—and when altered—dualization of the abbreviated, when its ! is 3rd—different opinions on the mode of converting the *rad.* ! and the ! whose *o. f.* is unknown—modes allowable when the ! has two *o. fs.*—dualization of the abbreviated when its ! is 4th or upwards—مِذْرَوَانِ—elision of the ! in the *du.* of the abbreviated transcending four letters—خَوْرَلَانِ and قَهْقَرَانِ—summary of the rules for converting the ! of the abbreviated in the *du.*—summary of the anomalous *du.s.* in the abbreviated ... 846—850

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CHAPTER VII.—THE PLURAL NOUN.

§ 234.	Definition of pluralization—and of <i>pl.</i> —IH's definition of <i>pl.</i> —R's explanation of the
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definition—^٩تَمْر and ^٩رَكْب not *pls.*, but ^٩فَلَكُ
 a *pl.*—classification of *pl.*—sound *pl.*—also
 called *perf. pl.*—*masc.* and *fem.*—sound *pl.*
masc.—also called *perf. pl. masc.*—*perf. pl.*
masc.—also called *pl.* analogous to *du.*, and
pl. with two spellings—predicament of its
 two augments—elision of its ^٩—its *sing.*
 sound in the final, or unsound—formation of
 this *pl.* from the sound—the unsound defect-
 ive, abbreviated, or otherwise unsound—for-
 mation of this *pl.* from the otherwise unsound
 —from the defective—from the abbreviated
 —no distinction made by the BB and IM
 between the abbreviated whose † is *aug.* and
 the abbreviated whose † is *rad.*—co-ordi-
 nation of abbreviated with defective allowed
 when the † is *aug.*—or whether the † be *aug.*
 or *rad.*—or necessary when the † is undoubt-
 edly *aug.*, disallowed when the † is undoubt-
 edly *rad.*, and allowed when the † may be *aug.*
 or *rad.*—predicament of the prolonged—
sing. of this *pl.* either substantive or *ep.*—a
 proper name, or an *ep.*, of a rational being
 —or, in Z's words, of "him that knows"
 —the same conditions prescribed for this *pl.*
 as for the *du.*, with some additions—addi-
 tional conditions—*ns.* that do not satisfy the
 conditions—some conditions relaxed or dis-

puted—**عَرِيَانُونَ**—**سَيَفَانُونَ** and **نَدَمَانُونَ**—
 and **خُصَّانُونَ**—*pls.* co-ordinated with *perf.*
pl. masc.—classification of such co-ordinates
 —anomalous *pls. masc.* with **و** and **ن**—
لَيْثُ عَفْرَيْنَ—irregular *pls.* with the **و** and
ن common in one class of *ns.*—sometimes
 found in others—all the beings mentioned
 not necessarily *masc.* or rational—*du.* and
pl. of proper name, (1) when a synthetic
comp., if its second member be (a) *infl.*—(b)
uninfl.—(2) when an *att. comp.*—(3) when a
du. or a *pl.* with the **و** and **ن**—other forms of
du. and *pl.* of **سَيَبَوِيَّةَ**, and of **خَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ** as
 a proper name—(4) when a prothetic *comp.*—
pls. of **أَبْنُ كَذَا** and **ذُو كَذَا**—sound *pl. fem.*
 —significations of its **ا** and **ت**—its *sing.*
 preserved—but the final **ة** elided in the *pl.*—
 formation of this *pl.* from abbreviated—
 predicament of prolonged and defective—*pl.*
 of **بِنْتُ** or **ابْنَةُ**, and of **أَخْتُ**—of the *tril.*
 whose **ل** is elided, the **ة** being put as
 compensation for it—this *pl.* uniform in *gen.*
 and *acc.*—belongs to *fem.* substantives and
eps.—is regular or confined to hearsay
 —*fem.* substantives that regularly have this
pl.—formation of this *pl.* from such names
 of letters as end in **ا**—proper names that

universally have this *pl.* irrespectively of their gender—substantives that mostly have it—*eps.* that have it—*masc. eps.* that universally have it—broken *pl.*—its classification—common to rational and irrational, substantive and *ep.*, *masc.* and *fem.*—*pls.* of the proper name of a man—and of a woman—*exs.*—number of formations in broken *pl.* 862—885

- § 235. Classification of broken *pl.*—*pl.* of paucity and *pl.* of multitude—*pl.* of paucity not a regular *pl.*—its four paradigms—other paradigms sometimes held to be *pls.* of paucity—dispute whether the two sound *pls.* are *pls.* of paucity—proof that the four paradigms are peculiar to paucity—other paradigms *pls.* of multitude—number of such formations—distinction between *pl.* of paucity and *pl.* of multitude found only in the *tril.*—*pls.* common to paucity and multitude—*pl.* of paucity when turned into *pl.* of multitude—each sometimes used instead of the other—*pl.* of paucity subject to many predicaments of *sing.* 885—888

- § 236. The ۞ sometimes made the seat of inflection in irregular *pls.* with the ۞ and ۞—mostly in poetry—and not universally in *perf. pl. masc.* and its co-ordinates—but only in what is improperly pluralized with the ۞

and ن as a compensation for a deficiency—
 explanation of apparent instances to the
 contrary—two *dials.* in *cat.* of سِين^٥—two
 more mentioned by Syt—the ي or , why
 inseparable from it—this inflection allow-
 able in prose in irregular *pls.* with the , and
 ن when used as proper names—usual
 inflection of *du.* and *pl.* analogous to it,
 and of their co-ordinates, when used as
 proper names—*exs.*—the ن allowably made
 the seat of inflection when the word has
 not more than seven letters—the † then
 usually inseparable from the *du.*, and the
 ي from the *pl.*—three *dials.* in the name
 formed from this *pl.* and its co-ordinates—
 criticism on an *ex.* cited by R ... 888—894

- § 237. The *sing.* generally mentioned, and then its *pl.*
 —paradigms of unaugmented *tril.* substan-
 tive—and of its broken *pl.*—some of these
 formations regular—and the rest anomalous
 —broken *pls.* of (1) فَعْلٌ, (a) regular—(b)
 anomalous—(2) فَعْلٌ, (a) regular—(b) ano-
 malous—*pl.* of the reduplicated فَعْلٌ —(3)
 فَعْلٌ —(4) فَعْلٌ —(5) فَعْلٌ, (a) regular—for-
 mations sometimes used in paucity and multi-
 tude—(b) anomalous—(6) فَعْلٌ —(7) فَعْلٌ
 —(8) فَعْلٌ, (a) regular—formation some-

times used in paucity and multitude—(b) anomalous—فَعْلَانُ—(9) فَعْلٌ—(10) فَعْلٌ—comparative frequency of these paradigms of broken *pl.*—dispute as to whether فَعِيلٌ and فَعْلَةٌ are *quasi-pl. ns.* or broken *pls.*—فَعْلَى —its plurality disputed ...

894—903

- § 238. Unaugmented *tril.* substantive made *fem.* with the ة —its formations—paradigms of its broken *pl.*—*pl.* of (1) فَعْلَةٌ, (a) in paucity—(b) in multitude—*pl.* of paucity sometimes used in multitude—(2) فَعْلَةٌ, (a) in paucity—(b) in multitude—أَفْعُلْ —the فَعْلَةٌ unsound in the ل —or reduplicated—(3) فَعْلَةٌ, (a) in paucity—(b) in multitude—(4) فَعْلَةٌ, (a) in paucity—(b) in multitude—the فَعْلَةٌ unsound in the ع or ل —or reduplicated—حُجُوزٌ—(5) فَعْلَةٌ, (a) in paucity—(b) in multitude—*pl.* with the ة and ت —the فَعْلَةٌ unsound in the ع —or reduplicated—أَفْعُلْ—(6) فَعْلَةٌ—number of formations of broken *pl.*—فَعَالٌ the commonest—which regular, and which anomalous

903—911

- §. 239. *Pl.* of *ep.* usually sound—sometimes broken —formations of *tril. ep.* that has a broken

pl.—paradigms of its broken *pl.*—broken *pls.*

of (1) **فَعْلٌ** —number of their paradigms—

which regular, and which anomalous—cause

of their formation—**عَبِيدٌ** and **عِبَادٌ** —(2)

فُعْلَانٌ — **فَعْلٌ** —(4) **فُعْلٌ** —(3) **فَعْلٌ** and

فُعْلَانٌ —(6) **فَعْلٌ** —(5) **فُعْلٌ** and **فُعْلٌ** — **فُعْلَانٌ**

—(7) **فُعْلٌ** —comparative frequency of these

pls.—remaining paradigms of *tril. ep.*—no

broken *pl.* in them—sound *pl. masc.*—sound

pl. fem.—no broken *pl.* of any *fem.* but **فَعْلَةٌ**

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THE DIMINUTIVE NOUN.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE RELATIVE NOUN.

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du. (R, BS), a synecdoche being meant to be understood, as *جَبَّ مَدَاكِبِرُهُ* *He cut off his penis* and *قَطَعَ اللَّهُ خُصَاهُ* *God cut off his two testicles!* (R) ; and the substitutions of the *sing.* and *pl.* for the *du.* are combined in the saying of the Hudhali [Abù Dhu'aib (N)]

*فَالْعَيْنُ بَعْدَهُمْ كَأَنَّ حَدَاتِهَا * سِيلَتْ بِشَوْكِ فَهَى عَوْرٍ تَدْمَعُ*
Then the eye after the death of them is as though its
blacks were put out with thorns, so that they are blind,
shedding tears (BS).

CHAPTER VII.

THE PLURAL NOUN.

§ 234. Pluralization is the addition of a thing to more than [one of] it (IY). The *pl.* is a form constructed to indicate *number exceeding two* (A Arb). It is that [*n.* (Jm)] which indicates [an aggregate of (Jm)] units intended [and indicated (R)] by the letters of its *sing.* with some alteration (IH), either apparent or assumed, in those letters. The apparent [alteration] is [produced] by consonants, as in مُسْلِمُونَ ; or vowels, as in أُسْدٌ ; or both, as in رَجَالٌ and غُرَفٌ : and the assumed alteration is like [that in] هِجَابٌ [246] and فُلْكَ [below], which in the *sing.* are like حِمَارٌ and قُفْلٌ ; and in the *pl.* are like رَجَالٌ and خُضَرٌ , the vowels and *aug.* consonant being assumed to be different from the [corresponding] vowels and consonant of the *sing.* (R). Such as تَمْرٌ [254] and رَكْبٌ [257] are not *pls.*, according to the soundest [opinion, which is that of S ; but the first is a generic *n.*, and the second a *quasi-pl.* (Jm)] : while such as فُلْكَ [below] is a *pl.* (IH). The *pl.* is [of two kinds (IY, Jm),] sound and broken (IY, IH). The sound *pl.* is that *pl.* whose *sing.* is not altered except by affixion of the sign of the *pl.* to its final (R). The sound is also called *perf. pl.*, because the form of its *sing.* is preserved from alteration (IY). The sound [*pl.* (IY, Jm)] is [of

two kinds (IY),] *masc.* and *fem.* (IY,IH). The [sound *pl.* (Jm)] *masc.* is that [*pl.*] to the final [of the *sing.* (Jm)] of which [in the *nom.* (Jm)] a , preceded by Damm, or [in the *acc.* and *gen.* (Jm)] a ى preceded by Kasr, and [in all three cases] a ى pronounced with Fath are affixed, in order that it may indicate that the [*sing.* of (Jm)] it is accompanied by more than it (IH) of its kind (Jm). This *pl.* is [also] called *perf. pl. masc.*, because the formation of its *sing.* is preserved (A). The *perf. pl. masc.* is what indicates more than two, while the formation of its *sing.* is preserved (Fk), literally and constructively ; so that the broken *pl.*, the *sing.* of which is altered literally, like رَجُلٌ, or constructively, like صِنَوَانٌ [237], is excluded (YS). It is also called (1) *pl.* analogous to the *du.* (IY, A), because its first part is preserved, as in the *du.* [235] (IY), [or] because each of them is *infl.* with an unsound letter followed by a ى that is elided [16] because of prothesis [below] (A) ; (2) *pl.* with two spellings, because it is sometimes [spelt] with the , and ى, and sometimes with the ي and ى (IY). The predicament of the two augments in مُسْلِمِينَ is the counterpart of their predicament in مُسْلِمَانِ [228]; the first being a sign of the addition of two or more to the *sing.*, and the second a compensation for the two things (M), the vowel and Tanwīn in the *sing.* [110,236] (IY). The ى is elided (1) on account of prothesis [110] (M, IH) ; (2) by poetic license, as in the *du.* [228] ; (3) for abridgment of the *conj.*, as
وَالْحَافِظُ عَوْرَةَ الْعَشِيرَةِ لَا * يَأْتِيهِمْ مِنْ دَرَأَتِهِمْ نَطْفٌ
[by 'Amr Ibn Imra alKais alKhazraji, a heathen, ancestor of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Rawāḥa, And (we are) they

that guard the breach of the tribe, so that a cause of reproach for neglect of their frontier comes not to them from behind them (AKB)] : and is sometimes dropped before a quiescent J in a case of choice, as in the anomalous reading
 XXXVII. 37. *Verily ye shall taste the grievous chastisement*, by assimilation to the Tanwin in such as

حَيْدَةُ خَالِي وَكَقِيطٌ وَعَلَى * وَحَاتِمُ الطَّيَّاتِي وَهَابُ الْمِثْنِي

(R), from a Rajaz cited by AZ in his *Nawādir* in two places, in the first of which he says that it is by a woman of the Banū 'Āmir, and in the second that it is by a woman of the Banū 'Uḡail boasting of her maternal uncles of AlYaman, *Haida is my maternal uncle, and Laḡiṭ, and 'Alī, and Hātim at Ṭā'i, the lavish bestower of the hundred or hundreds* [316] (AKB), like لَا ذَاكِرَ اللَّهِ أَحَ [609] (K,B). The sing. of the perf. pl. masc. is either sound [in the final] or not (R). The [sing.] sound in the final has the sign [of the pl.] affixed to it without alteration, as يَدُونَ from يَدٌ (IA). The unsound is defective, abbreviated, or otherwise unsound. That which is otherwise unsound is in the predicament of the sound, as طَبِيرُونَ and دَلُورُونَ in the case of the rational being named طَبِيرٌ and دَلُورٌ (R). The ي of the defective is elided in this pl. with its Kasra [before it (Sn)]; and what precedes the , is then pronounced with Damm, and what precedes the ي with Kasr, as جَاءَ الْقَاصِرُونَ and رَأَيْتُ الْقَاصِرِينَ [720]. The ل of the abbreviated is elided because of the concurrence of two quiescents, [the

abbreviated **!** and the **,** or **ى** of the *pl.* (Sn)] ; while the Fatha before the elided **!** is retained as a notification of what is elided, vid. the **!**, as **وَأَنْتُمْ الْأَعْلَوْنَ** III. 133. *When ye are the superiors* and XXXVIII. 47. [115]. The looseness of IM's language implies that there is no difference in what has been mentioned between the abbreviated whose **!** is *aug.*, [like **حُبْلَى** when used as a name (Sn) for a male,] and the abbreviated whose **!** is *unaug.*, [like **الْمُصْطَفَى** (Sn)] ; and this is the opinion of the BB(A). The KK allow the [abbreviated] possessed of the *aug.* **!** to be coordinated with the defective, saying **الْعِيسُونَ** with Damm, and **الْعِيسِينَ** with Kasr of the **س** (R). As for the KK, it is transmitted from them that they allow what precedes the **,** and **ى** to be pronounced with Damm and Kasr respectively, without restriction [of augmentativeness in the **!**] : while IM [in the CT (Sn)] transmits this pronunciation from them [as necessary (Sn)] in the case of the [non-foreign (Sn) abbreviated] possessed of the *aug.* **!**, [because it is the non-foreign the augmentativeness of whose *aug.* **!** is known (Sn),] like **حُبْلَى** when used as a name [for a male ; contrary to the *rad.* **!**, before which the retention of the Fatha is necessary according to them, because the solicitude for the *rad.* is stronger than the solicitude for the *aug.* (Sn)] : he says in the CT "and, if the abbreviated be foreign, like **عِيسَى**, they allow both pronunciations, because its **!** may be *aug.* or *unaug.*" The predicament of the prolonged is exactly the same as in the *du.* [230] : so that you say **وَضَارُونَ** with the Hamza sounded true from **وَضَاءَ**, and **حَمَرَارُونَ**

with the , from حَمْرَاء when a proper name for a male ; and both pronunciations, [the Hamza sounded true and the , (Sn),] are allowable in [the *pls.* of] such as عِلْبَاء and كِسَاء when proper names for a male (A). What is pluralized with this *pl.* is [of two kinds (IA),] substantive and *ep.* (IA, A). This *pl.* is found [only (IY, MAd)] in the proper names and *eps.* of rational beings (IY, Sh), as الرِّبْدُونَ *The Zaid*s and المُسْلِمُونَ *The professors of Al-Islām*. Z says "That [*pl.*] which is [formed] with the , and ن belongs to him that knows, in his *eps.* and proper names," not "to him that reasons," because this *pl.* is applied to the Ancient (extolled be His perfection !), as LI.48. [473] and LVI. 59. [543], which is frequent ; so that Z deviates from prescribing reason as a condition to [prescribing] knowledge, since the Creator is characterized by knowledge, not by reason : and Z says "to him that knows," not "to the possessors of knowledge," because the Creator (extolled be His perfection !) is knowing by Himself, not by means of knowledge in His possession (IY). The same conditions are prescribed for this *pl.* as for the *du.* [228], with an addition, that its *sing.* be (1) a proper name for a rational male, devoid of the § of femininization other than the § of [such as (YS)] عِدَّة and نُبَّة [below] when proper names : (2) an *ep.* of a rational male, devoid of the § of femininization, [but] susceptible of it [in the *fem.*] ; or [not susceptible of it, but (YS)] indicative of superiority [356] (Fk). Its [additional] conditions are [therefore] of two kinds, (1) common to substantives and *eps.*, vid. (a) being

denuded of the ة of femininization ; (b) being [denotative of] a possessor of knowledge : (2) peculiar (a) to substantives, vid. the quality of proper name ; (b) to *eps.*, vid. susceptibility of the ة of femininization [in the *fem.*];

though the أَفْعُل of superiority deviates from this rule, being pluralized with the , and ن notwithstanding that the ة is not affixed to it (R). Such [*ns.*] then as the following are not pluralized with the , and ن (R, Fk) :—

(1) among substantives (R), (a) رَجُلٌ [1] ; (b) زَيْنَبٌ [18] (Fk) ; (c) أَعْوَجُ (R) [and] وَاشِقُ [6] (Fk) ; (d) طَلْحَةُ [18] (R, Fk) ; (e) سَيَبَوِيَّةٌ [4] and بَرَقَ نَعْرَةٌ (Fk), a name of a

man (IY on §. 4) : (2) among *eps.* (R), (a) حَاتِّضُ [268] (Fk) ;

(b) [طَوِيلٌ in] فَرَسٌ طَوِيلٌ *A long-bodied horse* (R), [and] سَابِقُ (Fk) when *ep.* of an irrational [object] (YS) ;

(c) عَلَامَةٌ [265] (R, Fk) ; (d) صَبُورٌ and جَرِيمٌ [269] ; (e)

سَكَرَانُ [272] ; (f) أَحْمَرُ [273] (Fk). But [some of these conditions are relaxed or disputed, for] (1) the *dim.* stands in the place of the *ep.*, [because it indicates *contempt* and the like, according to the context (Sn),] as رَجِيلٌ

[25], *pl.* رَجِيلُونَ (A) : (2) the substantive possessed of the ة (R), such as طَلْحَةُ (A), may be pluralized with the , and

ن according to the KK (R, A), who allow طَلْحُونَ with quiescence of the ع of the word ; and to IK, who allows

طَلْحُونَ with Fath of the ع by analogy to the *pl.* with the ت and ت [240] : but what they say is contrary to usage, as

رَحِمَ اللَّهُ أَعْظَمًا دَفَنُوهَا * بِسِحْسَتَانِ طَلْحَةَ الطَّلْحَاتِ

[by 'Ubaïd Allāh Ibn Kais arRuḳayyāt, *God have mercy upon bones that they have buried in Sijistān, the Talḥa of the Talḥas!* (AKB)] ; and to analogy, because their elision of the *ṣ* is a suppression without anything to indicate it [1], and, if allowable in the substantive, would be allowed in the *ep.*, as عَلَامُونَ, which is not allowable by common consent (R) : (3) the *tril.* in which the *ṣ* of femininization is made a compensation for its ف, as عِدَّةٌ, or its ل, as ثُبَّةٌ [above], when made a proper name, is excepted from [the prohibition applied to] what contains the *ṣ*, for it may be pluralized with this *pl.*, [according to the majority ; while Mb disallows this, and requires it to be pluralized in such a form as عِدَاتٌ (Sn)] : (4) some allow the synthetic *comp.* to be pluralized with this *pl.* (A), unrestrictedly : or, as is said, if it end in وَيَّةٌ, in which case the sign is said to be affixed to its final, as سَيِّبُونُهُنَّ [below] ; or to the first member, the second being elided, as سَيِّبُونَ (Sn) : (5) objects not possessed of knowledge are sometimes assimilated to beings possessed of knowledge in the *eps.*, when the *inf. ns.* of those *eps.* are [denotative of] *acts of beings possessed of knowledge*, as أَتَيْنَا طَائِعِينَ XI.I. 10. *We* [the heaven and the earth] *have come, obedient*, XXVI. 3. [449], and XII. 4. [442] ; and like it in the *v.* is كُلُّ نَبِيٍّ XXXVI. 40. *And all of them* [the sun, moon, and stars] *swim in a firmament* (R) : (6) the KK do not prescribe the condition that the *ep.* should not be of common gender, citing as evidence مِمَّا أَلَدِي هُوَ التَّح [571] ; for

عَانِسٌ is one of the common *eps.*, which do not receive the ʾ when feminization is intended, because they are applied to the *masc.* and *fem.* in one form : but the KK have no proof in the verse, because it is anomalous (A) : (7) since عَدُوَّةٌ and مَسْكِينَةٌ, in accordance with صَدِيقَةٌ and فَكِيرَةٌ respectively, occur extraordinarily among the *eps.* of common gender, some say that عَدُوُونَ and مَسْكِينُونَ are allowable ; but this is analogy, not hearsay, as S says of نَدْمَانُونَ [below] : (8) the *ep.* of five *rad.* letters, like مَهْصِلَقٌ, deviates from this rule ; for it is of common gender, notwithstanding that مَهْصِلَقُونَ is said [245] : (9) IK allows سَكَرَانُونَ and أَحْمَرُونَ [below], citing as evidence

فَمَا وَجَدَتْ بَنَاتُ بَنِي نِزَارٍ * حَلَائِلَ أَحْمَرِينَ وَأَسْوَدِينَا

[by Ḥakīm alA'war Ibn 'Ayyāsh alKalbī, one of the poets of Syria, satirizing Muḍar, and accusing the wife of AlKumait Ibn Zaid of misconduct with the keepers of the prison, when he had fled from it in her clothes, leaving her in his place, *Then the daughters of the Banū Nizār (the father of Muḍar) have not found husbands, red and black* (AKB)] ; but, according to others, this [verse] is anomalous. S allows by analogy, not by hearsay, نَدْمَانُونَ [above], because [the *sing.* of] it is susceptible of the ʾ [in the *fem.*], as نَدْمَانَةٌ ; and similarly سَيْفَانُونَ, because they say سَيْفَانَةٌ [18] : S says "They do not say that," because the general rule in the *ep.* فَعْلَانٌ is that the ʾ should not be affixed to it, so that نَدْمَانَةٌ and سَيْفَانَةٌ are, as it were, anomalous ; and therefore it is better that they should not be pluralized with this *pl.*, in accordance with the gene-

ral rule. But عُرْيَانُونَ *naked* and خُصَّانُونَ *lank-bellied* are allowable by common consent, because the general rule of the *ep.* فُعْلَانٌ with Damm of the ف is not non-affixion of the ة (R). The *perf. pl. masc.* is that in which the formation of the *sing.* is preserved, and in which the conditions before mentioned are found ; and therefore that [pl. with the و and ن] which has no *sing.* of its form, or has a *sing.* not fulfilling the conditions, is not a *perf. pl. masc.*, but is coordinated with it [in inflection] (IA). The coordinates of the *perf. pl. masc.* in its inflection [16] are of four sorts, (1) *quasi-pl. ns.*, vid. those which have no *sing.* of their form, whence (a) أُؤْلُو [below], i. q. اُصْحَابٌ, a *quasi-pl.* having no *sing.* of its form, but [only] of its sense, vid. ذُو, [contrary to ذَوُو, which is really pl. of ذُو (YS)], as وَلَا يَأْتَلِ أُولُو الْفَضْلِ مِنْكُمْ وَالسَّعَةِ أَنْ يُؤْتُوا أُولِيَ الْقُرْبَى (XXIV. 22. And let not the possessors of abundance among you, and of means, swear that they will (not) give unto kindred, [i. e., عَلَى أَنْ لَا يُؤْتُوا (B),] and إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَآيَاتٍ لِّأُولِي الْأَلْبَابِ XXXIX. 22. Verily in that is an admonition for the possessors of understandings : (b) عَشْرُونَ [below], a *quasi-pl.* عَشْرَةٌ not being its *sing.*, otherwise it would be applicable to *thirty*, because the *pl.* must be applicable to *three quantities of the sing.*, and عَشْرُونَ with Fath of the ع and ش would necessarily be said ; and its sisters from تِسْعُونَ to ثَلَاثُونَ, the last included : (c) عَالَمُونَ [below], a *quasi-pl.* of عَالَمٌ, not a *pl.* of it, because عَالَمُونَ is peculiar to the rational, whereas الْعَالَمُ *The World or Universe* is

a proper name for the rational and irrational, and the *pl.* is not more peculiar than its *sing.* : this is the saying of IM and his followers; but, according to what others say, it is a sound *pl.* that does not satisfy the conditions, because ^{عَالَمٌ} is a generic *n.*, and is not a proper name nor an *ep.* : (2) sound *pls.* that do not satisfy the conditions, whence ^{أَهْلُونَ} [below] *pl.* of ^{أَهْلٌ}, and ^{وَابِلُونَ} *pl.* of ^{وَابِلٌ} heavy rain, because they are neither proper names nor *eps.* : (3) broken *pls.*, vid. those [*pls.*] in which the formation of their *sing.* is not preserved, whence (a) ^{أَرْضُونَ} [below] *pl.* of ^{أَرْضٌ}, which is pluralized with this *pl.* because it is sometimes employed on an occasion of great moment, [and, says IHsh (in the Sh), may be pronounced with quiescence of the ^ر in poetry (YS),] as

لَقَدْ صَجَبَتِ الْأَرْضُونَ إِذْ قَامَ مِنْ بَنِي * هَذَا خَطِيبٌ فَرَّقَ أَعْرَادَ مَنْبَرٍ
[Assuredly the people of the lands shouted when there stood up, from the Banu Halāl, a preacher above the boards of a pulpit (MAd)] : (b) ^{سُنُونَ} [below], *pl.* of ^{سَنَةٌ}, the ^ل of which is a ^و or ^ز, because they say in the *pl.* ^{سَنَوَاتٌ} [below] or ^{سَنَهَاتٌ}, and because the *v.* is ^{سَانَيْتُ} or ^{سَانَهْتُ}, and ^{سَانَيْتُ} is *orig.* ^{سَانَوْتُ} [727]; and its *cat.* [244], vid. every *pl.* of a *tril.* the ^ل of which is elided, the ^ز of femininization being made a compensation for it, and which has no broken *pl.* [*infl.* with vowels (YS)], like ^{عِزَّةٌ} *pl.* ^{عِزُونَ} and ^{عِزَّةٌ} *pl.* ^{عِضُونَ}, contrary to such as (a) ^{تَمَرَةٌ}, because there is no elision; (b) ^{رَنَّةٌ} and ^{عِدَّةٌ}, because the elided is the ^ف [below]; (c) ^{دَمٌ} and ^{يَدٌ}, because there is no compensation, while ^{أَبُونَ} [below] and ^{أَخُونَ} are anomalous;

(d) اِسْمٌ [667] and بِنْتُ [689], because the compensation is not the *z*; (e) شَاةٌ and شَفَاةٌ [below], because they have a broken *pl.* [infl. with vowels], vid. شِيَاةٌ and شِفَاةٌ [260]: (c) بَنُونَ [below] *pl.* of ابْنٌ: (4) *perf. pls. masc.* or their co-ordinates used as [proper] names, whence (a) زَيْدُونَ when a proper name [of a man]; (b) عَلِيُّونَ [below], a name for the *Highest part of Paradise* [236], which is *orig. pl.* of عَلِيٌّ with Kasr of the ف, its measure being فَعِيل from اَعْلُو (Fk), but does not satisfy the conditions, because its *sing.* is neither a proper name nor an *ep.*, so that it is co-ordinated with the *pl.* before it is made a proper name (YS). Anomalous *pls. masc.* with the و and ن are numerous, whence (1) اُبَيُّونَ [286], as

زَعِمْتُ قُبَاَصِرُ اَنْتَنِي اِمَّا اَمْتُ * يَسْدُدُ اُبَيُّنُوهَا الْاَصَاغِرُ خَلَّتِي
[by Sulmī {or Salmā (AKB)} Ibn Rabi'a, of the Banu-s
Sīd {Ibn Mālik Ibn Bakr Ibn Sa'd (AKB)} Ibn Dabba,
*Tumādīr asserts that, if I die, her youngest little sons
will stop my gap, i. e., fill my place (T,AKB)*], which, ac-
cording to the BB, is *pl.* of اُبَيِّنٌ *dim.* of اَبْنَى assumed,
on the measure of اَفْعَلٌ, like اَضْحَى; so that, according to
them, it is anomalous as being *pl.* of a *dim.* whose *non-*
dim. does not exist; while the KK say that it is *pl.* of
اُبَيِّنٌ *dim.* of اَبْنَى assumed, which is *pl.* of اِبْنٌ, like اَدِلٌ
pl. of دَلُو; so that, according to them, it is anomalous in
two ways, its being a *pl.* of a *dim.* whose *non-dim.* does
not exist, and the occurrence of اَفْعَلٌ as *pl.* of فَعَلٌ, [because

إِبْن is *orig.* بَنَى or بَنُو (KF),] which is anomalous, like جَبَلٌ and زَمَنٌ [237]: but Jh says that it is anomalous as being *pl.* of أَبِين *dim.* of إِبْن, by making the *conj.* Hamza *disj.* [669]; and AU says that it is an irregular *dim.* of بَنُونَ (2): دُهَيْدُهُونَ and أُيَيْكِرُونُ [285] in

قَدْ شَرَبَتْ إِلَّا الدَّهَيْدِيْنَ

إِلَّا ثَلَاثِينَ وَأَرْبَعِينَ * فَلَيْصَاتٍ وَأُيَيْكِرِينَ

[from a Rajaz cited by AUd, whose author is not known, *They have drunk, except the little young camels, except thirty and forty, little young she-camels and little young he-camels* (AKB)], for the first is *pl.* of دُهَيْدٌ *dim.* of دُهْدَاءُ, which means *young camels*, [and these are irrational objects]: while the second, according to the BB, is *pl.* of أُيَيْكِرٌ *dim.* of أَبَكْرٌ assumed, like أَضْحَى, so that it is anomalous in two ways, its being [pluralized] with the و and ن in the case of irrational objects, and its being *pl.* of a *dim.* of an assumed *non-dim.*: but, according to the KK, it is *pl.* of the *dim.* of أَبَكْرٌ *pl.* of بَكْرٌ a *young he-camel*; so that it is anomalous only as being pluralized with the و and ن [in the case of irrational objects], like دُهَيْدُهُونَ (3): أُولُو [above], which is a heteromorphous *pl.* of ذُو (4): عَلَيُّونَ [above], which is a name for the *Record of Good* [236], as apparently expounded by God in His saying كِتَابٌ مَرْقُومٌ LXXXIII. 20. *A written book*; and, according to this, there is no anomaly in it, because it is a proper name

transferred from the *pl.* of the *rel. n.* of عَلِيَّةٌ, which means *an upper chamber* : whereas, if we say that عَلِيُونَ is not a proper name, but is *pl.* of عَلِيَّةٌ, and is not a *rel. n.* of it, but means *elevated places*, it is anomalous from the want of masculinization and reason ; and in that case the full phrase in LXXXIII. 20. is مَوَاضِعُ كِتَابٍ مَرْقُومٍ (*The places of a written book*, by suppression of the *pre. n.* : (5) أَلْعَالَمُونَ [above], because it is neither an *ep.* nor a proper name : (6) أَهْلُونَ [above] because it is not [a proper name or] an *ep.* ; while in

وَلِي دُونَكُمْ أَهْلُونَ سَيِّدٌ عَمَلَسُ * وَأَرْقَطٌ زُهْلُولٌ وَعَرْفَاءٌ جِيَالٌ
[by AshShanfarā, a Kaḥṭānī heathen poet of AlAzd, *And I have kinsfolk other than you, a swift wolf, and a sleek leopard, and a shaggy-necked beast, a she-hyæna* (AKB),] it is pluralized with the , and ن notwithstanding the irrationality [of the animals mentioned (BS)], because the poet makes the *wolf, leopard, and she-hyæna* the substitute for his kinsfolk : (7) أَرْضُونَ [above], where the , is pronounced with Fath either because the , and ن stand in the place of the ا and ت , so that it is as though أَرْضَاتُ [241] were said, or to intimate that it is not really a sound *pl.* ; and the , of أَرْضُونَ may be made quiescent : (8) أَخُونٌ to عِشْرُونَ [above] : (9) أَبْنُونَ [above], أَخُونٌ, and هَنُونٌ, which are anomalous, because they are neither *eps.* nor proper names ; whereas [دُو in] دُو مَالٍ is an *ep.* : (10) ابْنُونَ [above], because by rule it ought to be ابْنُونٌ ; and it is pluralized according to the *o. f.* of ابْنٌ, vid. بَنُو

[689], by elision of the *l* as clean forgotten : (11) their saying *بَكَغَتْ مِنَّا الْبُكَغِينَ* *Thou hast extremely distressed us* and *أَلْدُرْخِينَ* with Damm of the *ف* in both, and *لَقِيتُ مِنْهُ الْبُرْجِينَ* *I experienced from him, or it, disasters* with Damm and Kasr of the *ف*, and similarly *أَلْفِتْكَرِينَ*, all of which mean *calamities and distresses*; and their saying *لَيْثُ عَفْرِينَ* *The lion of 'Ifirrin or A lion of lions* may be an anomaly of this *cat.*, the *ن* being made the seat of inflection [236] (R). A poet [of the Banū Janāb of Bal-Kain (MN)] says [to his wife] about a son of his [by a handmaiden (MN)]

لَا تَعْذِلِي فِي حُنْدُجٍ إِنْ حُنْدُجًا * وَلَيْثُ عَفْرِينَ لَدَى سَوَاءٍ
 [Upbraid me not about *Hunduj* : verily *Hunduj* and the lion of 'Ifirrin are equal before me ! (MN)] ; and they say in the *prov.* *أَشَجُّعُ مِنْ لَيْثُ عَفْرِينَ* *Braver than the lion of 'Ifirrin or than a lion of lions*, cited by As and others : some say that *عَفْرِينَ* is [a name of (MN)] a place [celebrated for huge lions (MN)] ; but *عَفْرِينَ* may be *pl.* of *عَفْرٌ* [236] meaning the *lion*, because he *يَعْفِرُ الْقِرْنَ* *throws the adversary down in the dust*, so that this expression is like their sayings *لَيْثُ لُيُوثٍ* and *أَسَدُ أَسَدٍ* : and this verse is related with Tanwin ; but the *prov.* with Fath of the *ن*, not otherwise (T). The *pl.* with the *و* and *ن* is common, notwithstanding that it is irregular, in those *ns.* which have no broken *pl.*, and in which the *ة* of feminization preceded by Fath is made a compensation for their *ل*, the initials of some of these *pls.* being altered as an intima-

tion that they are not really sound *pls.* : thus, in the case of the *n.* pronounced with Fath of the ف , like سَدَّةٌ , they say سِنُون [above] with Kasr of it ; while سُنُون with Damm of it occurs, but is rare : and, in the case of the *n.* pronounced with Damm of the ف , Kasr occurs with Damm, like قُلُون and قُبُون ; though it is not universal, since Kasr has not been heard in كُرُون and ظُبُون : but in the case of the *n.* pronounced with Kasr of the ف , no alteration has been heard, as عِضُون and مِثُون [244]. And sometimes the like of this *pl.* occurs in the case of (1) the *n.* which has a broken *pl.* also, like قُبُون *pls.* قُبَّةٌ and أَثَابِي : (2) the ن whose ف is elided [above], as رِقُون *pl.* رِقَّةٌ and لِدُون *pl.* لِدَّةٌ : (3) the *n.* whose ل is converted into ا , like أَصَا and قَنَّا : but [in forming the *pl.*] its ل is elided as clean forgotten, so that أَصُون and قَنُون are said ; whereas, if their ل s were regarded, أَصُون and قَنُون would be said, like الْأَعْلُون [above], because after the elision of the ة [in the *sing.*] they are abbreviated : and in accordance with this the poet [AlKumait Ibn Zaid (AKB)] says, [satirizing the people of AlYaman (AKB),]

فَلَا أَعْنِي بِذَلِكَ أَصْفَلِيكُمْ * وَلَكِنِّي أُرِيدُ بِهِ الدَّوِينَ

[Then I mean not by that, i.e., by my satirizing you, your lowest ; but I mean by it the Dhù's, i.e., the Kings of AlYaman named Dhù Yazan, Dhù Jadan, Dhù Nuwās, and the like (AKB)] ; whereas, if the ل were regarded, he would say الدَّوِينَ , like الْأَعْلِينَ , because دُو is pro-

nounced with Fath of the ع according to S, [its *o.f.*, says ABZ, being ذَوًا, like قَفَا (AKB)]: (4) the reduplicated, like ذُرُوزٌ *geese* and حُرُوزٌ *stony tracts*; while إِحْرُوزٌ with Fath and Kasr of the Hamza is transmitted from Y: some say that أَحْرُوزٌ occurs in the *sing.*; and some that it does not, but that the Hamza is added in the *pl.* as an intimation of its being irregular. The *masc.* gender prevails over the *fem.*, so that it suffices for some [of the beings mentioned] to be *masc.*, as زَيْدٌ وَالْهِنْدَاتُ صَارِبُونَ *Zaid and the Hinds are striking*; and similarly reason in some of them is sufficient, as زَيْدٌ وَالْأَحْبِبُّ مُقْبِلُونَ *Zaid and the asses are approaching*. The *comp.* proper name whose 1st member is *uninfl.* because of the composition may, if its 2nd member be not *uninfl.*, as in بَعْلَبُكَ and مَعْدِيكَ [215], be dualized [228] and pluralized, as الْبَعْلَبَكَيْنِ and الْبَعْلَبَكُونَ, because the two members are like an *infl.* word. If, however, the 2nd member be *uninfl.* because of the composition, as in خَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ, or of something else, as in سَيِّبِيَّةٍ, the rule is that ذَوَا سَيِّبِيَّةٍ and ذَوُورُ *The two possessors, and The possessors, of the name Szibawaih* [122], should be said, and similarly ذَوَا خَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ and ذَوُورُ; just as in the case of *props.* used as names ذَوَا تَابَاطُ شَرًّا and ذَوُورُ are said by common consent, and ذَوَاتَا شَابَ قَرْنَاهَا and ذَوَاتُ, because *props.* must be imitated, so that the sign of the *du.* and *pl.* is not affixed to them. And similarly in the case of the *du.* and *pl.* [with

the , and ن used as names, when you do not make their two ن the seat of inflection [236], you must say دَوَا مُسْلِمِينَ [or مُسْلِمِينَ] and دَوُو مُسْلِمِينَ [or مُسْلِمِينَ] in order that two inflections with the consonant may not be combined at the end of the *n*. But Mb allows السَّيِّبُوهَانِ and السَّيِّبُوهَانِ [above], notwithstanding the uninflectedness of the 2nd member ; and ought to allow the like in خَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ when a proper name. The prothetic *comp.* proper name has its *pre. n.* dualized and pluralized, as عَبْدُ مَنَايَ and عِبْدُو مَنَايَ : and, when it is a surname, the *pre.* and *post. ns.* may be dualized [and pluralized] together, as أَبَوَا الرَّيْدَيْنِ and آبَاءُ الرَّيْدَيْنِ ; though here also it is better to restrict oneself to dualization and pluralization of the *pre.* As for the *pl.* of كَذَا and ابْنُ كَذَا, whether proper names or not, (1) if they denote a rational being, you say بَنُو كَذَا and دَوُو كَذَا or أَبْنَاءُ كَذَا and أَذْوَاءُ كَذَا : (2) if not, then, whether they have a *fem.* بِنْتُ كَذَا and ذَاتُ كَذَا, as نَاقَةُ ذَاتُ جَمَلٍ ذُو عُثْنُونٍ and بِنْتُ اللَّبُونِ and ابْنُ اللَّبُونِ, or have not, as ذُو الْقَعْدَةِ and ابْنُ عَرِيسٍ, they are pluralized in the forms بَنَاتُ كَذَا, as بَنَاتُ اللَّبُونِ [below] and بَنَاتُ عَرِيسٍ, and ذَوَاتُ كَذَا, as ذَوَاتُ عُثْنَانَيْنِ *He-camels having long hairs under the lower jaw* [below] and ذَوَاتُ الْقَعْدَةِ, because irrational objects are coordinated with the *fem.* in the *pl.*, as الْأَيَّامُ مَصِينٌ [270] ;

but Akh transmits *بَنُو نَعِشٍ* and *بَنُو عَرَسٍ* also, from regard to the letter of *ابْنٍ*, even though it be irrational : the poet says *إِذَا مَا بَنُو نَعِشٍ أَلْحِ* [161], as though he made it *apl.* of *ابْنٍ نَعِشٍ*, although the latter is not used (R). The [sound *pl.* (R,Jm)] *fem.* is that [*pl.* (Jm)] to the final [of the *sing.* (Jm)] of which an *ا* and a *ت* are affixed (IH). The GG dispute about this *ا* and *ت* : some of the ancients say that the *ت* denotes *pluralization* and *femininization*, the *ا* being introduced to distinguish the *pl.* from the *sing.* ; and some say that the *ت* denotes *femininization*, and the *ا* *pluralization* ; but most hold that the *ا* and *ت* denote *pluralization* and *femininization* without distinction. This kind of *pl.* is like the *perf. pl. masc.* in preservation of its *sing.* (IY). That [*sing.*] whose final is a *ة* [of femininization], whether the *sing.* be abbreviated [16] or unabbreviated, [or better, whether the *ة* be preceded by an *ا* or not, because there is no abbreviated whose final is a *ة* (Sn),] has its *ة* elided in this *pl.*, in order that two signs of femininization may not be combined. The *ا* of the abbreviated is converted in the same way as in the *du.* [229] : so that you say *حُبْلَيَاتٌ*, [*pl.* of *حُبْلَى* (Sn),] *مُسْتَدْعَاةٌ*, *مُسْتَدْعَاةٌ*, *مُسْتَدْعَاةٌ*, [*pls.* of *مُسْتَدْعَاةٌ*], *فَتَيَاتٌ*, *مُسْتَدْعَاةٌ*, *مُسْتَدْعَاةٌ*, and *فَتَيَاتٌ*, though these are not abbreviated, except according to the *o. f.*, i. e., the *masc.* (Sn),] and *مَتَيَاتٌ*, *pl.* of *مَتَى* when used as a name of a female, with the *ي* ; and you say *عَصْرَاتٌ*, *الْوَرَاتُ*, and *إِذْرَاتٌ*, *pls.* of *عَصَا*, *الْأَ*, and *إِذَا* when used as names of females, with the *ا*, [639,686]. The predicament of the prolonged and defective also

is like their predicament in the *du.* [230,229] (A). In the *pl.* of بِنْتٌ and ابْنَةٌ you say بَنَاتٌ, which is the *pl.* of their *o. f.* بَنَوْتُ [689], by elision of the *ج* as clean forgotten : and similarly أَخَوَاتٌ is the *pl.* of the *o. f.* of أُخْتُ, i. e. أَخَوْتُ [689], without elision of the *ج*. The *tril.* of which the *ج* is elided, and which is compensated for it by the *س*, is of 3 kinds, (1) pronounced with Fatḥ of the *ف*, in which kind the restoration of the *ج* in the *pl.* with the *ا* and *ت* is most frequent, as هَنَوَاتٌ and سَنَوَاتٌ [above] in [the *pl.* of] هَنَتْ and سَنَتْ, because of the lightness of the Fatḥa ; though it occurs with elision of the *ج* also, as ذَوَاتٌ and هَنَاتٌ ; and in some cases it is not pluralized with the sound *pl.* either with the *و* and *ن* or with the *ا* and *ت*, the broken *pl.* serving instead, like شَاةٌ and شَفَّةٌ [above] : (2) pronounced with Kasr of the *ف*, in which kind the omission of the restoration is more frequent, as مِثَاتٌ and رِثَاتٌ, because of the heaviness of the Kasr ; though عِصَوَاتٌ *great thorn-trees* [244] occurs : (3) pronounced with Damm of the *ف*, in which kind the restoration does not occur, as طِبَاتٌ and قِبَاتٌ, because Damm is the heaviest of the vowels (R). The [*perf. pl.* (IY)] *fem.* is made to accord with the [*perf. pl.* (IY)] *masc.* in having the same form for the *gen.* and *acc.* [17] (M) : and this *ت* may not be pronounced with Fatḥ [in the *acc.*] according to us ; but the Bdd allow it [646], citing the verse of Abū Dhu'aib

فَلَمَّا اجْتَلَاهَا بِالْأَيَّامِ تَحَيَّرَتْ * ثُبَاتًا عَلَيْهَا دُلْهَا وَانْكِسَارَهَا

And, when he drove them forth from the hive with smoke, they withdrew in swarms, their humiliation and rout being upon them (IY). The sound *pl.* with the **ا** and **ت** belongs to the *fem.* in its substantives and *eps.* (M). This *pl.* is (1) regular, like **بَنَاتٌ** *pl.* of **بِنْتٌ** ; (2) confined to

hearsay, like **سَمَوَاتٌ** *pl.* of **سَمَاءٌ** (Fk). The only *fem.* substantives regularly pluralized with this *pl.* are (1) the proper name of the *fem.*, whether the sign [of femininization] be expressed in it, as **عَرَّةٌ** , **سَلْمَى** , and **خَنْسَاءٌ** , or supplied, as **هِنْدٌ** [264] : (2) the [substantive] possessed of the expressed **ة** of femininization, whether it be a proper *masc.*, as **حَمْرَةٌ** ; or not, as **غُرْفَةٌ** , whence **إِكْرَامَاتٌ** , **تَخْرِيجَاتٌ** , and the like, because the *sing.* is **إِكْرَامَةٌ** and **تَخْرِيجَةٌ** with the **ة** of unity [336] : (3) the [substantive] possessed of the **ة** of femininization, as **الْبَشَرَى** and **الضَّرَاءُ** , when it is not used as a name for the proper *masc.*, in which case it is pluralized with the **ة** and **ن** : (4) what may be *fem.* or *masc.*, when it has no broken *pl.* and may not be pluralized with the **ة** and **ن** , as **الْأَلِفَاتُ** , **الْبَيَّاتُ** , etc., because [all] the *cats.* of the *pls.* are closed except this (R). Those letters of the alphabet which contain a [final (YS)] **ا** may by common consent be abbreviated or prolonged (Fk) : so that **بَيَّاتٌ** is said by conversion of the abbreviated **ا** into **ي** , and **بَيَّاتٌ** by retention of the Hamza (YS). The proper name of the irrational object, when headed by the prefix of **اِبْنِ** or

ذُو , as ذُو الْقَعْدَةِ and ابْنُ عَرِسٍ [above], is universally pluralized with this *pl.*, even if it be not *fem.*, as we have mentioned. And two sorts of substantives are mostly, not universally, pluralized with this *pl.*, (1) the *masc.* irrational generic substantive, when it has no broken *pl.*, as حَمَامَاتُ [17] and سُرَادِقَاتُ [261]; and similarly every *quin.* whose letters are *rad.*, as سَفَرَجَلَاتُ [245]: but, according to Fr, this sort also is universal: (2) *pls.* that have no broken *pl.*, as رِجَالَاتُ , صَوَاحِبَاتُ , and بُيُوتَاتُ ; but not أَكْلِبَاتُ , because they say أَكْلِبُ [256]. If, however, the *fem.* be an *ep.*, then, (1) if it contain the sign of femininization, it is pluralized with the ا and ت, whether it be an *ep.* of a proper *masc.*, as رِجَالُ رُبْعَاتٍ *men of middle height* and عَلَمَاتُ [265]; or not, as حُبْلِيَّاتُ , ضَارِبَاتُ , and نَفْسَاوَاتُ [273]: unless it be the فَعْلَى of فَعْلَانُ or the فَعْلَاءُ of أَفْعَلُ ; for they are not pluralized with the ا and ت, being made to accord with their *mascs.*, which are not pluralized with the و, and ن: but IK allows سَكْرِيَّاتُ and حَمْرَاوَاتُ , as he allows سَكْرَانُونَ and أَحْمَرُونَ [above]; and, if the quality of substantive predominate in either of them, this *pl.* is allowable by common consent, as in the saying of the Prophet لَيْسَ فِي الْخَضِرَاءِ رَاةٌ *There is no poor-rate on greens* [248]; and similarly in the case of every فَعْلَى or فَعْلَاءُ used as a name for the proper *masc.*: (2) if it do not contain the sign of femininization expressed, whether it be of common gender or peculiar to the *fem.*, then, (a) if it be not a *quin.* whose

letters are *rad.*, like *صَبُورٌ* and *جَرِيمٌ* [269], and like *حَائِضٌ* [268], *طَالِقٌ*, and *مُطْفِلٌ* having a young one with her, it is not pluralized with the *ا* and *ت*; (b) if it be a *quin.* whose letters are *rad.*, like *الرَّجُلُ الصَّهْلَقُ* and *الْمَرْأَةُ* The clamorous man and woman and *الْمَرْأَةُ الْجَحْشَرِيَّةُ* The decrepit woman, it is pluralized with the *ا* and *ت*, as *نِسْرَةٌ صَهْلَقَاتٌ* and *جَحْشَرِيَّاتٌ* [245]. The *ep.* of the irrational *masc.* also is universally pluralized with this *pl.*, whether the *masc.* be proper, as *الصَّانِنَاتُ* standing upon three legs and the point of the toe of the fourth leg for the males of horses and *جِمَالٌ سِبْطَاتٌ* [261] and *سِبْطَرَاتٌ*, and similarly *جِمَالٌ ذَوَاتُ عَثَانِينَ* and *بَنَاتُ اللَّبُونِ* [above]; or improper, as *الْأَيَّامُ الْخَالِيَاتُ* [270]: and similarly the *dim.* of the irrational [*masc.*], as *جُبَيْلَاتٌ* [289] and *حُمَيْرَاتٌ*, because the *dim.* contains the sense of qualification: and in both these cases the *masc.* is pluralized with the *pl.* of the *fem.* because in both they intend to distinguish between the rational and irrational; and the irrational is subordinate to the rational, as the *fem.* is subordinate to the *masc.*; so that the irrational is coordinated with the *fem.*, and pluralized with its *pl.* (R). The broken *pl.* is that [*pl.* (Jm)] the formation of whose *sing.* is altered [otherwise than by affixion of the sign of the *pl.* to its final (R)], like *رَجَالٌ* and *أَفْرَاسٌ* (IH). It is of 4 kinds:—(1) the *pl.* has more consonants than the *sing.*, as *رَجُلٌ* and *رَجَالٌ*:

(2) the *sing.* has more consonants than the *pl.*, as كِتَابٌ and كُتُبٌ; (3) the *pl.* is like the *sing.* in consonants; not vowels, as أُسْدٌ and أُسَدٌ; (4) the *pl.* is like the *sing.* in consonants and vowels, as فُلُكٌ [above], which is *sing.* as in XXVI.119. [539]; and *pl.* [237], as in X.23. [1] (A Arb). It is common to him that knows and others, [to the rational and irrational (IY),] in their substantives and *eps.* (M); and to the *masc.* and *fem.* (IY). When you pluralize a man's name, you have an option: if you will, you affix to it the و and ن in the *nom.*, and the ي and ن in the *gen.* and *acc.*; and, if you will, you break it for the *pl.* in the same way as substantives are broken for the *pl.* And when you pluralize a woman's name, you have an option: if you will, you pluralize it with the [ا and] ت; and, if you will, you break it in the same way as substantives are broken for the *pl.* The poet Ru'ba says أَنَا ابْنُ سَعْدِ الْحِ [13]; and the *pl.* so formed in these names is frequent, which is the saying of Y and Khl: and the poet Zaid AlKhail says

أَلَا أَبْلَغُ الْاَتَّيَّاسَ قَيْسَ بْنَ نَوْفَلٍ * وَقَيْسَ بْنَ أَهْبَانَ وَقَيْسَ بْنَ جَابِرٍ

Now tell thou the *Kaíses*, *Kais Ibn Naufal*, and *Kais Ibn Uhbān*, and *Kais Ibn Jābir*; the poet says

رَأَيْتُ سَعُودًا مِنْ شُعُوبٍ كَثِيرَةٍ * فَلَمْ أَرِ سَعْدًا مِثْلَ سَعْدِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ

I have seen *Sa'ds* from many tribes, and have not seen a *Sa'd* like *Sa'd Ibn Mālik*; the poet AlFarazdaq says

وَشَيْدَ لِي زُرَّارَةٌ بِأَذْخَاتٍ * وَعَمْرُو الْخَيْرِ إِذْ ذُكِرَ الْعَمُورُ

And *Zurāra* raised for me lofty eminences, and 'Amr AlKhair when the 'Amrs were mentioned, and he says

فَأَيْنَ الْجُنْدُبُ Then where are the Jundubs ? of a number of men every one of whom was named جُنْدُبُ Jundub ; and the poet says

رَأَيْتُ الصَّدْعَ مِنْ كَعْبٍ وَكَانُوا * مِنْ الشَّنَانِ قَدْ صَارُوا كَعَابًا
I repaired the breach of Ka'b, when they had, from fierceness of hatred, already become Ka'bs. The poet Jarir says

أَخَالِدَ قَدْ عَلِقْتُكَ بَعْدَ هِنْدٍ * فَشَيَّبَنِي الْخَوَالِدُ وَالْهِنْدُ
O Khālida, I have become attached to thee after Hind ; and the Khālidas and the Hinds have made me hoary ; and they say الْهِنْدُ, as they say الْجُدُوعُ ; and, if you will, you say الْأَهْنَادُ, as you say الْأَجْدَاعُ (S). The broken pl. has 27 formations (Aud).

§ 235. The broken pl. is of 2 kinds, pl. of paucity and pl. of multitude. The pl. of paucity properly indicates *three* [and upwards] (IA) to *ten* ; and the pl. of multitude [properly (A)] indicates *what is above ten to infinity* (IA,A). The pl. of paucity is not a regular pl., because it is not mentioned except where explanation of *paucity* is meant, and is not used to denote mere *plurality* and *genericity*, as the pl. of multitude is : one says فَلَانٌ حَسَنُ الثِّيَابِ Such a one is well-clothed in the sense of حَسَنُ الثَّوْبِ, while حَسَنُ الْأَثْوَابِ is not good ; and أَلْثِيَابِ كَمْ عِنْدَكَ مِنَ الثَّوْبِ How many clothes thou hast got !, while مِنَ الْأَثْوَابِ is not good ; and هُوَ أُنْبَلُ الْفِتْيَانِ He is the smartest of the youths, not الْفَتِيَّةِ when explanation of the *genus* is intended (R on the SH). The paradigms of the pl. of paucity are four, (1)

أَفْعَالٌ, [as فَصِيَامٌ ثَلَاثَةَ أَيَّامٍ II. 192. (*Upon him shall be incumbent a fast of 3 days* (D))]; (2) أَفْعَلٌ, [as XXXI. 26. (79,585) (D)]; (3) أَفْعَلَةٌ, [as أَحْبَرَةٌ *Asses* (D)]; (4) فَعْلَةٌ (D, IA, A), as عَشْرَةُ غُلَمَةٍ *Ten young men* (D). Fr holds the following to be *pls.* of paucity, (5) فَعْلٌ, as ظَلَمٌ; (6) فَعَلٌ, as نَعَمٌ; (7) فَعْلَةٌ, as قِرْدَةٌ [237]; and some, as IDn transmits, hold (8) فَعْلَةٌ, as بَرَّةٌ; and AZ, as T transmits from him, holds (9) أَفْعَلَاءٌ, as أَصْدِقَاءٌ: but the truth is that these are all *pls.* of multitude (A). The two sound *pls.* also are formations of paucity (IY, R, A), according to the GG (R), because they resemble the *du.* (IY, R) in preservation of the *sing.* [234] (R), and the *du.* denotes *few* (IY): but this is of no account, since the resemblance of one thing to another in letter does not exact resemblance to it in sense also; though, if the story were authentic that, when Ḥassān [Ibn Thābit alAnṣārī (AKB)] recited his saying لَنَا الْجَفَنَاتُ الْغُرُّ الْخَمِ [below] to An Nābiga [adhDhubayānī (AKB)], the latter said to him قُلْتَ جَفَنَاتَكَ وَسُيُوفَكَ *Thou hast made thy bowls and thy swords few!*, it would contain a proof that the *pl.* with the **ل** and **ت** is a *pl.* of paucity: while IKh says that the two sound *pls.* are common to paucity and multitude; and apparently they denote *unrestricted pluralization*, without regard to paucity or multitude, so that they are applicable to both. For proof that these four paradigms of the broken *pl.* are peculiar to paucity the GG refer to the prevalence of their use in the *sp.* of 3 to 10 [317], and to the

preference shown for them in it, if they be found, above the rest of the *pls.* (R). The other paradigms of the broken *pl.* are *pls.* of multitude (IA). The *pl.* of multitude has 23 formations (Aud, A). This distinction between the formations of the few and the many occurs only in the *tril.*, because of the lightness of its form and the extent of its circulation (IY). When the *n.* has only a *pl.* of paucity, as رَجُلٌ *pl.* أَرْجُلٌ [237], or of multitude, as رَجُلٌ *pl.* رِجَالٌ [237], this *pl.* is common to paucity and multitude; and so is every broken *pl.* of the *quad.* whose letters are *rat.* [245], or of what is pluralized only in the same way, as أَجَادِلُ and مَصَانِعُ [253] (R). When the *pl.* of paucity is conjoined with the *ال* denoting *totality* [599], or is *pre.* to what indicates *multitude*, it is turned by that into a *pl.* of multitude, as إِنَّ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْمُسْلِمَاتِ XXXIII. 35. *Verily the Muslim men and the Muslim women*; and both matters are combined by the saying of Ḥassān [above]

لَنَا الْجَفَنَاتُ الْفَرُّ يَلْمَعْنَ بِالصُّكَى
وَأَسْيَانُنَا يَقْطُرْنَ مِنْ نَجْدَةٍ دَمَا

[238] (A) *We have the bright bowls (meaning shields) gleaming in the early forenoon, and our swords drop blood from battle* (Jsh). Each of the two [*pls.* (K on II. 228)] is sometimes metaphorically used instead of the other, notwithstanding the existence of that other, as وَالْمُطَلَقَاتُ يَتَرَبَّصْنَ بِأَنْفُسِهِنَّ ثَلَاثَةَ قُرُوءٍ II. 228. *And the divorced women shall compel themselves to wait during*

three menstruations [317, 406, 503], notwithstanding the existence of [*نُفُوسٌ* and (K)] *أَفْرَاءٌ* (R). The formations of paucity being nearer [in sense] to the *sing.* than those of multitude, many predicaments of the *sing.* apply to the *pl.* of paucity, whence the allowability of (1) the formation of its *dim.* according to its letter [285] ; (2) the qualification of the *sing.* by it, as *ثُوبٌ أَسْمَالٌ* [146] ; (c) the relation of the *pron.* literally in the *sing.* to it, as XVI. 68. [146] (IY).

§ 236. The *ن* is sometimes made the seat of inflection in some of the irregular *pls.* with the *و*, and *ن* [234], as a notification of their irregularity, in consequence of which they are, as it were, broken, and therefore follow the inflection of the broken *pl.* ; so that the Tanwīn is affixed to them, and the *ن* is not elided on account of prothesis, as

ذَرَانِي مَنْ نَجَدٍ فَإِنَّ سِنِينَ * لَعَبَنَ بِنَا شَيْبَا وَشَيْبَنَا مُرْدَا

[by AṣṢimma Ibn ‘Abd Allāh alKushairī, *Spare ye two me (the mention of) Nojd; for verily its years, or its droughts, made sport of us when hoary, and made us hoary when beardless* (AKB)],

وَمَاذَا يَبْتَغِي الشُّعْرَاءُ مِنِّي * وَقَدْ جَاوَزْتُ حَدَّ الْأَرْبَعِينَ

[by Suḥaim Ibn Wathīl arRiyāḥī, *And what is this (thing which) the poets seek from me, when I have passed the limit of the forty (years) ?* (Jsh)],

حَسَانُ مَوَاضِعِ النَّقَبِ الْأَعَالِي * غِرَاتُ التَّوَشُّعِ صَامِتَةُ الْبُرَيْنِ

[by AtṬirimmāh Ibn Ḥakīm atṬā’ī, *Fair in the exposed places of the faces, slender in the waists, silent in the anklets* (AKB)], and

وَأَنَّ لَنَا أَبَا حَسَنِ عَلِيًّا * أَبٌ بَرٌّ وَنَحْنُ لَهُ بَنِينَ

[by Sa'īd Ibn Kais alHamdānī, spoken by him on one of the days of Siffin, *And that Abū Ḥasan 'Ali is a good father to us, while we are (good) sons to him* (AKB)]: and the *ى* is then inseparable from them, as in the case of the sound *pl. masc.* used as a name [below]. That mostly occurs in poetry (R). The universality of this is disputed (IA): according to many of the GG, and among them Fr, it is universal in the *perf. pl. masc.* and its coordinates; and thus they explain

رَبِّ حَيٍّ عَرْنَدَسٍ ذِي طَلَالٍ * لَا يَزَالُونَ صَارِبِينَ الْقُبَابِ

[*Many a tribe mighty, possessed of goodliness, that cease not to be pitching the tents* (Sn)] and وَقَدْ جَاوَزْتُ الْحَجَّ [above] (A): whereas the truth is that it is not universal, but confined to hearsay (IA, A); and hence the saying of the Prophet اللَّهُمَّ اجْعَلْهَا عَلَيْهِمْ سِنِينَ كَسِنِينَ يُوسُفَ O God [52], *make Thou them to be upon them years like the years of Joseph*, [an imprecation of drought and famine upon the people of Makka (MKh),] in one of the two versions, [the other being سِنِينَ كَسِنِي يُوسُفَ (MKh)]; and like it is دَعَانِي مِنَ نَجْدِ الْحَجِّ (IA), a version of دَعَانِي الْحَجَّ [above] (AKB); and like دَعَانِي الْحَجَّ is the saying of the poet, as cited by AZ,

سِنِينَ كُلِّهَا لَأَقِيتُ حَرْبًا * أُعِدُّ مَعَ الصَّلَادِمَةِ الدُّكُورِ

In my years, all of them, I have encountered war, I being reckoned with the hardy, valiant warriors; and the other says

وَلَقَدْ وَلَدَتْ بَنِينَ صِدْقٍ سَادَةٍ * وَلَئِنْ بَعَدَ اللَّهُ كُنْتَ أَلْسِيْدًا

And assuredly thou didst beget sons of goodness, lords; and assuredly thou, after God, wast the lord. It occurs only in what is [improperly (AAz)] pluralized with the

و and ن as a compensation for a deficiency, like سِنُونَ,

[بُرُون, and بُنُون], the inflection of the ن being allowable in this kind of *pl.* only because the ن here stands in the place of the departed letter, so that they make it like

the ج of the word. As for وَمَاذَا يَنْتَعِي الْح [above],

some hold that the ن in ^{وَاو}الرَّابِعِينَ is the letter of inflection,

and the Kasra in it the sign of the *gen.*: but the truth is that the ن is not a letter of inflection, nor the Kasra a sign of the *gen.*, but on'y the vowel of the concurrence

of two quiescents [664], vid. the ي and ن; because the

vowel of the concurrence of two quiescents occurs sometimes as a Kasra, which is the *o. f.*, sometimes as a

Damma, and sometimes as a Fatha; and, since the poet

is constrained, he pronounces with Kasr: and one proof

that the Kasra in the ن of ^{وَاو}الرَّابِعِينَ is not a sign of the

gen., but only the Kasra of the concurrence of two quiescents, is the saying of Dhu-llṣḡa' [al'Adwānī (Mb,T)]

إِنِّي أَبِيٌّ أَبِيٌّ ذُو مُحَاظَةٍ * وَأَبْنُ أَبِي أَبِي مِنْ أَبِيَّيْنِ

Verily I am unyielding, unyielding, scornful, and a son of an unyielding, unyielding father, sprung from unyielding

sires, where it is undoubted that the Kasra of the ن in

أَبِيَّيْنِ is on account of the concurrence of two quiescents, because it is a [regular] sound *pl.*, like مُسْلِمِيْنَ; and

like it is the saying of the other, [vid. AlFarazdak (Mb, AKB),]

مَا سَدَّ حَتَّى وَلَا مَيِّتٌ مَسَدَهُمَا * إِلَّا الْخَلَائِفُ مِنْ بَعْدِ النَّبِيِّينَ

Not a living being, nor a dead, has filled their place, save the Khalīfas after the Prophets, the ن of the pl. being pronounced with Kasr only by poetic license [16](IY). There

are then two *dials.* in the *cat.* of سَنِينٌ, (1) pronunciation of Tanwīn, [the *dial.* of the Banū ‘Āmir (MKh)]; (2) absence of it, [the *dial.* of Tamīm (MKh),] as though its omission were from observance of the form of the *pl.*, while I have seen IUK say in his Commentary on the *Tushī!* that IM gives as the reason for omission of the Tanwīn that its presence with this ن is like the presence of two Tanwīns in one word [110, 234]: and, in the latter *dial.*, as IM appears to say, the *gen.* is with Kasra expressed; but, as Fr appears to say, it is declined as a diptote, so that the *gen.* is with Fatha. And there remain two other *dials.* mentioned by Syt, (1) inseparability of the , and of the ن pronounced with Fatha, in which *dial.* the inflection is apparently with vowels assumed upon the ,; (2) inseparability of the , , and inflection with vowels upon the ن (Sn). They make the ي inseparable from it only in order that it may become like غَسْلِينَ and similar *sing.*

ns., غَسْلِينَ being فَعْلِينَ from الْغَسَالَةُ; and Mb allows inseparability of the , , in which case it is like زَيْتُونَ [below] (IY). This is before the word is used as a proper name, after which the ن may be the seat of inflection by choice in this sort, as in the regular *pls.* when used as proper names (R). When you mean to use an

expression as a [proper] name, then, if that expression be a *du.* or a *pl.* analogous to it, like ضَارِبَانِ and ضَارِبُونَ, or co-ordinated with them, like اِثْنَانِ and عِشْرُونَ [234], it is mostly *infl.* with the inflection that belonged to it before it was used as a [proper] name (R on the proper name). You say هَذِهِ فَلِسْطِينَ *This is Palestine* (Mb, Jk), رَأَيْتُ فَلِسْطِينَ *I saw Palestine* (Mb), and مَرَرْنَا بِفِلَسْطِينَ *We passed by Palestine* (Jk) : this saying is the best ; and similar are يَبْرُونَ and يَبْرِينَ, and all that resembles this, like قَنَسْرُونَ and قَنَسْرِينَ : and the best [saying] is in this verse [of AlA'shà (Akh, Jk)]

وَشَاهِدُنَا الْجُلْدُ وَالْيَاسْمُو * نَ وَالْمُسِيعَاتُ بِقَصَائِهَا

And our witness is the rose and the jasmines and the songstresses with their flutes ; and the Kur contains a passage which verifies that, مَا أَدْرَاكَ مَا عَلَيْنَ وَكَتَابَ الْأَبْرَارِ كَفَى عَلَيْنَ LXXXIII. 18, 19. Now [598], verily the record of the pious is in 'Ilzīyūn, [the proper name of the Record of Good (234), in which all that is done by the angels and the righteous men and Jinn is recorded (K)]. *And what hath made thee know what 'Ilzīyūn is?* (Mb). But the ن may be made the seat of inflection [234], provided that the letters of the word do not exceed 7, because the letters of such as قَرَعْلَانَةٌ are the extreme number of the letters of the word, so that the ن in مُسْتَعْتَبَانِ and مُسْتَعْتَبُونَ is not made the seat of inflection. And, when the ن is

infl., the **ا** is inseparable from the *du.*, because it is lighter than the **ي**, and because there is no *sing.* ending in an *aug.* **ي** and **ن** with a Fatha before the **ي**, as

أَلَا يَإِذْيَارَ الْحَيِّ بِالسَّبْعَانِ * أَمَلَّ عَلَيْهَا بِأَلِيلَى الْمَلَكُونِ

[by Tamīm Ibn Muḳbil, *Now, O abodes of the tribe at AsSabu'ān, the night and the day have wearied them* (an enallage from the 2nd to the 3rd pers.) *with wear and tear* (AKB)]; and the **ي** is inseparable from the *pl.* [above], because it is lighter than the **و** : but **يَبْكُرِينَ** occurs in the *du.* contrary to analogy ; though, says Az, some of them say **يَبْكُرَانِ** according to analogy : and the **و**, sometimes occurs in the *pl.* [alternatively] with the **ي**, as **قَتَسَرُونَ** or **قَتَسَرِينَ**, and **يَبْرُونَ** or **يَبْرِينَ**, because the like of **يَبْرُونَ** [above] is found in their language ; while Zj says, quoting from Mb, that the **و** is regularly allowable before the **ن** of the *pl.* when it is made the seat of inflection : he says “and I do not know any one that has anticipated us in saying this :” but F says that there is no evidence of it, and that it is remote from analogy ; and he says on

وَلَهَا بِالْمَاطِرُونَ إِذَا * أَكَلَّ النَّبْلُ آلِدَى جَبَعَا

خُرْفَةً حَتَّى إِذَا آرْتَبَعَتْ * ذَكَرَتْ مِنْ جِلْقِي يَبَعَا

[by Yazīd Ibn Mu'āwiya Ibn Abī Sufyān alḲurashī alUmawī in a love-song about a Christian nun, who had shut herself up in a ruined cell near AlMāṭirūn, which was a garden on the outside of Damascus, *And she has at AlMāṭirūn in the days of winter, when the ant eats what he has collected, some gathered fruit, until, when*

she passes the spring, she remembers churches of Jillik (MN)], with Kasr of the ن, that it is a foreign name (R on the proper name). The name formed from this *pl.* and from its coordinates may be treated like غَسْلِينَ in inseparability of the ي and in inflection with vowels upon the ن pronounced with Tanwīn; and worse than this is that it should be treated like عَرَبُونَ *earnest-money* in inseparability of the , and in inflection with vowels upon the ن pronounced with Tanwīn, as in

طَالَ لَيْلِي وَبِتْ كَأَلْمَجْنُونِ * وَاعْتَرَجَنِي الْهُمُومُ بِالْمَاطِرُونَ

[by Abū Dahbal alJumālī, *Long was my night, and I spent the night like the possessed; and cares assailed me at AlMāfirūn* (MN)]; and worse than this is that the , and Fath of the ن should be inseparable from it (Aud), by imitation in the *nom.* case, which is the noblest of the cases of the *n.*, as they say عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ and مُعَاوِيَةُ بْنُ and as some read قَتَبْتُ يَدَا أَبِي لَهَبٍ CXI.1. [110] (MN), in order that nothing of it may be altered,

so as to confuse the hearer (K). The verse وَلَهَا بِالْمَاطِرُونَ is related with Kasr of the ن (Akh, Jh on نَظَرُ); but the well-known version is with Fath (Akh): and, if R had cited in evidence طَالَ لَيْلِي أَلْحَ, as IHsh has done in the Aud, it would have been more appropriate; for the Kasr of the ن is plain, because of its occurrence in the rhyme (AKB).

§ 237. The conventional practice of [most (Sn)] GG is to mention the *sing.*, and then say that its *pl.* is such

and such (A). The unaugmented *tril.* [368] substantives have 10 paradigms, (1) فَعْلٌ, like كَعْبٌ; (2) فَعْلٌ, like فَرَسٌ; (3) فَعْلٌ, like فَحْدٌ; (4) فَعْلٌ, like عَضْدٌ; (5) فَعْلٌ, like عَدْلٌ; (6) فَعْلٌ, like عَنَبٌ; (7) فَعْلٌ, like إِبِلٌ; (8) فَعْلٌ, like قُفْلٌ; (9) فَعْلٌ, like صُرْدٌ; (10) فَعْلٌ, like عُنُقٌ (IY). The broken *pl.* of the unaugmented *tril.* [substantive] has 10 paradigms, (1) أَفْعَالٌ; (2) فِعَالٌ; (3) فُعُولٌ; (4) فِعْلَانٌ; (5) أَفْعُلٌ; (6) فُعْلَانٌ; (7) فِعْلَةٌ; (8) فُعْلٌ; (9) فِعْلَةٌ; (10) فُعْلٌ (M). Five of these formations are regular, universal, vid. (1) أَفْعُلٌ; (2) أَفْعَالٌ; (3) فُعُولٌ; (4) فِعَالٌ; (5) فِعْلَانٌ : (a) أَفْعُلٌ and أَفْعَالٌ are formations denoting *few*. [235] : (b) فُعُولٌ and فِعَالٌ are fellows, denoting *many*; and their *fems.* فُعُولَةٌ and فِعَالَةٌ [265] are used in the same way : but أَفْعُلٌ and أَفْعَالٌ are not fellows, because فِعَالٌ occurs in [the *pl.* of] the very same [paradigms] as فُعُولٌ [242]; whereas أَفْعُلٌ and أَفْعَالٌ are not like that. And the rest of the paradigms are anomalous in respect of usage, though some of them are more frequent than others (IY). The regular [broken (IY)] *pls.* of فَعْلٌ are, (1) in paucity, أَفْعُلٌ (IY, R), as أَكْلِبٌ and أَصْدٌ (IY), except in the hollow [242] (R) : (2) in multitude, فِعَالٌ [except in the *cat.* of سَيْلٌ (R)] and فُعُولٌ [except in the *cat.* of ثَوْبٌ (R)], as كِعَابٌ and كُفُوبٌ (IY, R), whence وَكُنْتُ إِذَا غَمَزْتُ الْحَ [411] (IY); and sometimes one of the two is isolated from its fellow, as

بِغَالٍ and بَطُونٌ : and similarly [these two paradigms occur] in the reduplicated, as صَكَانٌ and مَكُونٌ ; and the defective, as دَلَّاءٌ [683] and دُلِّيٌّ [243], طَبَّاءٌ, and ثُدِّيٌّ (R).

The anomalous [broken (IY)] *pls.* of فَعَّلٌ are, (1) in paucity, (a) أَفْعَالٌ, as أَزْنَادٌ (IY), أَفْرَاحٌ (IY, R), and أَرَادٌ (IY), except in the hollow, where أَفْعَالٌ is regular [242] (R) : while the two formations [أَفْعَلٌ and أَفْعَالٌ] are sometimes concentrated upon one substantive, whence أَرْنَدٌ and أَرْنَادٌ, as

وَجَدْتَ إِذَا أَصْطَلَكُوا خَيْرَهُمْ * وَزَنْدَكَ أَتَقَبُّ أَرْنَادَهَا

[by AlA'shà (S), *Thou hast been found to be the best of them when they make peace, while thy fire-stick is the quickest of their fire-sticks to kindle fire, a met. for the quickness of his hastening to do good (MN)*] ; أَفْرُخٌ and أَفْرَاحٌ, as

لَوْلَا هُبَاشَاتُ مَنْ أَلْتَهَبِيشَ * لِصَبِيَّةٍ كَأَفْرُخِ الْعُشُوشِ

But for earnings from collecting industriously for boys like the young birds of the nests [below], and

مَاذَا تَقُولُ لِأَفْرَاحٍ بَذَى مَرَحٍ * زَغَبُ الْكَوَاصِدِ لَا مَاءٌ وَلَا شَجَرٌ

[by AlHutai'a, addressing 'Umar, who had imprisoned him, *What is this that thou sayest of young birds (meaning children) at Dhù Marakh (a valley near Fadak), downy in the crops? Neither water is there nor trees (MN)*] ; and أَنْفٌ and آَنَفٌ : whereas only أَرَادٌ [below] has been heard (IY) : (b) أَفْعَلَةٌ, as أَفْعَدَةٌ *pl.* of نَجْدٌ, which is a high place (R), like أَفْرَحَةٌ *pl.* of فَرَحٌ (T) : the poet [Muḥammad (T, KF), or] Ḥumaid, Ibn Abi Shihādh ad-Dabbī says

وَقَدْ يَقْصُرُ الْفَتَى دُونَ هَمِّهِ * وَقَدْ كَانَ لَوْلَا الْفُلُّ طَلَّاعُ أَنْجِدٍ
 [And sometimes poverty holds the youth back from attaining his purpose, when he would have been, but for poverty, an ascender of high places (T)] ; and another, Ziyād [Ibn Ḥamal, or (T)] Ibn Munḳidh, says

يَعْدُو أَمَامَهُمْ فِي كُلِّ مَرْبَاةٍ * طَلَّاعُ أَنْجِدَةٍ فِي كَشْحِهِ هَضْمٌ
 (Jh) An ascender of high places, in whose flank is slenderness, goes before them in the early morning in every peak of observation (T) : Jh says (R), it is *pl.* of نَجْدٌ (Jh, R) *pl.* of نَجْدٌ (R), *pl.* of the *pl.* [256] (Jh), فُعُولٌ being pluralized on the measure of أَفْعَلَةٌ by assimilation to فُعُولٌ, like عُمُرٌ *pl.* أَعْبَدَةٌ [246] (R) ; and it is not impossible that أَنْجِدَةٌ may be *pl.* of نَجْدٌ *pl.* of نَجْدٌ, in which case [also] أَنْجِدَةٌ is *pl.* of the *pl.* (T) : (2) in multitude, (a) فُعْلَانٌ, as ظَهْرَانٌ and بُطْنَانٌ ; (b) فُعْلَانٌ, as جَحْشَانٌ, (R) رِثْلَانٌ, and عِبْدَانٌ (IY) ; (c) فِعْلَةٌ, as, جِبَاةٌ, (R) غِرْدَةٌ, and فِقْعَةٌ [below], denoting [kinds of (IY)] truffles, [and فِعْبَةٌ (IY)] ; (d) فُعُولَةٌ, as [below] كَلِيبٌ (IY) and عَيْيِدٌ [below] فَعِيلٌ, as فُعَالَةٌ [265], as عُمُومَةٌ (IY, R), فُحُولَةٌ (R), and فِحَالَةٌ ; while some say that فِعْلَةٌ is contracted from فِعَالَةٌ, so that فِقْعَةٌ [below] is orig. فِقَاعَةٌ (IY) ; (g) فُعْلٌ, as رُهْنٌ and سُقْفٌ, which [formation], according to the Banū Tamīm, may be abbreviated, [as رُهْنٌ and سُقْفٌ (T),] like عُنُقٌ [246] : but فَعِيلٌ is rarer than فِعْلَةٌ, and فِعْلَةٌ than

فَعْلَانُ with Kasr , which is rarer than فَعْلَانُ with Damm.

And sometimes فَعْلُ is restricted to أُنْعَلُ or أُنْعَالُ in paucity and multitude, as أَكْفُ and آرَادُ [above] (R).

The regular [broken] pls. of فَعْلُ are, (1) in paucity, أَفْعَالُ [in the hollow or anything else, as أَجْبَالُ , أَتَوَاجُ , and أَفْيَابُ (R)] : (2) in multitude, [(a) in everything but the hollow (R),] فِعَالُ and فُعُولُ , [as جِمَالُ and أُسُودُ (IY),]

فِعَالُ being more frequent (IY,R) than فُعُولُ (IY) ; (b) in the hollow, فِعْلَانُ , as تَيْبَعَانُ , جَيْرَانُ , قَيْعَانُ , and سَيْبَعَانُ

(R). The anomalous [broken] pls. of فَعْلُ are, (1) in paucity, (a) أُنْعَلُ [242], as أَرْمَنُ [234,246]. (IY,R), whence

أَمْنَرَلْتِي مَيِّ سَلَامٌ عَلَيْكُمَا * هَلِ الْأَرْمَنُ الْآلَاتِي مَضِينَ رَوَاجِعُ

by Dhu-rRumma, *O two abodes of Mayya, peace be upon you ! Are the times that have passed about to return ?* (IY),

أَجْبَلُ [transmitted by S (IY)], and أَغِصُ (IY,R) ; (b) فِعْلَةٌ , as

فِعْرَةٌ , قَيْعَةٌ , and إِخْوَةٌ (R) : (2) in multitude, [(a) in every-

thing but the hollow (R),] (a) فَعْلَانُ , as حُمْلَانُ and سُلْقَانُ ;

(b) فَعْلَانُ , as بَرَقَانُ , [, خَرَبَانُ , and شَبَثَانُ (R)] ; (c) فَعْلُ ,

as أُسْدُ [246] and وَثْنُ (IY,R) , whence the reading of 'Atá

Ibn Abi Rabāh إِلَاثْنَا IV. 117. [550] *Save idols*, meaning

وُثْنًا , the ع being made quiescent, as in رُسُلُ and كُتُبُ [246],

and the , converted into Hamza, as in أُجُودُ [683] (IY),

where 'Ā'isha read أَرَقَانَا (K) ; (d-e) فِعَالَةٌ and فُعُولَةٌ

[265], as ذِكَارَةٌ and ذُكُورَةٌ حِجَابَةٌ (IY,R), and أُسُودَةٌ (IY) ;

(f) **سَوَّقَ** as **فَعَّلَ** (a) in the hollow, (b) in the hollow, **حَجَلَى** as **فَعَلَى** (f) [246] and **نِيَّبَ** [710] ; (b) **فُعُولَ** as **سُوُوقَ** [683] and **نِيُوبَ** [714] (R). But in the reduplicated **فَعَّلَ** there is only one *pl.*, which serves for paucity and multitude, vid. **أَفْعَالٌ** as **أَلْبَابٌ** and **أَفْنَانٌ**, as is the case with [some of the sound, like (R)] **أَرْسَانٌ**, [**أَغْلَاقٌ** (R),] and **أَقْلَامٌ** [242]. The broken *pl.* of **فَعَّلَ** [in paucity and multitude (R)] is **أَفْعَالٌ**, [as **أَكْبَادٌ**, **أَفْعَاذٌ**, and **أَنْمَارٌ** (IY)] : but they say **نُمُورٌ** [and **عُورٌ** (IY)] by assimilation to [the *cat.* of (R)] **أُسُودٌ** (IY, R) ; and **نُمُرٌ** is contracted from it (R) : the Rājiz [Hukaim Ibn Mu'ayya arRaba'ī, describing his *قَنَاةَ cane spear-shaft* (Jsh),] says

حَقَّتْ بِأَطْوَادِ جِبَالٍ وَسُرُ * فِي أَشْبِ الْغِيْطَانِ مُلْتَفٍ الْخَطَرُ
فِيهَا عَيَائِلُ أُسُودٍ وَنُمُرُ

[715] (S) *That was surrounded by mountains, hills and gum-acacia trees, in the tangled copses of wide low grounds, intertwined in branches*, حَطَر being pl. of خَطَر, wherein were prowling beasts, lions and leopards (Jsh). The [broken] pl. of فَعَلَ [in paucity and multitude (R)] is اَفْعَالُ [as اَعْجَازُ and اَعْضَادُ (IY)]: but sometimes فِعَالُ occurs, as رَجَالُ [235] and سِبَاعُ, by assimilation [of فَعَلَ to فِعَالُ; whereas رَجَلَةٌ [with Fath of the ر (R)] is not a broken pl. [of رَجُلٌ (IY)], but a quasi-pl. n. (IY, R), because فِعْلَةٌ is not one of the measures of the pls. (R). The regular [broken (IY)] pls. of فَعَلَ are, (1) in paucity, اَفْعَالُ [in the sound, hollow,



or anything else (R), as أَحْبَابٌ, أَعْدَالٌ, and أَبَارٌ (IY) : (2) in multitude, فَعُولٌ and فِعَالٌ, [as حُمُولٌ, عُدُولٌ, and بَيْتَارٌ, and ذِئَابٌ (IY)] ; فُعُولٌ, [says S (R),] being more frequent (IY,R) : while فِعُولٌ is always used if its medial be a ي , as فَيُولٌ and جَيُولٌ ; and فِعَالٌ if its medial be a و , as رِيَّاحٌ [242] (R). Sometimes أَفْعَالٌ is used in paucity and multitude, as أَخْبَاسٌ and أَشْبَارٌ (IY,R) ; and similarly فُعُولٌ or فِعَالٌ (R). The anomalous [broken] *pls.* of فَعُولٌ are (1) أَفْعُلٌ [in paucity, which is rare (IY)], as أَفْعُولٌ and (IY) : (2) فِعْلَةٌ, as فِرْدَةٌ [235] (IY,R), used in paucity, as ثَلَاثَةُ فِرْدَةٍ *Three apes*, instead of أَفْرَادٌ (IY) : (3) فِعْلَانٌ, as صِنَوَانٌ [234], قِنَوَانٌ, both sometimes pronounced with Damm [of the ف (R), and شِقْدَانٌ (IY)] : (4) فِعْلَانٌ, as دُوبَانٌ and صُرْمَانٌ (IY,R) : (5) فَعِيلٌ, as صَرِيْسٌ (R). The [broken] *pls.* of فِعَالٌ are (1) أَفْعَالٌ in paucity (IY,R) and multitude (R), as أَعْنَابٌ and أَمْعَاءٌ ; and [in paucity alone,] as أَفْصَالٌ and أَرَامٌ (IY) : (2) أَفْعُلٌ in paucity, as أَفْصُلٌ : (3) فُعُولٌ in multitude, as فُضْلٌ and أُرُومٌ (IY,R) ; but not عُنُوبٌ nor مُعِيٌ [243], because they use the paradigm of paucity instead (IY). The [broken (IY)] *pl.* of فَعِيلٌ is أَفْعَالٌ in paucity and multitude (IY,R), as أَبَالٌ and أَطَالٌ (IY). The regular [broken (R)] *pls.* of فَعِيلٌ are, (1) in paucity, أَفْعَالٌ, [in the hollow, as أَكْرَابٌ and أَكْرَازٌ ;

or in anything else (R), as أَفْعَالٌ and أَبْرَادٌ (IY) : (2) in multitude, فُعُولٌ and فِعَالٌ, [except in the hollow,] as بُرُوجٌ, بُرُودٌ, قِرَاطٌ (IY), قِرَاطٌ and جِمَادٌ, جُنُودٌ, though فِعَالٌ is more frequent in the reduplicated, as قَفَافٌ, خَفَافٌ, [خِصَاصٌ (IY),] and عِشَاشٌ (IY, R) ; while they say عُشُوشٌ also, as says Ru'ba

لِصَبِيَّةٍ كَأَنَّهُ تَفْرُخُ الْعُشُوشِ

[above] (IY). Sometimes أَفْعَالٌ is used in paucity and multitude, as أَجْرَاءٌ and أَرْكَانٌ (R) ; and they say in the unsound [أَعْضَاءٌ *pl.* عُضْرٌ (Jh) and] [أَمْدَاءٌ *pl.* مُدَى] [243], and do not exceed this *pl.*, because of the rarity of this *sing.* (IY).

The anomalous [broken] *pls.* of فُعْلٌ are [(1) in paucity, أَفْعُلٌ, as أَرْكُنٌ (R) : (2) in multitude, (a) فِعْلَةٌ, as قِرْطَةٌ (R), [234], فُلْكٌ (IY) in one word, and خِرْجَةٌ, جِحْرَةٌ, which is *sing.*, as XXVI. 119 [539], and *pl.*, as X. 23 [1]

(IY, R). When فُعْلٌ is hollow, its only *pl.* of multitude is فِعْلَانٌ, as عِيدَانٌ and حَيْتَانٌ ; and other [cats. of فُعْلٌ] also share with the hollow in فِعْلَانٌ, as حِشَّانٌ [256], which, S says, is *pl.* of حُشٌّ a garden (R). The regular [broken] *pl.* of فُعْلٌ in paucity and multitude is فِعْلَانٌ, [as صِرْدَانٌ and جِرْدَانٌ (IY) ; while أَرْبَاعٌ (R), and [similarly (R)] أَرْطَابٌ (R), are anomalous. The

[broken] *pl.* of فَعْلٌ is أَفْعَالٌ in paucity and multitude (IY, R), as أَعْنَانٌ and أَذَانٌ (IY). The commonest of these paradigms of the broken *pl.* is أَفْعَالٌ, [because it occurs in the 10 formations (of the *sing.*), being anomalous in two of them, as أَفْرَاحٌ and أَفْرَاطٌ, regular in the rest (IY)] ; next فِعَالٌ, [because it occurs in 6 paradigms, فَعْلٌ, فِعْلٌ, خِفَافٌ, قِدَاحٌ, رِنَادٌ, فَعْلٌ (IY),] as فَعْلٌ, فَعْلٌ, فَعْلٌ, and فَعْلٌ (IY),] as سَبَاعٌ, رَبَاعٌ, and جَمَالٌ ; next فِعْلَانٌ and فُعُولٌ, which are equal, [because they occur in 5 paradigms (IY),] as عِرْقٌ, فَلَسٌ, نُمُورٌ, [*p/ls.* of فَلَسٌ, عُرُوقٌ, جُرُوحٌ, أُسُودٌ, and نُمُورٌ,] and عِيدَانٌ, صِنَوَانٌ, رَثْلَانٌ, [(IY),] and نِيرٌ, أَسَدٌ, and جَرَحٌ, صِرْدٌ, خَرَبٌ, عَوْدٌ, صِنُوٌ, رَّالٌ, [*p/ls.* of صِرْدَانٌ, and خِرْبَانٌ (IY)] ; next أَفْعُلٌ, [because it occurs in 4 paradigms (IY),] as أَفْلُسٌ, أَزْمُنٌ, أَصْلَعٌ, [*p/ls.* of أَفْلُسٌ, رَجُلٌ, أَزْمَنٌ, and أَصْلَعٌ (IY)] ; next فِعْلَانٌ and فِعْلَةٌ, which are equal, as بَطْنَانٌ, دُوبَانٌ, and حُمَلَانٌ, [*p/ls.* of بَطْنٌ, دُوبٌ, and حُمَلٌ (IY),] and غِرْدَةٌ [*pl.* of غِرْدٌ (Jh, KF), says Fr (Jh)], قِرْدَةٌ, and قِرْطَةٌ, [*p/ls.* of قِرْدٌ and قِرْطٌ (IY)] ; next فِعْلٌ, as جِبْرَةٌ and سَقْفٌ, and فَعْلٌ, as فَعْلٌ and فَعْلٌ ; next فِعْلَةٌ and فِعْلٌ, as جِبْرَةٌ and فَعْلٌ (M). The opinion of S is that كَلِيبٌ [above] and the like are *qausi-pl. ns.*, like جَامِلٌ and بَاقِرٌ [257], and similarly فِقْعَةٌ [above] and قِعْبَةٌ, not broken *p/ls.* ; but Akh holds

that all of them are broken *pls.*, though seldom used (IY). And حَجَلِي [above] occurs as *pl.* of حَجَلٌ, [being the only *pl.* of this measure in the *tril.* (IY, AAz), for which reason Z does not mention it with the paradigms of the *pls.* (IY)]: the poet ['Abd Allāh Ibn AlḤajjāj (IY), (or) AlḤuṭai'a (AAz),] says

إِرحم أَصِيبَتِي الَّذِينَ كَانَتْهُمْ * حَجَلِي تَدْرَجُ فِي الشَّرْبَةِ وَقَعُ

(M) *Have mercy upon my little boys* [286], *who are as weak as though they were partridges stepping along in AshSharabba*, a place [belonging to the Banū Ja'far Ibn Kilāb (Bk)], *falling from their inability to fly* (IY). نَعْلِي does not occur as a *pl.* except in [two words (Jh),] حَجَلِي *pl.* of حَجَلٌ *A partridge* and ظِرْبَانٍ *pl.* of ظِرْبَانٍ *A polecat* (Jh, A); and IS holds that it is a *quasi-pl. n.*, not a *pl.* (A): As says that حَجَلِي is a *dial. var.* of حَجَلٌ (IY, A); but the truth is that it is a *pl.*, like ظِرْبَانِي: and what proves that حَجَلِي and ظِرْبَانِي are *pls.* is their feminization, as هِيَ الْحَجَلِي *They are the partridges* and الظَّرْبَانِي *the polecats* and هُوَ الْحَجَلُ *It is the partridge*, that being transmitted by AZ; whereas, if حَجَلِي were a *dial. var.* of حَجَلٌ, as As says, it would be *masc.*, like the latter: and Akh says that حَجَلِي is *sing.* and *pl.*, like نُنْكَ and هَبْجَانُ [234] (IY).

§ 238. Having finished the *pl.* of the formations of the unaugmented *tril.*, when it is a *masc. substantive*, [Z

followed by] IH enters upon the explanation of its *pls.* when it is [a substantive] made *fem.* with the ة (R). The *tril.* [substantive] that the ة is affixed to has 6 formations, (1) فَعْلَةٌ ; (2) فَعَلَةٌ ; (3) فَعِلَةٌ ; (4) فُعْلَةٌ ; (5) فِعْلَةٌ ; (6) فُعْلَةٌ (IY). The paradigms of its broken *pls.* are (1) فِعَالٌ ; (2) فُعُولٌ ; (3) أَفْعُلٌ ; (4) فِعَلٌ ; (5) فُعَلٌ ; (6) فُعُلٌ (M). The *pl.* of فَعْلَةٌ in paucity is with the ا and ت , as قَصَاعَاتٌ and جَفَنَاتٌ [240] ; and the unsound and reduplicated are like the sound in that : they say, in the case of (1) the unsound in (a) the ع , ضَيْعَاتٌ and رَوْضَاتٌ , as فِي رَوْضَاتِ الْجَنَاتِ XLII.21. *In the lawns of the gardens* [240] ; (b) the ل , طَبِيبَاتٌ and رُكَّوَاتٌ : (2) the reduplicated, جَرَّاتٌ and رَبَّاتٌ (IY). The broken *pls.* of فَعْلَةٌ [in multitude (IY)] are (1) فِعَالٌ , regularly, in the sound, unsound, and reduplicated, as قِصَاعٌ , [جِفَانٌ , ضِيَاعٌ , رِيَاضٌ (713), طِبَاءٌ (IY), رِكَاءٌ , دِبَابٌ (R), جِرَارٌ , and رِبَابٌ (IY)] : (2) فِعَلٌ , [as though it were (R)] contracted from فِعَالٌ , as هَضَبٌ , [حَلَقٌ (R), جِفَنٌ , and حَيْمٌ (IY)] ; but that is not regular [in the sound or anything else (R)] : (3) فُعُولٌ , as بُدُورٌ and مُرُونٌ , because فُعُولٌ and فِعَالٌ are fellows in the *pl.* of فُعَلٌ [the *masc.* of فَعْلَةٌ (R)], except that فُعُولٌ in the *pl.* of فَعْلَةٌ is rare, and in the *pl.* of فِعَلٌ is frequent [237] : (4) فُعَلٌ , [when فَعْلَةٌ is hollow, of the *cat.* of the , (R),] as نَوْبٌ

[and دَوَّلَ (R)] ; and [similarly (IY), though anomalously, when it is defective (R),] as قُرَى , [and, says F, بُرَى *pl.* of بُرَّة which, says he, is *what is put in the nose of the camel*, whereas the well-known (form) in this sense is بُرَّة (R)] : but that is not regular, فَعَلَّة [here (R)] being [only (IY)] made to accord with فَعَلَّة (IY,R) ; and, when فَعَلَّة is hollow, of the *cat.* of the ي, its ف may not be pronounced with Damm in the *pl.*, but is pronounced with Kasr, as خِيَمَ [above] and فَيَعَ (R). Sometimes, however, they content themselves with the *pl.* of paucity, and do not exceed it : S says (IY), And they sometimes pluralize with the [ا and] ت when they mean *multitude* (S,IY) ; and the poet Ḥassān says لَنَا الْجَفَنَاتُ أَلْحَ [235], where he does not mean *paucity* (S). فَعَلَّة is pluralized in paucity with the [ا and] ت, as رَقَبَاتٌ and رَحَبَاتٌ *courts* ; and the unsound is similar, as نَقَاتٌ (IY). The [broken] *pls.* of فَعَلَّة [in *multitude* (IY)] are (1) فَعَالٌ, [regularly (R),] as رَقَابٌ , [رَحَابٌ (IY),] and نِيَابٌ [256] : (2) فَعَلٌ , as تَيَّرٌ [713] and قِيمٌ (IY,R), as says the Rājiz

يَقُومُ تَارَاتٍ وَيَمْشِي تَيَّرًا

He stands at times, and walks at times (IY) ; the *o. f.* of which is فَعَالٌ (R), فَعَلٌ here being contracted from فَعَالٌ (IY) : (3) فَعَلٌ , as نُوقٌ (IY,R) and قُورٌ , as in the saying of the Rājiz [cited by As (Jh)]

هَلْ تَعْرِفُ الدَّارَ بِأَعْلَى ذِي الْقُورِ * قَدْ دَرَسَتْ غَيْرَ رَمَادٍ مَكْفُورٍ

*Dost thou know the dwelling at the top of the mountain-
full of knolls ? It has become effaced, except ashes covered
with dust (IY) ; and [similarly in the sound (IY)] بُدُنْ
and وَابْدُنْ جَعَلْنَاهَا لَكُمْ مِنْ شَعَائِرِ اللَّهِ (IY,R), as in
XXII 37. And (We have made) the sacrificial camels, We
have made them for you to be of the signs of the religion
of God, [read by HB وَابْدُنْ with two Dammās, like بُرْ
pl. of بُرَّة (K,)] and in كَانَتْهُمْ خُشْبٌ مُسْنَدَةٌ LXIII.4. [516],
read with quiescence [of the ش by IAl,Ks, and, as is report-
ed, Ibn Kathīr (B),] and with Damm : but that [quiescence]
is not the o. f., فَعْلٌ being only abbreviated from فَعُولٌ con-
tracted from فَعُولٌ (IY) : فَعْلٌ is not frequent ; and, in the
sound, the ع may be pronounced with Damm, on the
ground that the Damm is either a deriv. of the quiescence
or its o. f. [711]. And [in paucity] it is pluralized upon the
measure of فَعُولٌ, as أَكْمٌ in the sound, أَيْنَقُ [256] in the hollow,
and آم [244] in the defective. فَعْلَةٌ from the defective, [i.e.,
the unsound in the ل,] is frequent (R) : as for the unsound
in the ل (IY), like قَنَاءٌ and حَصَاءٌ, it, when in [the sense of
(R)] the pl., mostly occurs [curtailed of the 3 (R), like
the pl. of generic ns. (254) (IY),] as قَنَاءٌ, أَصَاءٌ, and حَصَى
(R) ; or [like the sound pl. (IY)] with the ا and ت, [as
حَصِيَّاتٌ and قَنَوَاتٌ (IY)] : but is sometimes pluralized
upon the measure of فَعُولٌ, as دَوَىٌ and صَفَىٌ [722] ; and
فَعَالٌ, as إِصَاءٌ and إِمَاءٌ [244] (IY,R), as says the poet
[AnNābigħa (Jh,ABk, Jk) adhDhubyānī (ABk), describ-
ing coats of mail (Jk),]*

عُلِينَ بِكَدْيُونٍ وَأَبْطُنٍ كُرَّةً * فَهِنَّ إِصْأَاءَ صَافِيَّاتِ الْعَلَّاقِلِ

That have been rubbed over with dregs of oil, and scoured inside with rotten camel's dung; so that they are bright, like pools of water, clean as to the linings (IY); and [فِعْلَانُ, for] إِمَوَانُ occurs, like إِخْوَانُ (R), [as] says [the poet (S)] AlKattāl [alKilābī (S)]

أَمَّا الْأَمَاءُ فَلَا يَدْعُونَنِي وَلَدًا * إِذَا تَرَامَى بَنُو الْأَمَوَانِ بِالْعَارِ

As for the bondswomen, they call me not child, when the sons of the bondswomen upbraid one another with shame (S,Jh). The predicament of the reduplicated is the same

as that of the sound; but it is scarce. The pl. of فَعْلَةٌ in paucity is with the ا and ت, as نَقِمَاتٌ and مَعْدَاتٌ (IY).

The [broken (IY)] pl. of فَعْلَةٌ [in multitude (IY)] is [فَعْلٌ (IY),] with Kasr of the ف and Fath of the ع, as نِقَمٌ and مَعْدٌ (IY,R); but that is not regular (IY): Sf says, And the like of it is rare, not invariable; for كَلِمٌ and خَلْفٌ are not said in the case of كَلِمَةٌ and خَلِيفَةٌ a pregnant she-camel (R): while نَقِمَةٌ and مَعْدَةٌ are so pluralized only because they say نَقِمَةٌ and مَعْدَةٌ, [with quiescence of the 2nd (IY) rad.,] like كِسْرَةٌ (IY,R) and حِرْقَةٌ (IY), according to the Banū Tamīm and others [468]; so that نِقَمٌ and مَعْدٌ are really pls. of فَعْلَةٌ [below], not of فَعْلَةٌ: whereas other

words, like *كَلِمَةٌ* and *خَلِيفَةٌ*, [whose 2nd *rad.* is not a guttural letter,] do not occur upon the measure of *كَسْرَةٌ*, except according to the Banù Tamīm [758](R). *فُعْلَةٌ* is pluralized in paucity with the *ا* and *ت*, as *رُكْبَاتٌ* and *ظُلُمَاتٌ* [240], whence *وَرَاءَ الْحُجُرَاتِ* XLIX.4. *From outside the chambers*, [also read *الْحُجُرَاتِ* (K,B),] and *ظُلُمَاتٌ بَعْضُهَا فَوْقَ بَعْضٍ* XXIV.40. (*These are*) *darknesses, some of which are above others* (IY). The [broken (R)] *pls.* of *فُعْلَةٌ* [in multitude (IY)] are (1) *فُعْدٌ*, [mostly (R), regularly, as *رُكْبٌ*, *ظُلْمٌ*, and *غُرْفٌ* (IY)] ; which is sometimes used in paucity also, as *ثَلَاثُ غُرَفٍ* *Three upper-chambers*, [though this is rare (R)] : (2) *فِعَالٌ*, [except in the hollow (R),] as *يَرَامٌ*, [*نِقَارٌ* (IY), *جِفَارٌ* (R),] and *بِرَاقٌ* ; which is frequent in the reduplicated, as *حِلَالٌ*, [*فِلَالٌ* (R),] *جِبَابٌ*, and *قِبَابٌ* (IY,R) ; while in the hollow they restrict themselves to *فُعْدٌ*, as *سُرُورٌ* and *دُرُولٌ* (R). In the *فُعْلَةٌ* unsound in the *ع* they say *دُولَاتٌ* and *خُطُورَاتٌ* : and in the one unsound in the *ل* they say *خُطَايَاتٌ* and *خُطَايٌ* ; while the one whose unsound *ل* is a *ي* is similar in multitude, as *مُدَى* and *كُلَى* ; but they hardly ever pluralize it with the *ت*, contenting themselves with the formation of multitude instead. And the reduplicated

is similar, as سُرَاتٌ and سُرَرٌ and مُدَاتٌ and مُدَدٌ (IY). As for حُجُرٌ pl. of the حُجْرَةٌ waistband of the trousers, i.e., place of tying them, it is anomalous (R). فَعْلَةٌ is pluralized in paucity with the ا and ت, as سِدْرَاتٌ and كِسِرَاتٌ [240] (IY). The broken pl. of فَعْلَةٌ [in multitude (IY)] is فَعَلٌ, [in the sound or anything else (R),] as سِدْرٌ and (IY) كِسْرٌ [239], قَدَدٌ [and عِدَدٌ, قِيَمٌ and دِيَمٌ (IY)], and رَشَى and لَحَى; which is sometimes used in paucity also, as ثَلَثٌ كِسْرٌ *Three fragments* (IY,R) : and others than S mention فَعَلٌ with Damm of the ف, like لَحَى and حَلَى; but Kasr is better in both of them : and sometimes فَعَالٌ occurs, like لِقَاعٌ and حِقَاقٌ; so S mentions, but it is extremely rare. S says that the pl. with the ا and ت is rare, whether in the sound or in anything else, because, in this pl., [vocalic] alliteration of the ع to the ف is the rule [240] ; whereas فَعَلٌ, like اِبِلٌ, is a scarce formation (R) : and [S says that (R)] they hardly ever pluralize [the defective (R), (i. e.) the unsound in the J (IY), whether it belong to the cat. of the ي, or ي (R),] with the ا and ت (IY,R), because its 2nd [rad.] would then be pronounced with Kasr, as رَشَاتٌ, and, since they dislike the combination of two Kasras in the sound, they dislike it more in the unsound (IY); so that they content themselves with فَعَلٌ in paucity and multitude (R). But the unsound in

the ع is pluralized [in paucity (IY)] with the ا and ت, as دِيَمَات and قِيَمَات, because [its ع must be made quiescent, so that (R)] two Kasras are not combined (IY,R) in it. And they say in the reduplicated عِدَّات and قِدَّات (IY). S says (R), And فَعْلَةٌ sometimes has a [broken (S,IY)] *pl.* [of paucity] upon the measure of أَفْعَلُ, as أَنْعَمُ *pl.* نَعِمَةٌ and أَشَدُّ *pl.* شِدَّةٌ [255]; but that is rare, [scarce (S,R),] not the rule. فَعْلَةٌ, [if not pluralized with the (ا and) ت (S), (i.e.) in multitude (IY),] has a [broken (S,IY)] *pl.* upon the measure of [فَعْلٌ, as (S)] تُكَمُّ and تُهَمُّ, [being assimilated to فَعْلَةٌ (IY,R), like طُلْمَةٌ and غُرْفَةٌ (IY), and therefore pluralized upon the measure of فَعْلٌ (R)]: but that is not like [رُطَبَةٌ and (S,R)] رُطَبٌ [254], because رُطَبٌ is *masc.*, [like بُرٌّ and تَمْرٌ (S,R)]; while this is *fem.* (S,IY,R), like [غُرْفٌ and (S)] غُرْفٌ (S,R): and [because] the *dim.* of رُطَبٌ is رُطَيْبٌ; while the *dim.* of تُكَمُّ [and تُهَمُّ (R)] is تُكَيْمَات [and تُهَيْمَات (R)], the word being restored to the *sing.* (IY,R), and then pluralized with the ا and ت, because it is a broken *pl.* [285]. Thus the whole number of formations of the [broken] *pl.* of these substantives is 6, as above mentioned. The commonest of them is فِعَالٌ, because it occurs in 4 substantives, فَعْلَةٌ, فَعْلَةٌ, فَعْلَةٌ, and فَعْلَةٌ: and فِعَالٌ is regular, universal, in فَعْلَةٌ and فَعْلَةٌ, anomalous in the [two] others; فَعْلٌ is

regular in **فَعْلَةٌ** and **فُعْلَةٌ**, any other [broken *pl.*] being anomalous in them] ; and **فَعْلٌ** is regular in **فُعْلَةٌ**, any other [broken *pl.*] being anomalous in it, while the predicament of [**فَعْلٌ** in] **فُعْلَةٌ** has been mentioned above (IY).

§ 239. The rule in *eps.* is that they should not receive a broken *pl.*, because they bear a resemblance to, and exercise the same government as, *vs.* ; so that their finals receive the same affix for the *pl.* as the finals of the *v.*, vid. the **و** and **ي** ; and it is then followed by the **ا** and **ت**, which are subordinate to it : and also [because] the latent *prons.* are attached to them, and the rule is that their form should contain something to indicate those *prons.*, whereas that is not found in the broken *pl.* ; so that it is better that they should be pluralized with the **و** and **ي** to indicate the latency of the *pron.* of *rational males* [below], and with the **ا** and **ت** to indicate a *plurality of other objects*. Notwithstanding this, however, some *eps.* receive a broken *pl.*, because they are *ns*, like substantives, although they resemble the *v.* : and the broken *pl.* is more frequent in the assimilate *eps.* than in the *act. part.* of the *tril.*, since the former resemble the *v.* less than the latter does ; and more frequent in the *act. part.* of the *tril.* than in the *pass. part.* of the *tril.* and the *act.* and *pass. parts.* of the *non-tril.*, because the two last resemble their *aors.* in form more than the *act. part.* of the *tril.* resembles its *aor.*, while the *pass. part.* of the *tril.* is treated like the *act.* and *pass. parts.* of the *non-tril.* in rarity of the broken *pl.* on account of the **م** in its beginning (R). The formations of the *tril. eps.* [that have a

broken *pl.* (R)] are 7 (IY,R), (1) فَعْلٌ ; (2) فَعِلٌ ; (3) فُعْلٌ ; (4) فَعْلٌ ; (5) فَعِلٌ ; (6) فَعْلٌ ; (7) فُعْلٌ (IY). The paradigms [of the broken *pl.* (IY)] of the *tril. eps.* are like the paradigms [of the broken *pl.* (IY)] of the *tril.* substantives [237] (M). The broken *pls.* of فَعْلٌ are (1) فَعَالٌ , mostly, [universally, as صَعَابٌ , فَسَالٌ *mean*, كِثَاثٌ , and وَرَادٌ (IY)] : (2) فُعُولٌ , as كُهُولٌ (IY,R) and شَيُوءٌ [242] (R) : (3) فُعْلٌ [or فَعْلٌ , one of these two formations being apparently a *deriv.* of the other (R)], as سُحُلٌ [white garments (IY) or سُحُلٌ , and صُدُقُ اللَّقَاءِ *Steady in the encounter* or صُدُقُ اللَّقَاءِ (R)], and [sometimes only one of them being used (R),] as كُتٌ , [جُورٌ (R),] and بَرْدٌ *bright bay horses* (IY,R) ; but this is rare (IY) : (4) فَعَالٌ , as سُبْحَاءٌ , [by assimilation of فَعْلٌ to فَاعِلٌ (R), because سَمِيحٌ *munificent* is i. q. the *act. part.* (IY),] like كَرَمَاءٌ *pl. كَرِيمٌ* [247] (IY,R) ; or to فَعِيلٌ , like كَرَمَاءٌ *pl. كَرِيمٌ* [246] (R) : (5) [أَفْعُلٌ , as أَعْبُدُ , أَفْعُلٌ is [ordinarily] not used as a broken *pl.* of [the *ep.*] فَعْلٌ [in paucity (IY), because the *ep.* in most cases has a qualified explaining the *paucity* and *multitude*, and the *o.f.* in *pls.* is the *pl.* of *multitude* (R) ; so that, when a *pl.* of *paucity* is needed, they use the sound *pl.* (IY)] : but, since some *eps.* are used as substantives, like دُجْدٌ , they are pluralized [in paucity (R)] upon the measure of أَفْعُلٌ , as أَعْبُدُ ; and, if [فَعْلٌ or

{R}] any [other (R)] *ep.* be used as a name [for a man (IY)], it is pluralized as a substantive [240] (IY,R) : (6) **أَفْعَالٌ**, which is the [formation of paucity] prevalent in the hollow belonging to the *cat.* of the **ي**, as **أَضْيَافٌ** and (R) **أَشْيَاخٌ** [242] (IY,R) : (7) **فِعْلَانٌ**, in the hollow and anything else, as (R) **ضَيْفَانٌ**, [**شَيْخَانٌ** (IY),] and **وَعْدَانٌ** (IY,R), like **وَعْدَانٌ**, as **فِعْلَانٌ** (8) : (8) **عَبْدَانٌ** and **جِحْشَانٌ** (IY,R) ; while such as **ضَيْفَانٌ** and **شَيْخَانٌ** may be *orig.* pronounced with Damm of the **ف**, which is then pronounced with Kasr for preservation of the **ي** : (9) **فِعْلَةٌ**, as **رَطْلَةٌ** *delicate* (R) [and] **شَيْخَةٌ** (IY) ; while **فِعْلَةٌ** with quiescence of the **ع** occurs, as **شَيْخَةٌ** (R). Thus the paradigms of the broken *pl.* of **فَعْلٌ** have 9 formations, of which one, *vid.* **فِعْلَالٌ**, is regular ; and the remainder are anomalous, heard, but not copied, though some of them are more frequent than others. That is because they are treated as substantives ; for they are hardly ever used with their qualifieds, so that **رَجُلٌ عَبْدٌ** and **رَجُلٌ شَيْخٌ** are not said (IY). And they say **عَبِيدٌ** [and **عِبَادٌ** (S)], as they say **كَلِيبٌ** [237] (S,IY) and **كِلَابٌ** (S). The broken *pl.* of **فَعْلٌ** is **أَفْعَالٌ**, as **أَجْلَافٌ** *skinned carcasses of sheep without heads or legs*, [**أَنْقَاصٌ** *jaded* (S,R),] and **أَنْصَاءٌ** *emaciated* (S,IY,R) ; while AZ transmits **أَخْلَاءٌ** *free or*

quit (IY) : أَفْعَالُ [here (IY)] is made a substitute for فُعُولُ and فِعَالُ [in multitude] (S,IY) ; and therefore does not occur with [either of] them, so that جُلُوفُ or جِلَافُ is not said (IY) : while أَجْلَفُ is said [by some of the Arabs (S,IY), upon the measure of أَفْعُلُ (S)], by assimilation to substantives, like أَذْوَبُ [237] (S,IY,R) ; but it is extraordinary in *eps.* (R). The broken *pl.* of فُعُولُ is أَفْعَالُ , as أَمْرَارُ and أَحْرَارُ . The broken *pl.* of فِعَالُ is (1) فِعَالُ (IY,R), mostly, as S appears to say (R), as حِسَانُ *fair*, سِبَاطُ *lank* hair, and فِطَاطُ *very curly* hair (IY) : (2) أَفْعَالُ sometimes, [says S (R),] used instead of فِعَالُ (IY,R), as أَبْطَالُ , أَعْرَابُ , أَخْلَاقُ , and أَسْمَاءُ [146,235] : Labīd says .

تَهْدِي أَوْ أَتْلَهُنَّ كُلَّ طَيْبَةٍ * جَرْدَاءَ مِثْلِ هِرَاوَةِ الْأَعْرَابِ
(IY) *Whose van shall be led by every fleet mare, short-haired, like the mare Hirāwa of the unmarried men, as though they used to borrow this mare to go hunting on, or like the staff of the herdsmen going far afield with their camels to pasture* (Dw). But فُعْلَانُ and فِعْلَانُ , like إِخْوَانُ and ذُكْرَانُ , are because أَخٌ and ذَكَرٌ are used as substantives ; so that they are like خِرْبَانُ *male bustards* and حَبْلَانُ *lambs* [237] : and similarly [فُعْلُ and فِعْلُ , like] نَصْفُ and نَصْفُ , because نَصْفٌ *middle-aged* is like a substantive, and is reckoned by S among sub-

stantives ; so that they are like أُسْدٌ and أُسْدٌ [237,246], according to him (R). The broken *pls.* of فَعَلٌ are (1) أَفْعَالٌ, as أَنْكَادُ (IY,R), while Jr transmits أَفْرَاحُ (IY) : (2) [فَعَالٌ, as] وَجَاعُ (IY,R) and فِرَاحُ : the poet says

وَجُوهُ النَّاسِ مَا عُمِرَتْ بِيَضٌ * طَلِيقَاتٌ وَأَنْفُسُهُمْ فِرَاحُ

The faces of men, so long as thou art preserved alive, are white, cheerful ; and their spirits are joyful (IY) :

(3) فَعَالِي, as وَجَعَى (IY,R) : (4) وَجَاعَى (R) : (5)

خُشْنٌ, as فُعَلٌ (IY) : (6) فُعَلَى, which is rare, as خُشْنُ

(R). The broken *pl.* of فَعَلٌ is أَفْعَالٌ, as أَيَقَاطُ (IY,R) and أَنْجَادُ (R) : the poet [AlKumait Ibn Zaid (MN,EC) alAsadi (MN)] says

لَقَدْ عَلِمَ الْأَيْقَاطُ أَخْفِيَةَ الْكَرَى * تَزُجُّجَهَا مِنْ حَالِكٍ وَأَتْنَحَاهَا

(IY) *Assuredly the wakeful as to the coverings of drowsiness, meaning the lids of the eyes, have known their being adorned and anointed with black* [collyrium] (MN,EC) :

يَقْطُ and نَجْدُ are said to be the only two words of this *cat.* that have a broken *pl.*, the remainder being pluralized with

the sound *pl.* : and AAsh transmits يَقْطُ *pl.* يَقَاطُ, like سَبْعُ *pl.*

سَبَاعُ in the substantive [237]; but the truth is that يَقَاطُ is *pl.* of يَقْطَانُ, because فَعَالٌ is prevalent in [the *pl.* of]

أَفْجَابُ [250] (R). The broken *pl.* of فَعَلٌ is أَفْعَالٌ, as أَجْنَابُ

(IY,R) ; but some of the Arabs put جُنُبٌ always into

the *sing.*, as *وَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ جُنُبًا فَاطَّهَّرُوا* V. 9. *And, if ye be unclean, purify yourselves*, making it an *inf. n.* [143] (IY). The commonest of these *pls.* is *أَفْعَالٌ*, because it is applied to all [the formations of (IY)] the *eps.*, [vid. *أَشْيَاخٌ*, *فُعْلٌ*, *فُعْلٌ*, *فُعْلٌ*, *فُعْلٌ*, *فُعْلٌ*, and *فُعْلٌ* (IY),] as *أَجْنَابٌ*, *أَيْقَاطٌ* and *أَنْكَادٌ*, *أَبْطَالٌ*, *أَحْرَارٌ*, *أَجْلَافٌ* *فِعَالٌ*, because it is applied to 3 [formations (IY)] of them, [vid. *وَجَاعٌ*, *حِسَانٌ*, and *فِعْلٌ* (IY),] as *صِعَابٌ*, while the rest of the *pls.* are equal (IY,R). As for the remaining paradigms of the [*tril.*] *eps.* [368], they are (1) *فُعْلٌ*, as *حُطَمٌ* and *خُتَعٌ* [*skilful guide* (Jh)] ; (2) *فِعْلٌ*, as *بِدٌ* *prolific she-ass* and *يَلِرٌ* *stout woman*, there being no other ; (3) *فِعْلٌ*, as *سَوَى* and *عِدَى*, there being no other : and no broken *pl.* has been heard in them, *أَعْدَاءٌ* being *pl.* of *عَدُوٌّ*, like *أَفْلَآءٌ* *pl.* of *فَلَوٌ* [246], not of *عِدَى* (R). The [sound (SH)] *pl.* [with the و and ن (M)] is allowable in all [of these *eps.* (M)] that denote *rational males* [234] (M,SH); nay, is the rule [above] (IY), as *صَنْعُونَ*, *صَعْبُونَ*, *حَذِرُونَ*, *حَذِرُونَ* (IY),] *حَسَنُونَ*, *نَذِسُونَ* *intelligent*, and *جُنُبُونَ* (M) : the poet says

قَالَتْ سُلَيْمَى لَا أَحِبُّ الْجَعْدِينَ * وَلَا السِّبَاطَ إِنَّهُمْ مَنَاتِين
Sulaima said, I love not the frizzly-haired men, nor the tank-haired : verily they are stinkers [252] (IY). And as

for [the *pl.* of (M)] their *fem.*, it is with the **ا** and **ت**, not otherwise, as **عَبَلَاتٌ**, [**عَلَجَاتٌ** (IY), **حُلَوَاتٌ** (M),], **حَذِرَاتٌ**, and **يَقْطَاتٌ**, except the paradigm of **فَعْلَةٌ**, [all of (R)] which, [says S (R),] receives the broken *pl.* **فَعَالٌ**, as [**جَعَادٌ** (M,R),] **كِبَاشٌ** *quick, sharp*, and **عِبَالٌ**, [because this formation occurs so frequently that they allow themselves to vary it (IY,R) in the *pl.* (R)] ; while they say **عَلِمَ** in the *pl.* of **عَلَجَةٌ** (M, SH), because they treat it as a substantive, like **كِسْرَةٌ** *pl.* **كِسَرٌ** [238] (IY,R). S says that **فَعْلَةٌ**, as **حَسَنَةٌ**, is pluralized upon the measure of [**فَعَلَاتٌ**, as] **حَسَنَاتٌ**, and not of **فَعَالٌ**, except when its *masc.* is pluralized upon that measure, as you say **حَسَنٌ** and **حَسَنَةٌ**, *pl.* **حَسَانٌ** ; but not **بَطَلَةٌ** *pl.* **بِطَالٌ**, since you do not say **بَطَلٌ** *pl.* **بِطَالٌ** : and therefore every *ep.* upon the measure of **فَعْلٌ**, which is pluralized [in the *masc.*] upon the measure of **فَعَالٌ**, is pluralized in the *fem.* also upon that measure ; so that this saying of S is contrary to the saying of [Z followed by] IH (R). [See §. 251.]

§ 240. The *fem.* [*tril. n.* (IY)] quiescent in the medial, [upon the measure of **فَعْلَةٌ** (IY), **فَعْلَةٌ**, or **فُعْلَةٌ**,] is either a substantive [238] or an *ep.* [239]. When it is a substantive, its **ع**, in the [sound (AAz)] *pl.*, is, when sound [below], (1) vocalized with (a) Fath

{for alliteration to the vowel of its ف (AKB)] in the [measure] pronounced with Fath of the ف, as جَمَرَاتٌ ; (b) Fath [for alleviation (IY)] or Kasr [for alliteration (IY)] in the [measure] pronounced with Kasr of the ف, as سِدْرَاتٌ [17,238] ; (c) Fath [for lightness (IY)] or Damm [for alliteration (IY)] in the [measure] pronounced with Damm of the ف, as غُرَفَاتٌ : (2) sometimes made quiescent, (a) by poetic license in the first, [though some say that this is a *dial. var.* (IY)] ; (b) in a case of choice in the remaining two, in the *dial.* of Tamīm (M), as سِدْرَاتٌ and غُرَفَاتٌ (IY). The Kur has II. 162. [434], and the poet [‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Umar Ibn ‘Amr al‘Arjī (MN)] says

بِاللَّهِ يَا طَبَيَّاتِ الْقَاعِ فُلْنِ لَنَا * لَيْلَايَ مِنْكُمْ أَمْ لَيْلَى مِنَ الْبَشَرِ
(Aud) (*I adjure you*) *by God, O doe-gazelles of the plain, say ye to us, Is my Lailā one of you, or is Lailā one of mortals ?* (MN) : while the saying [of an Arab of the desert, of the Banū ‘Udhra (MN),]

وَحَبِلْتُ زَفَرَاتِ الضُّحَى فَاطَّقْتُهَا * وَمَا لِي بِزَفَرَاتِ الْعِشِيِّ يَدَانِ
[*And I was laden with the sighs of the early forenoon, and was able to bear them ; but I have not hands, i. e., strength, for the sighs of the late afternoon* (MN)] is a [pretty (Aud, MN, Sn)] poetic license (IA, Aud, A), as also is the saying of the [unknown (FA)] Rājiz فَتَسْتَرِيحُ النَّفْسُ أَلْحَ [537] (A) cited by Fr (MN), because the ع is some-

times made quiescent by poetic license even in the *sing.* and *masc.* (Aud, MN, Sn), as

يَا عَمْرُو يَا أَبْنَ الْأَكْرَمِينَ نَسَبًا

(Aud) O 'Amr, O son of the noblest in lineage (MN), so that its quiescence is more appropriate in the *pl.* (MN, Sn) and *fem.* because of their heaviness (Sn) ; and Dhu-rRumma says, [addressing himself (AKB),]

إِذَا قُلْتُ وَدَّعَ وَصَلَ خَرْقَاءَ وَأَجْتَنَّبَ * زِيَارَتَهَا تَخْلُقُ حِبَالَ الْوَسَائِلِ
أَبْتُ ذِكْرَ عَوْدِنَ أَحْشَاءَ قَلْبِهِ * خُفُوقًا وَرَفَضَاتِ الْهَوَى فِي الْفِصَاصِ

(IY, R), and, in some MSS of the R, [as in the IY,] أَنْتَ, though I have not seen it in the MSS of the Diwān [of Dhu-rRumma], of which I possess (and to God be the praise !) four MSS, *When thou sayest, "Bid farewell to meeting with Kharḳá, and shun visiting her : (if thou shun visiting her,) thou wilt wear out the cords of the ties," memories refuse, or come, that have accustomed the sides of his heart to throbbing, while the loosenesses of love are in the joints* (AKB) ; and the other says *أَوْ تَسْتَرِيحُ النَّفْسُ* or the soul will find rest etc. [537] (IY) ; and, says IJ, LabId says

رُحِّلْنَ لِشَقَّةٍ وَنَصَبِنَ نَصَبًا * لَوَغَرَاتِ الْهَوَاجِرِ وَالسُّبُومِ

(AKB) *That* (referring to camels) *were saddled for a long journey, and were urged to their utmost pace for the intense heats of the noons and the hot wind* (Dw). And [the saying of the poet (S)]

فَلَمَّا رَأَوْنَا بَادِيَا رُكَبَاتِنَا * عَلَى مَوَاطِنٍ لَا نَخْلُطُ الْجِدَّ بِأَهْوَالِ
And, when they saw us in such a state that our knees were showing, on a battle-ground wherein we mingle not earnestness with jest has been (S,IY) heard by us (S) recited [with the ع of رُكَبَاتٍ] pronounced with Fath (IY) ; and in II. 16. [440] HB reads ظَلَمَاتٍ with quiescence of the ل (K). But, when unsound, the ع is made quiescent, as بَيْضَاتٌ , جَوَارَاتٌ , دِيَمَاتٌ , and دُرُلَاتٌ , except in the *dial.* of Hudhail (M), who pronounce [the ع of فَعْلَةٌ in the *pl.* (AKB)] with Fath (IY, AKB), which, IJ declares, is not a poetic license ; while, according to others than Hudhail, Fath is a poetic license (AKB). The K̤ur has ثَلَاثُ عَوْرَاتٍ لَكُمْ XXIV. 57. [(*They are*) *three times of exposing the person for you* (K,B)] and XLII. 21. [238] (IY) : while the poet [of Hudhail (M,A)] says, [describing his he-camel (MN,Jsh,Sn),]

أَخُو بَيْضَاتٍ رَأْتُمْ مُتَأَوِّبٌ * رَفِيقٌ بِمَسَمِ الْمُنْكَبَيْنِ سَبُوحٌ

(M,R,A) (*My he-camel in the swiftness of his journeying is like the male ostrich, who is) a possessor of eggs, going [home to his nest (Jsh)] at night, journeying in the beginning of the night, clever at moving the two shoulders in journeying, stretching the fore-legs in running* (MN, Jsh,Sn) ; and ثَلَاثُ عَوْرَاتٍ لَكُمْ XXIV. 57. [above] is [anomalously (R, Sn)] read (R,A) in their *dial.* (A) by

AlA'mash (K) ; but that is rare, the first being the [pronunciation] frequently used (IY). The condition that the ع should be sound [above] is meant to exclude two things, (1) the reduplicated, as جَنَّةٌ , جَنَّةٌ , and جَنَّةٌ , in [the *pl.* of] which the ع is only made quiescent, [because vocalization would necessarily involve dissolution conducive to heaviness (Sn)] : (2) that [substantive] whose ع is an unsound letter, which is of two kinds, (a) a kind in which the unsound letter is preceded by a vowel homogeneous [with it], as تَارَةً , دِيمَةً , and دَوْلَةً , [in the *pl.* of] which [the ع] remains in its state [of quiescence] ; (b) a kind in which the unsound letter is preceded by a Fatha, as جَوْرَةً and بَيْضَةً , in [the *pl.* of] which there are two *dials. vars.*, the *dial.* of Hudhail being alliteration, and the *dial.* of others being quiescence (A). The ع in such as جَوْرَاتٌ and بَيْضَاتٌ , according to Hudhail, is not converted into ا only because the vowel in the *pl.* is accidental [684] , as the , of خَطَرَاتٌ preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm is not converted into ي because the Damma is accidental. If نَعْلَةٌ be unsound in the ع , which is only a ي , either *rad.*, as in بَيْعَةٌ , or converted, as in دِيمَةٌ [685] , alliteration is not allowable by common consent ; nor Fath, except by analogy to the *dial.* of Hudhail. And, if نَعْلَةٌ be unsound in the ع , which is only a , as in سُورَةٌ , allitera-

tion is not allowable by common consent : while, by analogy to the *dial.* of Hudhail, Fatḥ is allowable, as in رَوَّضَاتٌ and بَيَّضَاتٌ, because they account for it by the lightness of Fatha upon the unsound letter, and by its being accidental [684] ; but S says (R), "You do not vocalize the , " (S,R) in دُولَاتٌ (R) "because it is second" (S), though he apparently means "with Damṃ" (R). As for the [substantive] unsound in the ل [below], such as غَدَوَاتٌ and قَرِيَّةٌ, you treat it like the sound, as غَدَوَاتٌ and قَرِيَّاتٌ (IY) : but they disallow alliteration [in the *pl.* (Sn)] of such as ذُرَّةٌ and زَبِيَّةٌ, [because Kasra before the , and Damma before the ي are deemed heavy ; and there is no dispute about that (A),] the Kasr [of the , in جَرَوَاتٌ transmitted by Y as *pl.*(A)] of جَرَوَاتٌ being [extremely (A)] anomalous (IM) : while it is understood from the language of IM that quiescence and Fatḥ are allowable in such as ذُرَّةٌ and زَبِيَّةٌ, which he expressly declares in the CK ; and that the three *dial. vars.* are allowable in such as خُطَوَاتٌ and لَحِيَّةٌ, though some of the BB disallow alliteration in such as لَحِيَّةٌ, because it involves a succession of two Kasras before the ي, and IM follows them in the Tashīl. It is understood from his language that quiescence is not allowable in such as دَعْدٌ [241] or جَفَنَةٌ unrestrictedly, [i. e. whether it be unsound in the ل or not,

and whether it be a *quasi-ep.* or not (Sn)] : but in the Tashīl he excepts the unsound in the ج [above], as طَبِيبَاتٌ, and the *quasi-ep.*, as أَهْلَاتٌ [241], allowing quiescence in both of them as matter of choice (A). In the *ep.*, however, [as جُلُفَةٌ, ضَخْمَةٌ, and حُلْوَةٌ (A),] the ع is always made quiescent (M,A) in the *pl.* (Sn), whether the ف be pronounced with Fath, Kasr, or Damm (AAz), as عِبَلَاتٌ [239] (IY), because the *ep.* is heavy [248] by reason of [its] derivation [142] and [consequent] assumption of the *pron.* [26] (Sn) : and it is vocalized in لَجَبَاتٌ (IY,AAz,A) and رَبَعَاتٌ (AAz,A), the *pl.* of لَجْبَةٌ and رَبْعَةٌ (M,A), only because they are, as it were, *orig.* substantives, which are used as *eps.*, as they say امْرَأَةٌ كَثْبَةٌ a depraved woman and لَيْلَةٌ غَمٌّ a murky night (M), meaning دَنِيَّةٌ and مُظْلِمَةٌ ; or (IY) because some of the Arabs say لَجْبَةٌ (IY,A) and رَبْعَةٌ (A) : while a people of Kuraish are named الْعَبَلَاتُ because their mother's name was عَبْلَةٌ, and the *ep.*, when used as a name, becomes excluded from the predicament of the *ep.*, and is pluralized as a substantive [239], for which reason they say الْأَحَاوِصُ [249] (IY) ; and كَهَلَاتٌ [transmitted by AHm (A) as *pl.* of كَهْلَةٌ (R,Sn),] is extraordinary, [because it is an *ep.* (A)] ; and is not to be copied, contrary to the opinion of Ktb (R,A). The ع of the *ep.* is made quiescent, while the ع of the substantive is pronounced with Fath, only for the sake of distinction, the *ep.* being more fit for quiescence because of its heaviness [248], by reason of its requiring the qualified and of its resembling the *v.*,

on which account it is one of the causes of diptote declension [17,18] (R).

§ 241. The predicament of the *fem.* which contains no ة [264] is like [the predicament of (IY)] that which contains the ة [240] ; they say دَعَدَاتُ (IY), أَرَضَاتُ, and أَهْلَاتُ [below] in the *pl.* of [دَعْدُ a woman's name (IY),] أَرَضُ, and أَهْلُ, as says the poet [AlMukhabbal asSa'di, describing, says Am, the gathering of the Banu Minkar and other clans of Sa'd round Kais Ibn 'Asim alMinkari, their chief (AKB),]

فَهُمْ أَهْلَاتُ حَوْلَ قَيْسِ بْنِ عَاصِمٍ * إِذَا أَدْلَجُوا بِاللَّيْلِ يَدْعُونَ كَوْتَرًا
[Then they are kinsfolk around Kais Ibn 'Asim. When they journey by night, they call upon a bountiful lord, i. e. they sing his praise to the camels (AKB)] ; and they say عُرْسَاتُ and عَيْرَاتُ [below] in the *pl.* of عُرْسُ and غَيْرُ, as says AlKumait, [praising the family of the Apostle of God (AAz),]

*
عَيْرَاتُ الْفَعَالِ وَالسُّودِ الْعِدِّ إِلَيْهِمْ مَحْطُوطَةُ الْأَعْكَامِ

(M) The camels carrying provisions of generosity and inexhaustible princeliness are unloaded of the burdens beside them, إِلَيْهِمْ says IH, being dependent upon مَحْطُوطَةُ because it implies the sense of وَاصِلَةٌ arriving (AAz). أَهْلَاتُ, however, is *pl.* of أَهْلَةٌ with the ة, not, as Z thinks, of أَهْلُ, which is a *masc.* pluralized with the,

and ن , as وَلِي دُونَكُمْ أَهْلُونَ أَلْحَ [234] ; for, since they qualify with it, they treat it as an *ep.* in the affixion of the ة of femininization for distinction [265], saying رَجُلٌ أَهْلٌ a *worthy man* and امْرَأَةٌ أَهْلَةٌ a *worthy woman*, as says the poet [Abu-ṭṬamahān alKainī (AKB)] وَأَهْلَةٌ وَدٌ قَدْ تَبَرَّيْتُ وَدَهُمْ * وَأَبْلَيْتُهُمْ فِي الْحَصْدِ جَهْدِي وَنَائِلِي [And (many) a (جَمَاعَةٌ company) *worthy of love have I applied myself to gain the love of, and have I conferred my diligence and my bounty upon in praise!* (AKB)] ; and, since they say in the *masc.* أَهْلٌ and أَهْلُونَ and in the *fem.* أَهْلَةٌ and أَهْلَاتٌ, it resembles فَعْلَةٌ in the *eps.*, so that they make its second [*rad.*] quiescent, saying أَهْلَاتٌ [240], as they do in the rest of the *eps.*, as عَبَلَاتٌ ; while some of the Arabs say أَهْلَاتٌ, pronouncing the second with Fath, as they pronounce it in أَرْضَاتٌ, because أَهْلٌ is a substantive-like أَرْضٌ, although it resembles the *ep.* (IY) : and عَيْرَاتٌ, *pl.* of عَيْرٌ, [which is *fem.* (A),] is anomalous (R,A), according to others than Hudhail (R), analogy requiring the ع to be made quiescent, because its *sing.* is unsound in the ع and pronounced with Kasr of the ف [240] (Sn).

§ 242. In the [*tril.*] unsound in the ع, they abstain from [forming] (1) أَفْعَلٌ (M,SH) from these 10 paradigms [of the *sing.*] mentioned [237], whether the hollow [*tril.*] be of the *cat.* of the , or ع (R), the *pl.* of paucity

طَرَنَ انْقِطَاعَهُ اَوْتَارٍ مُحَضَّرَةٍ * فِي اَنْفُسٍ نَارَعَتْهَا اَيْمُنٌ شَمَلًا
 [246] *They flew at a starting of strings firmly fastened*
on bows that right hands strove to pull away from left
hands (IY) ; the Rājiz [Ma'ruf Ibn 'Abd ArRaḥmān, or,
as is said, Humaid Ibn Thaur (MN),] says

كَأَنَّهُمْ أَسِيفٌ بَيْضٌ يَمَانِيَّةٌ * عَضْبٌ مَضَارِبُهَا بَاقٍ بِهَا الْأَثَرُ
(Aud) As though they were white Yamānī swords, whose
edges are sharp, the scar left by which is lasting (MN) :

though some distinguish between the *masc.* and *fem.*, making the *pl.* of the *masc.* أَفْعَالٌ, as أَبْوَابٌ, and the *pl.* of the *fem.* أَفْعُلٌ, as أَدْوَرٌ and أَنْوَرٌ (1Y); [for] Y says that أَفْعُلٌ is [regular as (R)] the [broken (S)] *pl.* of [paucity in (S)] فَعْلٌ, when *fem.* (S,R) without a ة, as it is regular in [the *pl.* of] فَعَالٌ and فَعِيلٌ when *fem.* [246] (R) : but that is not universal, according to S, nor regular, as is proved by أَنْيَابٌ (1Y) : S says, Nay, أَفْعُلٌ is anomalous in فَعْلٌ [237], even though it be *fem.* (R) ; and, if it were [regular (R) only because of the feminization (S)], they would not say أَرْحَاءٌ, [أَرْحَاءٌ according to those who make قَفَا *fem.* (S),] أَقْدَامٌ, and أَفْنَامٌ (S,R) : (2) فُعُولٌ in [the *cat.* of (1Y,R)] the و, not the ي (M,SH), the *pl.* of multitude being then [mostly (R)] فَعَالٌ, as حَيَاضٌ [713] (1Y, R), سَيَاطٌ (1Y), and ثِيَابٌ (R), on account of the Damma upon the unsound letter together with the و, of the *pl.* (1Y), because Damma upon a و, followed by a و, is deemed heavy in the *pl.*; though not in the *inf. n.*, as غُرُورٌ [683,714] and سُورٌ; whereas in فَعَالٌ the word is lightened by conversion of the و, into ي (R) : while [such as (M)] فُرُوجٌ [*pl.* of فَرْجٌ (R)] and سُورُوقٌ [714] are anomalous : (3) فَعَالٌ in [the *cat.* of (1Y,R)] the ي, not the و, (M,SH), in the whole of the paradigms [of the *sing.*] mentioned [237] (R), the *pl.* [of multitude] being then [mostly (1Y)] فُعُولٌ (1Y,R), as بُيُوتٌ and شُيُوخٌ [239,714] (1Y), like

فُيُوجَ *couriers*, [*pl.* of فَيْحَ (Jh), which is Persian (Jh, Jk), not genuine Arabic (Jk), arabicized (Jh, KF) from يَمِك (KF),] and سُيُولَ (R), in order that the *cat.* of the ي may not be confounded with that of the و (IY), because, if بَيَات were said, like حَيَاض [above], the *cat.* of the و would be confounded with that of the ي (R), since the و in نَعَال passes into ي [713]; while the Damma [on the ع in نُعُول] is lighter with the ي than with the و (IY). The initial of [نُعُول, when its ع is a ي, like] الْغُيُوبَ [247] in the saying of Ka'b

قَرَمَى الْغُيُوبَ بِعَيْنَيَّ مُفَرَّدَ لَهَقٍ * إِذَا تَوَقَّدَتِ الْحِرَّانُ وَالْبَيْدُ

That [referring to the عُدَانَةُ mentioned in a previous verse cited in § 253] *throws upon the hiding-places two eyes (in keenness of sight like the two eyes) of a (wild bull) separated (from his son), a white bull, even when the rugged grounds and the huge heaps of sand glow with heat, (and the eyes are dazzled,) may be pronounced with Kasr, in order that it may become light, and may approximate to the ي; and Kasr is read among the Seven in such as بُيُوتَ, [which IAl, Warsh, and Ḥafs read with Damm of the ب in II. 185, and the remainder with Kasr (B),] and عُيُونُ, [which Nāfi', IAl, Ḥafs, and Hishām read with Damm of the ع wherever it occurs, and the remainder with Kasr (B on XV. 45),] and غُيُوبَ,*

[which Abū Bakr and Ḥamza read with Kasr of the *ع* wherever it occurs (B on V. 108)] : though Zj mentions that most of the GG do not recognize this ; and that, according to the BB, it is very corrupt, because there is no *فَعُولٌ* in Arabic : while F points out, as evidence of its allowability, that in the *dim.* of *بَيْتٌ*, *عَيْنٌ*, and the like the initial may be pronounced with Kasr, S being one of those who transmit that, although *فَعِيلٌ* is not one of the formations of the *dim.* [274] (BS). Fr holds that *أَفْعَالٌ* is regular in the *فَعْلٌ* whose *ف* is a Hamza, as *أَلْفٌ* ; or *ا*, as *وَهُمْ* : and IM shows by his language in the CK that he agrees with Fr in the second ; for he says that *أَفْعَالٌ* is more frequent than *أَفْعُلٌ* in the *فَعْلٌ* whose *ف* is *ا*, as *أَوْقَاتٌ pl. رَقَاتٌ*, *أَوْصَافٌ pl. رَصَفٌ*, *أَوْقَافٌ pl. رَقَفٌ*, and *أَوْهَامٌ pl. رَهْمٌ*, because, deeming the Damm of the *ع* of *أَفْعُلٌ* heavy after the *و*, they deviate to *أَفْعَالٌ*, as they deviate to it in the *فَعْلٌ* whose *ع* is unsound ; and that, as *أَتُوبُ* and *أَعِينُ* are anomalous in the [*فَعْلٌ* whose *ع* is] unsound, so *أَوْجُهُ* is anomalous in the *فَعْلٌ* whose *ف* is *ا* : these are his very words : then he says that the reduplicated *فَعْلٌ* is like the *فَعْلٌ* whose *ف* is *ا*, in that *أَفْعَالٌ* is more frequent in its *pl.* than *أَفْعُلٌ*, as *أَعْمَامٌ pl. عَمٌ*, *أَرْبَابٌ pl. رَبٌ*, *أَجْدَادٌ pl. جَدٌ*, *أَفْنَانٌ pl. فَنٌ* : these also are his words (A).

§ 243. In *فُعُولٌ* and *أَفْعُلٌ* from the [*tril.*] unsound in the ل, [as *دَلُّو*, *حَقُّو* and *جَرُّو* (IY) or *جَرُّو* or *جَرُّو* (Jh, KF),] they say *أَدَل* [244, 685, 721] (M), *أَحَقِي*, *أَجِر* whence

*لَيْثٌ هَزَبَرٌ مُدَلٌّ عِنْدَ خَيْسَتِهِ * بِالرَّقَمَتَيْنِ لَهُ أَجِرٌ وَأَعْرَاسٌ*

(IY), by Mālik Ibn Khālid alKhunā'i, *A lion, mighty, bold, at his den in ArRaḡmatān, having whelps and mates* (DH), and *أَيِد* [260]; and *دَلِّي* [237, 685, 722] and

دَمِي [260] (M), and similarly *عَصِي* pl. of *عَصَا* (IY):

and they say *نَحَرُو* [722] and *قَنَرُو*, [according to the o. f. (IY)]; though conversion [of the و into ي] is more frequent:

and sometimes the initial [of *فُعُولٌ*] is pronounced with Kasr, as *دِلِّي*, [*عِصِي* (IY),] and *نِجِي*;

while [*قُسِي* or (IY)] *قُسِي* bows [transposed from *قُرُوسٌ*,

its measure being *فُلُوعٌ* transposed from *فُعُولٌ* (IY),] is, as

it were, constructively pl. of *قَسُو* [transposed from *قُوسٌ*

(M), the و in it being then converted into ي, as in *دَلِّي*

pl. of *دَلُّو* (IY). The pls. of *فَتَي* are *فَتِيَّةٌ*, *فَتِيَّانٌ*, *فَتَو*

[upon the measure of *فُعُولٌ* (Jh)], and *فَتِي*, like *عِصِي*

(Jh, BS): the two first are in the Book of God, *وَقَالَ لِفَتَيَانِهِ*

And he said to his young men [not traceable in the Kur, though *فَتِيَّةٌ* occurs in XVIII. 12. and *الْفَتِيَّةُ* in XVIII. 9.,]

and *وَقَالَ لِفَتَيَانِهِ* XII. 62. *And he said to his young men*;

but the third is anomalous, because its o. f. is *فَتَوِي*

upon the measure of ^{مأ}فُعُولُ , [the ل of فُتِيَ being ا ي , as is proved by فُتَيَانِ (229) (T),] so that they ought to charge its , into ي , and incorporate it into the ي (BS) : Jadhīma [Ibn . Mālik Ibn Fahm {atTanūkhī (AKB)} alAzdi, {the last of the Kings of Kuḏā'a at AlHira (AKB),} called AlWaddāḥ (The Fair) and AlAbrash (The Speckled) in allusion to his being leprous (MN,AKB),] says

فِي فُتَيٍّ أَنَا رَابِثُهُمْ * مِنْ كَلَالِ غَزْوَةٍ مَاتُوا

(Jh,BS), as Jh [followed by IHsh] quotes this verse (AKB), which comes after رُبَّيَا أَرَفَيْتُ آلَاحِ [505,612] (MN), *Among youths that I was the scout of, that died, i. e., endured terrors and hardships, from the fatigue of a foray ; or*

فِي فُتَيٍّ أَنَا كَالِثُهُمْ * فِي بَلَايَا عَوْرَةٍ بَاتُوا

as Amd says, *Among youths that I was the guard of, that passed the night in the trials of a dreaded breach in a frontier* (AKB) : and the counterpart of it in anomalousness is فُتَيَّةٌ in the *inf. n.* (BS) : S says that they anomalously substitute the , in the *pl.* and *inf. n.* (Jh). فُعُولٌ is irregular as *pl.* of the فُعْلٌ unsound in the ل (Aud) : the regularity of فُعُولٌ as *pl.* of فُعْلٌ is subject to the condition that its ل be not ا ي (A), as in مَدَى a *measure of capacity* used in Syria and Egypt [237] ; while نُشِي [with Damm of the ن and Kasr of the Hamza

(Sn), or نَتَّى (Jh, KF), orig. نَوْرَى (Sn),] pl. of نَوْرَى is anomalous, as

حَلَّتْ إِلَّا أَيَّاصِرَ أَوْ نَتَّى

(Aud, A) *It has become desolate, except short ropes used to fasten the bottom of the tent to the pegs, or shallow trenches dug round the tent to prevent the rain-water from coming in* (Sn).

§ 244. The [tril. substantive (IY) نَعْلَةٌ (R)] curtailed of the ل , [and containing the ة (M) of feminization (IY),] is pluralized (l) with the و , and ن , [as a reparation for what is elided from it (R),] its initial being (a) [sometimes (IY, R)] altered (M, R) by pronouncing with Kasr what is pronounced with Fath or Damm [in the sing.] (R), as سُنُون and قُلُون ; (b) [sometimes] unaltered, as ثُبُون and قُلُون (M) : (a) the ف in the cat. of سَنَةٌ [234], when pronounced with Fath [in the sing. (Sn)], is pronounced with Kasr in the pl., as سُنُون ; and, when pronounced with Kasr [in the sing. (Sn)], is not altered in the pl., as مَثُون : this being the chastest [usage] ; while سُنُون [234], مُرُون , and غُرُون are transmitted : and, when pronounced with Damm [in the sing. (Sn)], is pronounced with Kasr or Damm [in the pl. (Sn)], as ثُبُون and قُلُون (A), Damm being, in my opinion, preferable in the nom., [as ثُبُون ,] for affinity to the و , and for avoidance of the transition from Kasr [of the ف] to Damm [of the ع] ; and Kasr in the acc. and gen., [as ثُبِين ,] for affinity to the ي , and for avoidance of the transition from Damm [of the ف] to

Kasr [of the ع] (Sn) : (2) with the ا and ت, the ل being (a) restored, as سَنَوَاتٌ and عِصْرَاتٌ [234] ; (b) not restored, as نُبَاتٌ and هَنَاتٌ (M,R) : (a) Jr says that the pl. with the ا and ت denotes *few*, and with the , and ن denotes *many*, so that they say هَذِهِ نُبَاتٌ قَلِيلَةٌ *These are few companies* and ثُبُونٌ كَثِيرٌ *many companies* ; but I see no foundation for that : (b) they sometimes pluralize with the ا and ت what they do not pluralize with the , and ن, saying طُبَاتٌ and سِيَاتٌ [pl. of سِيَةٌ *a curved part of a tip of a bow*, the s in the sing. being a compensation for the , (Jh)], but not طُبُونٌ [below] nor سِيُونٌ ; and in that is a proof that the pl. with the ا and ت is the o.f. in these ns., because you pluralize with the ا and ت all of them that you pluralize with the , and ن, but do not pluralize with the , and ن all of them that you pluralize with the ا and ت (IY) : (3) upon the measure of أَفْعَلٌ [in paucity (IY)], as آمٌ, [orig. آمُو (IY,R),] like أَكْمٌ [238] (M,R), the , being converted into ي, and the Damma into Kasra, as in أَذِلٌ [243] (IY,R) and أَجِرٌ (IY), and the ي being [then] elided, as in قَامِصٌ [16] (R) ; while in multitude they say إِمَاءٌ [238], as they say إِكَامٌ : but they do not say آمُونٌ, as they say سِنُونٌ, because it has a broken pl., and [in this cat.] the pl. with the , and ن is only a compensation for the broken pl. (IY) ; while طُبُونٌ [with

Damm and Kasr (KF),] *pl.* of ظَبَّةٌ *an edge* of an arrow-head, and of a sword, [and of a spear-head (T, KF) and the like (KF), or, as is said (T), *an end* of a sword (Jh, T), and of an arrow-head (Jh), or, as AFR mentions, *a striking-place* of a sword, and, when حَدّ *an edge* is *pre.* to it, *a whole sword*, or its *striking-place* (T), as in

تَعَارَوْا أَيْمَانَهُمْ بَيْنَهُمْ * كُوسَ الْيَمَانِيَا بِحَدِّ الظُّبِيَا

by Ka'b (Jh) Ibn Malīk, describing the day of Uḥud, *Their right hands interchange among them the cups of the fates with the edge of the swords* (SR),] is anomalous, because it has broken *pls.* أَظْبِى and ظَبَى [243] (A), orig. أَظْبُو, like أَرَجُلٌ [235, 237], its ل being a و (Sn) ; nor do they say أَمَوَاتٌ, as they say سَنَوَاتٌ, because they dispense with that by availing themselves of آم, since it likewise is a *pl.* of paucity (IY).

§ 245. The [broken (IY)] *pl.* of the [unaugmented (IA, A)] *quad.* [n. (IA)] is upon the measure of [only (IY) one paradigm (M)] نَعَالٌ (M, R, IA, A), in paucity and multitude [235] (IY, R), whether the *quad.* [392] be a substantive or an *ep.*, bare of the ة of femininization or not bare (M), as [فَعَالِبٌ *foxes* and سَلَاهِبٌ *long* (679), دِرَاهِمٌ *dirhams* and هَجَارِعٌ *tall* (679) (M),] بَرَائِنٌ *claws* (M, IA, A) and جَرَّاشِعٌ *huge* [camels (IY)], صَفَادِعٌ *frogs* and خَضَارِمٌ [*pl.* of خَضِيرٌ *a sea having much water and a boun-*

tiful man (IY)], and قَمَاطِرُ (M) *pl.* of قَمْطَرُ a book-case,

whence the saying of the poet

لَيْسَ بَعْلِمَ مَا يَبِى الْقَمْطَرُ * مَا أَعْلَمُ إِلَّا مَا وَعَاةُ الصَّدْرِ

What the book-case stores up is not knowledge : knowledge

is not aught but what the breast has stored up (IY) and

سَبَاطِرُ (M,A) *pl.* of سَبْطَرُ (IY, A) *stretched out* (IY) at the spring, said of a lion (Jh, KF), [or] *sharp-tongued*, as in

the KF (Sn), [which, however, has] *sharp-witted* (KF) :

and similarly, [as is said, in multitude (R),] when it con-

tains the 3 of feminization, as زَرَادِمُ *pl.* of زَرْدَمَةٌ a wind-

pipe and (IY)] جَبَاجِمُ *pl.* of جَبْجَمَةٌ a skull, [because the

3 is an *aug.* that drops off in the formation of the broken *pl.* (IY)] ; while, in paucity, it is pluralized with the 1

and ت as زَرْدَمَاتُ and (IY)] جَبْجَمَاتُ (IY,R). The mea-

sure of this [*pl.*], then, is فَعَالِلُ , because its letters are all

of them *rad.* [253] (IY)]. The broken *pl.* of the *quin.*

[*n.* (IY)] is disapproved (M, SH), like its *dim.* [274] (SH),

from dislike to the elision of any of the *rad.* (IY, R),

these two formations being practicable only (MASH) by

elision of its 5th [*rad.*] (SH) : and its broken *pl.*, if it have

one, does not exceed this paradigm after elision of its 5th

[and last letter, the last being elided for two reasons,

because the *pl.* is complete by the time it is reached, so

that there is no place for it, and because the last letter

is what makes the word heavy, so that, but for the 5th, it

would not be heavy (IY)], as *فَرَزْدَقُ* [a collective generic n. (Sn), meaning *lumps of dough* (Jh, IKhn, Sn), AlFarazdak being so called (Jh, IKhn), says IKb, because he was *rough in the face*, having been attacked by small-pox in his face, which remained *rough, puckered* (IKhn),] *pl.* *فَرَاذِدُ* , [*سَفَرَجُلُ* quince, *pl.* *سَفَارِجُ* (IY),] and *جَحْمَرِشُ* decrepit, *pl.* *جَحَامِرُ* (M) ; and similarly, in the whole of the *quin.*, you elide the *J* , and form it upon one of the paradigms of the *quad.*, as *جَعْفَرُ* [392], *زَبْرَجُ* , and the like, and then pluralize it in the same way as the *quad.* (IY). IM intimates by his saying "And, from an unaugmented *quin.*, the last remove by rule" that the [broken] *pl.* of the unaugmented *quin.* [401] is upon the measure of *فَعَالُلُ* regularly, its 5th being elided, as *سَفَارِجُ pl.* of *سَفَرَجُلُ* [above], *فَرَاذِدُ pl.* of *فَرَزْدَقُ* , and *خَدَارِنُ pl.* of *خَدَرْنَقُ* a spider (IA). The 4th of the [unaugmented (IA)] *quin.*, however, if *quasi-aug.*, [in form (A),] as being one of the letters of augmentation [671], like the *ن* of *خَدَرْنَقُ* , or [in source (A),] as being from the same source [732] as one of the letters of augmentation, like the *د* of *فَرَزْدَقُ* [below], may be elided, the 5th being retained, as *خَدَارِنُ* and *فَرَارِنُ* ; though [elision of the 5th, and retention of the 4th, as (IA)] *خَدَارِنُ* and *فَرَارِنُ* , are (IA, A) more frequent (IA) [and] better (A). They say *فَرَارِنُ* as *pl.* of *فَرَزْدَقُ* [above], elid-

ing the و [for two reasons], because it is [*quasi-aug.*, as being] from the same source as the ت [732], which is one of the letters of augmentation [671], and because it is near the end (IY) : whereas, if the 4th be not *quasi-aug.*, it may not be elided, so that سَفَرَجَلٌ is not allowable as *pl.* of سَفَرَجَلٌ, [because the ج, though near the end, is not *quasi-aug.*] (IA) ; while جَحَاشٌ is not said as *pl.* of جَحَاشٌ, because the م, [though *quasi-aug.*, as being one of the letters of augmentation,] is far from the end (IY). This is the opinion of S ; while Mb says that only the 5th is elided, خَدَارِقُ and فَرَارِقُ being wrong ; and the KK and Akh allow elision of the 3rd, as though they regarded it as easier, because the ا of the *pl.* takes its place, so that they say فَرَادِقُ and خَدَانِقُ (A). The [unaugmented *quad.* or] *quin.* n., when it is a proper name, receives the sound *pl.* [with the و and ن], as [جَعْفَرُونَ and فَرَزْدَقُونَ] (IY) ; and [similarly when it is an *ep.* of a rational being, so that (IY)] دَهْشُونَ *easy-tempered*, هَجْرَعُونَ *tall* [and *slight* (KF)], and صَهْلَقُونَ *clamorous* [234] are said : and [the *quad.* and *quin. ns.*, when they contain the ة of femininization, are pluralized in paucity with the ا and ت, as (IY)] سَفَرَجَلَاتٌ *colocyths*, بُهْصَلَاتٌ *short women*, سَفَرَجَلَاتٌ *quinces* [234], and جَحَاشَاتٌ *decrepit* [234] (M), جَحَاشٌ *a decrepit old woman* being pluralized with the ت, because

it is *fem.*, though there is no sign [of feminization] in it (IY).

§ 246. Having finished the unaugmented *tril.*, [*quad.*, and *quin.*, Z followed by] IH commences the augmented [*tril.*], of which those kinds that have a broken *pl.*, according to what he mentions, are four [in number], because the augment is either a letter of prolongation [246-248] or a Hamza at the beginning [249], or an *ā* and *ū* at the end [250], or a quiescent *ū* second [251] : and, if it be a letter of prolongation, it is either second [247], or third [246], or fourth [248], or fifth [247, 248] ; and he gives precedence to the *tril.* whose augment is a letter of prolongation, third, because it involves many discussions. It is either a substantive or an *ep.* (Jrb). The [augmented *tril.*] substantives [of 4 letters (IY)], whose augment is third [374], a letter of prolongation, have 11 [or rather 12] paradigms in the [broken (IY)] *pl.*, (1) أَفْعَلَةٌ ; (2) فُعْلٌ ; (3) فِعْلَانٌ ; (4) فَعَائِلٌ ; (5) فُعْلَانٌ ; (6) أَفْعَلَاءٌ ; (7) أَفْعَالٌ ; (8) فِعَالٌ ; (9) فُعُولٌ ; (10) أَفْعَلَاءُ ; (11) أَفْعَلٌ ; [(12) فَوَاعِلٌ] (M). The substantives of this formation that have a broken *pl.* are of 5 formations, (1) فَعَالٌ, like رَمَانٌ ; (2) فِعَالٌ, like حَبَابٌ ; (3) فُعَالٌ, like غُرَابٌ ; (4) فَعِيلٌ, like رَغِيفٌ ; (5) فُعُولٌ, like عُمُودٌ (IY). The [broken] *pls.* of فَعَالٌ are, (1) in paucity, أَفْعَلَةٌ, [univers-

ally (R), when فَعَال is *masc.* (IY),] as آمِنَةٌ , [آمِنَةٌ (R),
 أَقْدَلَةٌ (IY),] and أَقْدَنَةٌ ; while it is sometimes used in mul-
 titude also, as آمِنَةٌ and آمِنَةٌ : (2) in multitude, (a) [فُعْلٌ ,
 mostly, as (R)] قُدُلٌ and فُدُنٌ (IY,R) ; while, if you like,
 you abbreviate it, in the *dial.* of Tamīm [below], by mak-
 ing the ع quiescent (R): (b) فُعُولٌ , as عُنُقٌ [below] (IY) :
 (c) فِعْلَانٌ , as غِرْلَانٌ ; though it is not a normal form [in
 the *pl.*] of فَعَالٌ , but is an assimilation of فَعَالٌ to فُعَالٌ , like
 غِرْبَانٌ and حِيرَانٌ , *pls.* of غُرَابٌ and حُورَابٌ [below] (R). The
 [broken] *pls.* of فِعَالٌ are the same as those of فَعَالٌ in
 paucity and multitude : so that you say أَحْمِرَةٌ [and أَحْمِرَةٌ
 (IY)] in paucity ; and حُمُرٌ , خُمُرٌ , and أُزُرٌ (IY) in multitude
 (IY,R), while فُعْلٌ is sometimes abbreviated among Tamīm ;
 and sometimes the *pl.* of multitude supplies the place of
 the *pl.* of paucity, as جُدُرٌ and كُتُبٌ : and فِعْلَانٌ occurs, as
 صِرَانٌ *pl.* of صَوَارٌ a herd of wild cattle, [فَعَالٌ] being made
 to accord with فَعَالٌ (R) : and they say شِمَائِلٌ (IY,R),
 upon the measure of فَعَائِلٌ (IY), because شِمَالٌ is *fem.*, in the
 sense of يَدٌ a hand ; while the regular *pl.* is اشْمَالٌ , like أَذْرُعٌ
 [below] ; but, فَعَائِلٌ being the *pl.* of فَعَالَةٌ [below], شِمَالٌ ,
 since the ة is supplied in it [264], is treated as though the
 ة were expressed in it (R). The [broken (S,IY)] *pls.* of

فُعَالٌ are, (1) in paucity, (a) أَفْعَلَةٌ , أَفْعَرَةٌ , أَخْرَجَةٌ (S,IY,R), أَفْعَلَةٌ (S,R), أَفْعَلَةٌ , أَفْعَلَةٌ (S) ; while أَفْعَلَةٌ is sometimes the only *pl.* used, [in paucity and multitude (R),] as أَفْعَلَةٌ (S,R); but they do not say أَفْعَلَةٌ (S,IY) : (b) فَعْلَةٌ , as (IY) غَلْمَةٌ , which is a substitute for أَفْعَلَةٌ (S,IY,R), as أَفْعَلَةٌ is for أَفْعَلَةٌ (S), because of their resemblance in denoting *paucity* and in form (R) ; while [the proof that غَلْمَةٌ is a substitute for أَفْعَلَةٌ is that (R)] in the *dim.* it is [sometimes (IY)] restored to the regular form, as أَفْعَلَةٌ [286] (IY,R) :

(2) in multitude, (a) فُعْلَانٌ , [the normal form (R),] as غُرَبَانٌ , [خُرَجَانٌ (S,R), بَغْتَانٌ (S),] غُلْمَانٌ (S,IY,R), ذُبَّانٌ (S,R), and حَيْرَانٌ (S), because, as is said, when the ا , which is *aug.*, is elided, فُعَالٌ becomes, as it were, فُعَلٌ , as غُرَبٌ and غُلْمٌ , like صُرْدٌ and جُرْدٌ , where they say صِرْدَانٌ and جِرْدَانٌ [237] (IY) : (b) فُعْلَانٌ , in two words only (R), خُرَّانٌ , [which some say (S),] and رُقَّانٌ , [which we have heard the Arabs say (S),] *pls.* of حَوَارٌ [above] and رُقَاتٌ : (c) فُعَلٌ , as فُعَلٌ *pl.* of قُرَادٌ , [like جُرْدٌ *pl.* of جِدَارٌ (R),] فُعَلٌ [with Damm (R)] being made to accord with فُعَالٌ [with Kasr, because of the affinity of the two vowels ; but it is rare, extraordinary (R)] ; and like it is [the saying of some (S)] ذُبٌ [below] (S,R), *orig.* ذُبُّبٌ , the incorporation being based upon the practice of the Banū Tamīm in abbrevi-

ating such as عُنُق (R) ; while in سَوَّر those who say سَوَّار a bracelet agree with those who say سَوَّار [711] (S): (d) فَوَاعِل, anomalously, as دَوَاخِنُ and عَوَائِنُ, pls. of دُخَانُ smoke and its syn. عُتَانُ, which have no third (R). The [broken (S,IY)] pls. of فَعِيلُ are, (1) in paucity, (a) أَفْعَلَةٌ, as أَغْفَةٌ, أَجْرَبَةٌ (S,IY,R), أَكْتَبَةٌ (S,IY), أَقْلَبَةٌ (S), and أَفْرِقَةٌ (R), and similarly, in the reduplicated, أَجْرَةٌ, أَسْرَةٌ, [and أَجْنَةٌ (Jb,KF),] and, in [the unsound in the J belonging to] the cats. of the ي and و, أَفْرِقَةٌ and أَسْرِيَّةٌ [247], but not أَصْيِيَّةٌ [below] (S) ; (b) فَعْلَةٌ, as (IY) صَبِيَّةٌ (S,IY,R), like غَلِمَةٌ [above] (IY), being a substitute for أَصْيِيَّةٌ [above] (S,R), as we said of غَلِمَةٌ, for which reason its dim. is أَصْيِيَّةٌ [286] (R) ; (c) أَفْعَالٌ, as أَيَمَانٌ (IY) ; (d) أَفْعُلٌ, anomalously, the masc. فَعِيلٌ being made to accord with the fem. [below], as

حَتَّى رَمَى مَنجَهُوْلَةً بِأَلَاجِنٍ

Until he accused a maiden of having young ones in the womb (R) : (2) in multitude, (a) فَعْلٌ (S,IY,R), regularly (IY), when فَعِيلٌ is a substantive or quasi-substantive (Mb), as رُغْفٌ (S, Mb, IY,R), قُلُبٌ (S), قُصَبٌ (Mb, IY, R), كُتُبٌ (S, IY), عُصَبٌ (S), عُصَبٌ (S, R), صُلُبٌ, and أُمُلٌ noun-

tains of sand (S), and [similarly (Mb), in the reduplicated (S),] ^{سُرُرٌ} [below] (S, Mb, R), ^{جُدُدٌ} *new* [below], because it follows the course of substantives, and ^{جُرُرٌ} *ropes* (Mb) ; (b) ^{فُعْلَانُ} , [regularly (IY), as commonly as ^{فُعْلٌ} (R),] as ^{رُغْفَانُ} , ^{كُتْبَانُ} (S, IY, R), ^{جُرْبَانُ} (S), ^{قُضْبَانُ} (IY, R), ^{فُضْلَانُ} , ^{عُرْمَانُ} (IY), ^{حُرَّانُ} , ^{قُرْيَانُ} , and ^{سُرْيَانُ} (S) ; (c) ^{أَفْعَلَاءُ} , [seldom (S, R),] as ^{أَنْصِبَاءُ} , ^{أَخْبِسَاءُ} (S, IY, R), and ^{أَرْبَعَاءُ} (S), as though they assimilated it to the *ep.*, where they say ^{أَشْقِيَاءُ} and ^{أَتَقِيَاءُ} [below] (IY), though ^{أَسْرِيَاءُ} has not been heard as *pl.* of [the substantive] ^{سَرِيٌّ} (Jh) ; (d) ^{فُعْلَانُ} , which also is rare, ^{فُعَيْلٌ} here being [as it were (IY)] assimilated to ^{فُعَالٌ} , as (S, IY) ^{ظُلْبَانُ} *male ostriches* and ^{عِرْمَانُ} *he-goats*, [both transmitted by Th (R),] ^{قُضْبَانُ} (S, IY, R), ^{بُضْلَانُ} (S, IY), which we have heard some of them say (S), ^{صِنْيَانُ} , and ^{حِرَّانُ} said by some as *pl.* of ^{حَرِيرٌ} *rugged ground* (S, R), though here Damm is better known ; (e) ^{فِعَالٌ} , as (R) ^{فِصَالٌ} (S, R), and similarly (S) ^{إِفَالٌ} (S, IY), by assimilation to [^{فُعَيْلٌ} in (R)] the *ep.* [below] (S, R) ; (f) [^{فَعَائِلٌ} , as] ^{أَفَائِلٌ} (S, IY, R) and the like, the *masc.* ^{فُعَيْلٌ} being made to accord with ^{فَعِيكَةٌ} [below] (R), as they say ^{شَمَائِلٌ} [above]. And they say ^{أَدَمٌ} [257] and

أَفَقٌ ; but these are *quasi-pl. ns.*, not broken *pls.* of the *sing.* (IY). The broken *pls.* of فَعُولٌ are, (1) in paucity, (a) أَفْعَلَةٌ (IY,R), as أَعْبِدَةٌ [237], أَخْرِفَةٌ, and أَتَعِدَّةٌ ; (b) أَفْعَالٌ, as أَفْلَاءٌ (IY) : (2) in multitude (IY,R), (a, b) فُعْلٌ and فِعْلَانٌ, mostly (R), [as] عُمْدٌ, عُنْدٌ, and قُدْمٌ, and [as] خِرْقَانٌ, قِعْدَانٌ, and عِتْدَانٌ (IY), except in the defective belonging to the *cat.* of the , [below] (R) ; (c) [فَعَاتِلٌ, as] ذَنَاتِبٌ [below]. All of these [*pls.*] upon the measure of فُعْلٌ may be made quiescent [in the medial] for abbreviation, as كُنْتُ for كُنْتُ, and رُسُلٌ for رُسُلٌ [711]. This is the *dial.* of Tamim [247], who say that every [medial] *orig.* mobilized may be made quiescent for abbreviation ; while it is transmitted from Akh that every فُعْلٌ in the language may be mobilized [in the medial], except what is an *ep.*, as حُمُرٌ [248,249], or unsound in the ع, as سُوقٌ [237] : but the 1st, [i. e., quiescence of the ع in فُعْلٌ,] is allowable in prose ; and the 2nd, [i. e., mobilization of the ع in فُعْلٌ,] only in poetry. Thus (1) أَفْعَلَةٌ is regular in paucity, being common to the 5 formations, (a) فَعَالٌ, as آزَمِنَةٌ ; (b) فِعَالٌ, as أَحْبِرَةٌ ; (c) فُعَالٌ, as أَغْرِبَةٌ ; (d) فَعِيلٌ, as أَرْغِفَةٌ ; (e) فَعُولٌ, as أَعْبِدَةٌ : (2) فُعْلٌ is regular in multitude, occurring in the 5 paradigms, (a) فَعَالٌ, as قُدُلٌ *pl.* of قَدَالٌ, which is the *back* of a horse's

head, where the head-stall is fastened, [behind the fore-lock (Jh,KF)] ; (b) فَعَالٌ , as حُمْرٌ ; (c) فَعَالٌ , as قُرْدٌ ticks ; (d) فَعِيلٌ , as كُتُبٌ sand-heaps ; (e) فَعُولٌ , as كُتُبٌ books : (3)

فَعْلَانُ also occurs in the 5 paradigms, (a) [فَعَالٌ , as] غِرْلَانُ ; (b) [فَعَالٌ , as] صِيرَانُ pl. of صَوَارٌ a herd of [wild] cattle [above] and a musk-bag, as says the poet

إِذَا لَاحَ الصَّوَارُ ذَكَرْتُ لَيْلَى * وَأَذْكُرُهَا إِذَا نَفَحَ الصِّوَارُ

When the herd of wild cattle appears, I remember Lailà ; and I remember her when the musk-bag wafts its odour,

combining the two [senses] ; (c) فَعَالٌ , as غِرْبَانٌ ; (d) فَعِيلٌ , as ظِلْمَانٌ ; (e) فَعُولٌ , as قَعْدَانٌ : (4) فَعَائِلٌ occurs in

2 formations, (a) فَعِيلٌ as أَفَائِلُ young camels ; (b) فَعُولٌ , as دَنَائِبُ buckets full, [or, says ISk, nearly full, of water (Jh)] :

(5) فُعْلَانُ is [found] in 2 formations, (a) فَعَالٌ , as رُقَانٌ ; (b) فَعِيلٌ , as قُضْبَانٌ : (6) فَعْلَةٌ [257] also is [found] in 2 formations,

(a) فَعَالٌ , as غُلْمَةٌ ; (b) فَعِيلٌ , as صَبِيَّةٌ : (7) أَفْعَالٌ is [found] in 2 formations, (a) فَعِيلٌ , as أَيْمَانٌ [below] ; (b) فَعُولٌ , as أَفْلَاءٌ

colts [below] : (8) فَعَالٌ occurs in only one paradigm, فَعِيلٌ , as فَصَالٌ young weaned camels [below] : (9) فَعُولٌ also is [found]

in one paradigm, فَعَالٌ , as عُنُقٌ she-kids [below] : (10)

أَفْعِلَاءٌ also occurs in one formation, فَعِيلٌ , as أَنْصِبَاءٌ : (11)

أَفْعَلٌ [below] is not used as a pl. except for what is fem.

(IY) ; while, in the *masc.*, اَعْتَدَ *pl.* of عَتَادُ *apparatus*, اَطْعَلُ *pl.* of طَعَالُ *spleen* [264], اَغْرَبُ *pl.* of غَرَابُ *raven*, اَجْنُنُ *pl.* of جَنِينُ [above], and the like, [as اَشْهَبُ *pl.* of شَهَابُ *flame* (Sn),] are extraordinary : (12) فَوَاعِلُ also occurs anomalously in [one paradigm, فَعَالُ, as] دَوَاخِنُ (A). اَفْعُلُ occurs [only (M)] in the *fem.* (M,R) exclusively (M), whether the *fem.* be upon the measure of فَعَالُ, فِعَالُ, or فُعَالُ (IY,R), as اَعْنُقُ [and اَتْنُ (Jh,KF),] اَذْرَعُ [and اَشْمُلُ (Jh,KF)], and اَعْقِبُ (M) and اَكْرَعُ (Jh,KF) ; while اَلْسُنُ is said because, لِسَانُ having two *dial. vars.*, *fem.* and *masc.*, he that makes it *fem.* says اَلْسُنُ, and he that makes it *masc.* says اَلْسِنَةُ (IY) : and اَمْكُنُ [255] is anomalous (M,R), مَكَانُ being *masc.* ; but is allowed because the مَكَانُ *place* is اَرْضُ *ground*, which is *fem.* (IY) ; and اَرْمَنُ may be like it, being *pl.* of رَمَانُ, not of رَمْنُ [234, 237] : while اَفْعُلُ is allowable as *pl.* of these two, only because they are made to accord with the *fem.* فَعَالُ, notwithstanding their being *masc.*, as the *fem.* شِمَالُ bare of the ة is made to accord (1) with the [*fem.* فَعَالُ] containing the ة, as رِسَالَةٌ, so that شِمَائِلُ [above] is said, like رَسَائِلُ [below] ; and (2) with the *masc.* فَعَالُ also, so that شَمْلُ is said, as فِى اَقْوَسِ نَارَعَتِهَا اَلْح [242] : and as

the *fem.* فَعَالٌ, like عَقَابٌ, is made to accord with the *masc.*, like غُرَابٌ, so that عِقْبَانٌ is said, like غِرْبَانٌ (R).

And for that reason they say عُنُقٌ [above] in multitude, because فُعُولٌ and أَفْعُلٌ follow one another in the *tril.*, as فَلُسٌ, *pls.* أَفْلُسٌ and فُلُوسٌ [237] (IY) : there is a *prov.* أَلْعُنُقُ بَعْدَ النَّوْقِ *She-kids after she-camels*, applied to him that is reduced to want after wealth ; and similarly they say سُبَى [below] as *pl.* of سَمَاءٌ meaning *rain*, because it is *masc.* and *fem.*, and أَصَابَتْنَا سَمَاءٌ *Rain fell on us* is said, i. e., مَطَرٌ (R) : and sometimes they say عُنُقٌ, contracting فُعُولٌ, as they say أُسْدٌ for أُسُودٌ [237] ; and sometimes it also is abbreviated, so that they say عُنُقٌ [237], as they say أُسْدٌ (IY). And the *fem.* فَعِيلٌ bare of the ة is like the *fem.* of the three mentioned [242], as يَمِينٌ *pl.* [and طَرِيقٌ *pl.* أَطْرُقُ (KF)] ; and sometimes the broken *pl.* of يَمِينٌ is أَيْمَانٌ also [above], because أَفْعُلٌ and أَفْعَالٌ share many *cats.* of the *tril.* in common, like أَفْرَخٌ and أَفْرَاحٌ [237] (R) : while فَعَائِلٌ *pl.* of فَعِيلٌ of this class, [i. e., *fem.* without any sign expressed (Sn),] does not occur, so far as I know, as [*pl.* of (Sn)] a generic substantive ; but, according to analogy, it would be *pl.* of a *fem.* proper name, like سَعَائِدُ *pl.* of سَعِيدٌ *Sa'id* when a woman's name (A). The [broken *pl.* of the] *fem.*

فَعُولٌ is فَعَاتِلٌ, as دَنَائِبٌ, [قَدَائِمٌ, and قَلَائِصُ (Jh, KF)] ; and sometimes فُعْلٌ, [as قُدْمٌ and قُلُصٌ (Jh, KF)] : so that فَعُولٌ in the *fem.* is different from فِعَالٌ and فَعِيلٌ when *fem.*, being co-ordinated in the *pl.* with فَعُولَةٌ [below], because it is heavier than its fellows on account of the و (R). فُعْلٌ, as نُقٌّ *pl.* of نَقَقٌ a noisy female frog [248], is confined to hearsay (A). As for دُنُوبٌ *pl.* اَذْنِبَةٌ, it [is because دُنُوبٌ] has two *dial. vars.*, *masc.* and *fem.* ; so that he that makes it *masc.* says اَذْنِبَةٌ, while he that makes it *fem.* says دَنَائِبٌ : and it is related that, when ['Amr Ibn Sha's (K on LI. 59), or rather] 'Alkama [Ibn 'Abada (Mb, AAz, N, FDw) at Tamimi (FDw),] said [to AlHārith Ibn Abī Shamir, {or, as others say, Shimr, and, as some say, Shamr (Akh),} alGhassānī, to whom his brother Sha's {Ibn 'Abada (Mb)} was a prisoner (Mb, N), having been taken prisoner by him at the battle of 'Ain Ubāgh (Mb), or, as IAr says, Abāgh (Bk), or, as others say, Ibāgh (Akh), between Ghassān led by AlHārith and Lakhm led by AlMundhir Ibn Mā asSamā, who was killed on that day, while Lakhm were put to flight, and pursued by Ghassān to AlHīra with great slaughter (AF),]

وَبَيَّ كُلِّ حَيٍّ قَدْ خَبَطْتَ بِنَعِيَةٍ * فَحَقَّ لِشَأْسٍ مِنْ نَدَاكِ دُنُوبٌ

[And upon every tribe hast thou lavished bounty. Then

a portion of thy largesse has been found due to Sha's (AAz,N)], he [the king (Mb,K) AlHārith (N)] said [بَلْ أَذِنَبْ Yea, and portions (Mb,K,N), or] نَعَمْ وَآذِنَبْ Nay, portions, and set his brother Sha's [and the whole of the prisoners of the Banū Tamīm (N)] free, and was liberal to him (IY). As regards the regularity of فَعَلَ, however, there is [according to some authorities] no difference between the *masc.* and *fem.*, as قَدَّالٌ *pl.* قُدِّلَ [and أَتَانُ a she-ass, *pl.* أَتْنُ (A) or أَتْنُ (Jh,KF)], حِمَارٌ *pl.* حُمُرٌ IA,A) and ذِرَاعٌ a forearm, *pl.* ذُرْعٌ, [قُرْدٌ *pl.* قُرَادٌ (S)] and كُرَاعٌ *pl.* كُرْعٌ [below], قَصِيبٌ a branch or wand, *pl.* قُصْبٌ, [طَرِيقٌ a road, *pl.* طَرِيقٌ (Jh,KF)], and عَمُودٌ a pillar, *pl.* عُمُدٌ (IA), and قَلُوصٌ a young she-camel, *pl.* قُلُوصٌ [above], فَعَلَ being regular in both of them (A); and it is deducible from this, together with what has passed, that أَفْعَلَةٌ and فَعَلَ are regular in the *masc.*, as قَدَّالٌ, [قُرَادٌ, حِمَارٌ], قَصِيبٌ, and عَمُودٌ; and أَفْعَلٌ and فَعَلَ in the *fem.*, as عَنَاتِي [and أَتَانُ], [and ذِرَاعٌ], except in نَعُولٌ, as قَلُوصٌ, where أَفْعَلٌ is replaced by فَعَّاتِلٌ as a regular *pl.*] (MKh). The looseness of IM's language here seems to imply that فَعَلَ is regular in فَعَّالٌ; and so he clearly states in the CK, since he gives قُرَادٌ *pl.* قُرْدٌ and كُرَاعٌ *pl.* كُرْعٌ [above] as

exs. of the regular ; and he is followed by [his son BD,] the [earliest] Commentator [after IM himself upon the *Alfiya*] : but he mentions in the *Tashīl* that *فُعِّلَ* is extraordinary in *فُعِّلَ*, which is the truth ; so that *غُرِبَ* is not said as *pl.* of [the *masc.*] *غُرِبَ*, nor *عُقِبَ* as *pl.* of [the *fem.*] *عُقِبَ* (A). *فُعِّلَ* does not occur in (1) the reduplicated (M) : (a) the *pl.* of the reduplicated, in paucity and multitude, is only *أَفْعِلَةٌ*, as *أَكِنَّةٌ* coverings (IY), *أَعِنَّةٌ* reins, and *أَخِلَّةٌ* toothpicks (IY, R), because they deem the reduplication heavy, while incorporation is not allowable (R) : (b) the reduplicated of *فَعِيلَ*, however, sometimes occurs upon the measure of [*فُعِّلَ*, like (Jrb)] *سُرْرٌ* [above] (SH) ; and AZ and AU relate that some people pronounce the ع of *سُرْرٌ* [731] with Fath, saying *سُرْرٌ*, though Damm is better known (R) : [for] in the reduplicated exclusively a Fatha may be substituted for its [second] Damma, because the reduplication is deemed heavy ; while, Fatha being lighter than Damma, one may deviate to it for the sake of alleviation, saying *جَدَدٌ*, [حَزَزٌ] (KF), and *سُرْرٌ* ; and some of the Readers read *عَلَى سُرْرٍ مَوْضُونَةٍ* LVI.15. *Upon couches embroidered with gold* (Mb) : some of the Tamīmīs and Kalbīs, deeming Damm of the ع of *فُعِّلَ* too heavy in the reduplicated, put a Fatha in its place, saying *جَدَدٌ* [731] and *ذُكِّلٌ*, [the substantive and *ep.* being alike in that, according to them, as

IJ and Shl say (Sn)] ; so that, according to this *dial.* [248], **فَعْلٌ** is regular in this sort (A) : (c) as for the reduplicated, if its letter of prolongation be an ا, then **فَعْلٌ** is irregular in its *pl.*, as **عِنَانٌ** a rein, *pl.* **عُنُنٌ**, and **حَجَاجٌ** [with Fath or Kasr of the ح, the bone that the eyebrow grows upon (MKh),] *pl.* **حُجُجٌ**, the only instances heard ; but, if its letter of prolongation be anything else than an ا, then **فَعْلٌ** is regular in its *pl.*, as **سَرِيرٌ** a couch or throne, *pl.* **سُرُرٌ**, and **ذُلُولٌ** a riding-beast easy to manage, [though this seems to be an *ep.*,] *pl.* **ذُلُلٌ** (IA) : (d) such as (M) **ذُبٌّ** [above] is anomalous (M, SH), because **فَعْلٌ** ought not to be incorporated (R) ; and the *pl.* of **ذُبَابٌ** in paucity is **أَذْيَةٌ**, and in multitude **ذِبَابٌ** [above] : AnNābigha [adhDhubyāni] says

أَنَاثِمُ أَمْ سَامِعُ ذُو الْقَبَّةِ * الْوَاهِبُ النَّوْقَ الْهَجَانَ الصَّلْبَةَ
ضَرَابَةً بِأَلِشْفَرِ الْأَذْيَةِ

Is the Lord of the Pavilion sleeping or listening, the giver of the hardy white, or thorough-bred, she-camels, wont to strike the flies with the lip? (Jh, IY) : (2) the unsound in the J (M), such as **سَيَاءٌ** [and **دَوَاءٌ**], **كِسَاءٌ** and **رَدَاءٌ** (IY) : (a) the [broken] *pl.* of the defective **فَعَالٌ**, like **سَيَاءٌ** meaning {sky, or heaven, and (Jh)} rain and **دَوَاءٌ**, and similarly of the defective **فَعَالٌ**, whether they be of the cat. of the و, or ي (R),] is only **أَفْعَلَةٌ** in paucity and multitude, as **أَسِيَّةٌ**

(IY,R) and اَدْوِيَّة (R). اَدْوِيَّة and اَدْوِيَّة (IY), from dislike to the alteration that the formation of فُعُول would lead to, since, if they said سُم and دُو, like اَدُول [243], the *pl.* of multitude would be of [only] two letters (R) ; though سَمَاء, when it means *rain*, takes the broken *pl.* سُمِي [above] in multitude, which is فُعُول treated like عَصِي and دُلِي [243] (IY) : while [Ns says in the Commentary on the Evidentiary Verses of S, quoting from Akh, and similarly IJ says in the Commentary on the Taṣrīf of Mz, the wording being IJ's, that (AKB)] the poet [Umayya Ibn Abi-ṣSalt 'Abd Allāh athThaḳaḫī (AKB)] in his saying

لَهُ مَا رَأَتْ عَيْنُ الْبَصِيرِ وَفَوْقَهُ * سَمَاءٌ أَلَالِهِ فَوْقَ سَبْعِ سَمَاوِيَا
 [To Him, i. e., our Lord, belongs what the eye of the seer has seen ; and above it is the empyrean, or throne, of God above seven heavens, departs from established usage in three ways, because he (AKB),] (a) gives سَمَاء *sky* or *heaven*, [here meaning the عَرْش (AKB),] the *pl.* فَعَائِل (Jh, AKB), assimilating it 'to' شَمَال *pl.* شَمَائِل [above] (AKB), as you give سَحَابَة the *pl.* سَحَابَات (Jh) ; whereas the *pl.* [of multitude] known in it is only سُمِي upon the measure of فُعُول, like عُنُق *pl.* of عَنَاق, because سَمَاء *sky* or *heaven* is *fem.*, as عَنَاق a *she-kid* is (AKB) ; (b) restores it to the *o. f.* (Jh), [i. e.] retains the Hamza supervening in the *pl.* notwithstanding that the J is unsound [726]

(AKB) ; (c) does not pronounce [it] with Tanwīn [in the *gen.*], as جَوَارٍ [18,720] is pronounced, but pronounces the last *ي* with Fath, because he treats it like the sound [in the *ل*], which is diptote [17] (Jh) ; [so that he] treats the *ي* in سَبَائِي like the *ب* in صَوَارِبَ, pronouncing it with Fath in the position of the *gen.* (AKB), as you say مَرَرْتُ بِصَحَافٍ يَا فَتَى *I passed by letters, O youth* (Jh) : all of this is from the Uṣūl of IS, except that IJ has expanded what IS has summarized (AKB) : (b) the normal form of [broken *pl.* in] the defective فَعُولُ belonging to the *cat.* of the , [above] is أَفْعَالٌ, as أَفْعَالٌ [239,255] and أَفْعَالٌ [below] ; and فَعُولُ occurs, though rarely, as فُلِي with Damm or Kasr of the ف [243] ; but they do not say فَعُولُ with two Dammās, because of what we mentioned in the *cat.* of سَبَاءٌ and دَوَاءٌ ; and فَعْلَانُ also, like فِلَوَانُ, does not occur, because it is deemed heavy (R). As for the unsound in the ع , (1) if it belong to the *cat.* of the , [as خَوَانٌ *a table* and رَوَاقٌ *a portico*, its broken *pl.* in paucity is أَفْعَالٌ, like that of the sound, as أَخُونَةٌ and أَرْوَقَةٌ : while in multitude (IY)] the ع [of its *pl.* فَعُولُ] is made quiescent, [according to the *dial.* of the Banū Tamīm (IY),] as خُونٌ [and رَوَقٌ , orig. خُونٌ and رَوَقٌ (IY), because the Damma on the , is deemed heavy (R)] ; but sometimes the poet, being

constrained, restores [it to (R)] its o. f. [of Ḍamm (R)],
as [says 'Adī (IY) Ibn Zaid (AAz)]

قَدْ حَانَ لَوْ صَحَوْتَ أَنْ تُقْصِرَ * وَقَدْ أَتَى لِمَا عَهَدْتَ عُمْرَ

عَنْ مُبَرِّقَاتِ بَالْبُرَيْنِ وَتَبَدُّوْ فِي الْأَكْفِ اللَّامِعَاتِ سُرُورَ

[711] (IY, R) *It has grown time, if thou hadst come to thy senses, that thou shouldst desist, when time has exhausted that pristine vigor which thou knewest, from the love of women brilliant with anklets, and of those on the arms of whose gleaming hands appear bracelets, i. e.* تَبَدُّوْ

وَاللَّائِي تَبَدُّوْ, the *āl* in *الْأَكْفِ* being i. q. the pron. [599], or rather *and* such that on the arms of *their* gleaming hands appear bracelets, an instance of the coupling of the aor. to the act. part., to which the pret. also is sometimes coupled, as *وَالْعَادِيَاتِ مُبْعَا فَاَلْمُرِّيَّاتِ قَدْ حَا فَاَلْمُغِيرَاتِ صُبْحَا*

C. 1-4. *By those horses of the warriors that run panting, and that produce fire striking, and whose people make a sudden raid upon the foe at daybreak, etc.* [538] (AAz); and an [additional] ex. of Ḍamm of the ع in metric exigence is the saying

أَغْرُ الثَّنَائِيَا أَحْمُ اللَّيْثَاتِ * يُحَسِّنُهَا سُوكُ الْأَسْحَلِ

(A) *She is white in the front teeth, dark-red in the gums, which tooth-sticks of the tamarisk beautify* (MN): (2) if it belong to the cat. of the ي, as عِيَانُ a ploughshare, [its

predicament is that of the sound : so that in paucity *أَعْيَنَ* is said : while in multitude (IY) the *ي* is [left (R)] pronounced with Damm, as *عَيْنٌ*, [like *بَيْضٌ* *pl.* of *بَيْوَضٌ* *laying many eggs* (R),] because the Damma on the *ي* is not so heavy as on the *و* ; but those [of the Banu Tamim (R)] who abbreviate, [saying *رُسُلٌ* for *رُسُلٌ* (IY),] say *عَيْنٌ*, as they say *بَيْضٌ* [711] (IY, R) for *بَيْضٌ* (IY). Such of these [substantives (IY)] as have the *ة* of feminization affixed to them, [which are upon the measure of *فَعَالَةٌ*, like *حَمَامَةٌ* and *دَجَاجَةٌ*, or *فَعَالَةٌ*, like *رِسَالَةٌ* and *عِمَامَةٌ*, or *فَعَالَةٌ*, like *ذَوَابَةٌ* and *دُبَابَةٌ*, or *فَعِيلَةٌ*, like *صَحِيفَةٌ* and *سَفِينَةٌ*, or *فَعُولَةٌ*, like *حَمُولَةٌ* and *رَكُوبَةٌ* (IY),] have two paradigms [of broken *pl.* (IY)], (1) *فَعَائِلٌ*, [which is the normal form (IY),] as *حَمَائِمٌ* [and *دَجَائِمٌ* (IY)], *رَسَائِلٌ* [and *عِمَائِمٌ* (IY)], *ذَوَائِبٌ* [and *دَبَائِبٌ* (IY)], *صَحَائِفٌ* [and *سَفَائِنٌ* (IY)], and *حَمَائِلٌ* [and *رَكَائِبٌ* (IY)] ; and (2) [sometimes (IY)] *فُعُلٌ*, [which is rare (S),] as *سُفُنٌ* (M) and *صُحُفٌ* : and in paucity are pluralized with the *ا* and *ت*, as *حَمَامَاتٌ*, *رِسَالَاتٌ*, *ذَوَابَاتٌ*, *صَحِيفَاتٌ*, and *حَمُولَاتٌ* ; though sometimes they say *ثَلَاثُ صَحَائِفَ* *three letters* and *رَسَائِلَ* *messages*, using this formation in paucity. The normal form in the [broken] *pl.* of these formations is *فَعَائِلٌ*, only because the Arabs want to distinguish between the *masc.*

and *fem.* of these formations, as they distinguish between the *pls.* of قَصْعَةٌ [238] and فَلْس [237], and of رَحْبَةٌ [238] and قَلَم [237]; and therefore treat the *aug.*, vid. the letter of prolongation, in them as equivalent to a *rad.*; so that these formations become like *quads.*, such as جُنْدُبُ a green locust and بُرْتَن [245, 392]; and therefore, as they say جَخَادِبُ and بَرَائِنُ, so they say حَمَائِمُ and رَسَائِلُ; because فَعَائِلُ follows the course of فَعَالِلُ, being like it in the number [of letters] and the [arrangement of] vowels; although the two differ in measure, the measure of جَخَادِبُ [248] and بَرَائِنُ being فَعَالِلُ, while the measure of حَمَائِمُ and رَسَائِلُ is فَعَائِلُ; because the 3rd letter of these formations, being an *aug.* letter of prolongation, is represented in the paradigm [of the broken *pl.*] by its like [converted into Hamza], while the 3rd [letter] of جُنْدُبُ, being a *rad.*, is represented in the paradigm [of the broken *pl.*] by the ج: and the letter of prolongation is converted into Hamza in the [broken] *pl.*, because the ا of حَمَامَةٌ, رَسَالَةٌ, and ذَوَابَّةٌ follows the ا of the broken *pl.*, and the ا of the broken *pl.* causes what follows it to be pronounced with Kasr, as in جَعَايِرُ [248], زَبَارِجُ, and بَرَائِنُ [245]; whereas the ا [of حَمَامَةٌ, etc.] is an *aug.* letter of prolongation, which has no share in any vowel; so that it is converted into the consonant nearest to it, whereby

its mobilization may become possible, vid. the Hamza, as حَمَاتِمُ , رَسَائِلُ , and دَوَائِبُ : while the ي of سَفِينَةٌ and the و of حُمُولَةٌ , being [also] *aug.* letters of prolongation, which have no share in any vowel, are made to accord in the [conversion into] Hamza with the ا in حَمَامَةٌ , رِسَالَةٌ , and دَوَابَّةٌ , since they are like it in augmentation and prolongation : for you do not convert such as the ي of مَعِيشَةٌ [717] into Hamza, but leave it in the *pl.* in its [original] state as a ي , saying مَعَايِشُ , because the ي in مَعِيشَةٌ is *rad., orig.* mobile ; and conversion of it into Hamza is corrupt, though explained and justified by the [apparent] resemblance [of مَعِيشَةٌ] to صَحِيفَةٌ and كِتَابَةٌ , whereas it is not [really] like them (IY). IM mentions in the Tashil that فَعَاكِلُ is also *pl.* of such as بَرَآكَةٌ [*steadiness in fight* (Sn)], قَرِيشَاءُ [*an excellent kind of dried dates and of full-grown unripe dates* (Sn)], and جَلُولَاءُ [*a town in the country of Persia* (Sn)] ; and apparently it is regular in what is commensurable with these words (A), because the prolonged ا of feminization is like its ى [248] (Sn). The *eps.* of this formation have 9 paradigms [of broken *pl.*], (1) فَعَاكَلَهُ ; (2) فَعُلُ [sometimes contracted into فَعُلْ] ; (3) فَعَالٌ ; (4) فَعْلَانُ ; (5) فَعْلَانُ ; (6) أَفْعَالُ ; (7) أَفْعَلَاءُ ; (8) أَفْعَلَةٌ ; (9) فَعُولُ (M). The [broken] *pls.* of فَعَالُ are

[of 3 formations (IY),] (1) **فَعْلٌ**, which is [pronounced by S to be (R)] regular in [the whole of (R)] **فَعَالٌ**, because, [says he (R),] it is like **فَعُولٌ** (IY, R) as respects qualification, number [of letters], and refusal of the ة of feminization (IY), as **جُدٌ** *niggardly* [men and (KF) women, and *droughty* years, and **صُنْعٌ** *skilful* women (IY)]; and [in the *cat.* of the , (R), in the unsound (IY) in the ع.] **فَعْلٌ**, [with quiescence of the ع (R),] as **نُورٌ** *modest* [711], **عُرُونٌ** *middle-aged*, [**جُودٌ** *liberal*, the ع being made quiescent for alleviation, because of the heaviness of the *Ḍamma* on the unsound letter (IY)] : (2) **فَعْلَاءٌ**, as **جَبَنَاءٌ** *cowardly* [247], **فَعَالٌ**, says S, being assimilated to **فَعِيلٌ** [below], because like it in qualification, measure, and augment, [the *aug.* in the two formations being a letter of prolongation and softness (IY)] : (3) **فَعَالٌ**, [rarely (R),] as **جِيَادٌ** *pl. of جَوَادٌ fleet* (IY, R), *masc. and fem.* (Jh), said of the horse or mare (R). **فَعَاتِلٌ** is not found in the *pl.* of the *fem.* **فَعَالٌ**, like **إِمْرَأَةٌ جَبَانٌ** *a cowardly woman*; but the *masc. and fem.* of **فَعَالٌ** are alike in the *pl.* (R) : while **إِمْرَأَةٌ جَبَانَةٌ** *a cowardly woman* is transmitted [from S (IY)]; and, according to this, it is not forbidden to pluralize **جَبَانٌ** with the , and ن (IY, R), and, in the *fem.*, with the ا and ت (IY).

The [broken (IY)] *pls.* of فَعَالٌ, [which is like فَعَّالٌ, the
 & of feminization not being affixed to its *fem.* (IY), like
 كِنَازٌ, which is of common gender (R),] as نَاقَةٌ كِنَازٌ [and
 جَمَلٌ كِنَازٌ (R)] a *she-camel*, [and *he-camel* (R),] *firm in*
flesh, [and similarly رَجُلٌ لِكَانٌ and اِمْرَأَةٌ لِكَانٌ a *man*, and
woman, *spare in flesh*, and جَمَلٌ دِلَاثٌ (R) and نَاقَةٌ
 دِلَاثٌ a *swift* [*he-camel* and (R)] *she-camel*, are [of 3
 formations (IY),] (1) فَعَّلٌ (IY, R) in most cases, like the
pl. of فَعَالٌ (R), as كُنُرٌ, [نُكْدٌ (S),] and دُلْتُ (IY) : (2)
 فَعَّالٌ, as هِجَابٌ [234] *thorough-bred*, [هَجَابٌ being *sing.*
 and *pl.* (IY),] according to Khl [and S (R)] ; so that you
 say هَذَا هِجَابٌ *This is*, [and هَذَانِ هِجَابَانِ *These two are*
 (R),] and هَؤُلَاءِ هِجَابٌ *These are, thorough bred*, فَعَّالٌ being
 here assimilated to فَعِيلٌ, and therefore taking the *pl.*
 فَعَالٌ ; while [Jr mentions that (R)] هَذَا هِجَابٌ and هَذَانِ
 هِجَابٌ and هَؤُلَاءِ هِجَابٌ are said, [the *sing.*, *du.*, and *pl.*
 being uniform (R),] because it is treated as an *inf. n.* :
 and [similarly (IY) there are the same two opinions upon
 (R)] دِلَاصٌ *glittering* (IY, R) as upon هِجَابٌ (R) ; and they
 say دِرْعٌ دِلَاصٌ a *glittering coat*, and دُرْعٌ دِلَاصٌ *glittering*
coats, of mail, دِلَاصٌ, when *pl.*, being the broken *pl.* of
 دِلَاصٌ, which is *sing.* (IY) : and ISd relates that some of the

Arabs say نُوقِي كِنَارُ *she-camels firm in flesh*, in the form of the *sing.* ; so that كِنَارُ is of the *cat.* of دَلَامٌ (A) : and [similarly, among substantives (R),] شِمَالٌ meaning *characteristic* is *sing.* and *pl.*, [as Akh says (R),] whence the saying of the poet [‘Abd Yaghūth Ibn Waḳḳās alHārithī (MN)]

أَلَمْ تَعْلَمَا أَنَّ الْمَلَامَةَ نَفْعُهَا * قَلِيلٌ وَمَا لَوْمِي أَخِي مِنْ شِمَالِيَا
[*Know not ye two that the profit of censure is small ? Nor is censure of my brother one of my characteristics* (MN)], i. e., مِنْ شِمَائِلِي (IY, R), شِمَالٌ taking the *pl.* شِمَائِلُ, as هَجَانٌ takes the *pl.* هَجَائِنُ [below], because the *masc.* is made to accord with the *fem.* ; while both [شِمَائِلُ and هَجَائِنُ] may be *pls.* of the two *sings.* or of the two *pls.* [256] (R) : (3) فَعَائِلُ, [in the *fem.*, though it is rare (R),] as هَجَائِنُ *thorough-bred she-camels* (IY, R), فَعَالٌ being made to accord with فَعَالَةٌ (R). فُعَالٌ, [says S (R),] is on an equality with فَعِيدٌ [below], because they are fellows [in some positions (R)], as طَوَالٌ and شَجِيعٌ and شُجَاعٌ, بُعَادٌ and بَعِيدٌ *tall*, طَوِيلٌ and خَفِيفٌ and خَفَافٌ *light*, and the ة is affixed to the *fem.* of فُعَالٌ, as to the *fem.* of فَعِيدٌ, as طَوِيلَةٌ [below] and طَوِيلَةٌ *a tall woman* ; so that the [broken] *pls.* of فَعَالٌ are like those of فَعِيدٌ, (1) فَعَالَةٌ

(R),] as شَجَعَاء [247] (IY,R) : (2) [فَعَالٌ ,] as طَوَّالٌ (IY): (3) فُعْلَانٌ, as شَجَعَانٌ [below] (R). The broken *pls.* of فَعِيلٌ are [of 9 formations,] (1, 2) فُعْلَاءٌ and فَعَالٌ, mostly, as كَرَمَاءٌ and كِرَامٌ, [ظُرَفَاءٌ (S, Jh, KF) and ظِرَافٌ (IY)] ; and, in the reduplicated, شَدَادٌ (IY,R) and شَحَاحٌ (R) : (a) فُعْلَاءٌ is regular in فَعِيلٌ when [an *ep.* of a rational male (IA,A),] neither reduplicated nor unsound [in the J (Aud,A)], and when [i. q. the *act. part.*, which includes what is (A)] i. q. فَاعِلٌ, like كَرِيمٌ *generous*, ظَرِيفٌ *witty*, and مُبْخِيلٌ *niggardly* (IA, Aud, A), and what is i. q. مُفْعِلٌ, like سَمِعٌ *making to hear*, i. q. مُسَمِّعٌ, and what is i. q. مُفَاعِلٌ [247], like خَلِيطٌ *intimate*, i. q. مُتَخَالِطٌ, [and جَلِيسٌ *fellow-sitter*, i. q. مُجَالِسٌ (Sn)], all of which take the *pl.* فُعْلَاءٌ (A), as كَرَمَاءٌ, ظُرَفَاءٌ, and بُخْلَاءٌ (IA, A), سَمْعَاءٌ, and خُلَطَاءٌ [and جُلَسَاءٌ (KF)] : while دُفَنَاءٌ *buried*, سَجَنَاءٌ *imprisoned*, جَلَبَاءٌ *imported*, and سُتْرَاءٌ *veiled, modest*, all transmitted by Lh, are anomalous, [i. e., contrary to analogy, and little used (Sn)] ; and أُسْرَاءٌ [below] is extraordinary (A), i. e., contrary to analogy, but much used (Sn) : (b) فَعَالٌ is (a) regular in [every (IA)] فَعِيلٌ when an *ep.* i. q. فَاعِلٌ, and in (IA, Aud, A) its *fem.* (Aud, A) فَعِيلَةٌ [below] (IA, A) also (A), as كَرَامٌ *generous*, *pl.* of كَرِيمٌ and

كَرْيَبَةٌ, and مَرَامٌ sick, pl. of مَرِيضٌ and مَرِيضَةٌ (IA); provided that their J be sound, as ظَرَّافٌ witty [below], pl. of ظَرِيفٌ and ظَرِيفَةٌ; so that قَرَّاء is not said as pl. of قَرِيٌّ strong and قَرِيَّة: and (b) dependent upon memory in نَعِيلٌ i. q. مَفْعُولٌ, as رِبَاطٌ pl. of رَبِيطٌ tied up, bound (A), i. e., مَرْبُوطٌ (Sn), like نَصَالٌ pl. of نَصِيلٌ [above] (B on VIII. 62): (3) أَفْعَلَاءٌ, which is [rare in the sound, as أَصْدِقَاءٌ, being (R)] used instead of فُعَلَاءٌ in the reduplicated, as أَشْدَّاءٌ, [أَبْيَاءٌ (IY), أَطْبَاءٌ (Jh, KF) learned in physic, the pl. of multitude (Jh),] and أَشْجَاءٌ: and [similarly (R)] in the unsound in the J, [whether it belong to the cat. of the و or ي (R),] as أَشَقِيَاءٌ, [أَتَقِيَاءٌ, أَسْخِيَاءٌ, أَسْرِيَاءٌ (KF),] and أَغْنِيَاءٌ (IY, R); while تَقَرَّاءٌ pious [properly تَقِيَاءٌ, because it belongs to the cat. of the ي (IY), سُخْرَاءٌ liberal (A),] and سُرَّاءٌ noble, [the last transmitted by Fr (IY, R), these being the only pls. of this kind (IY),] are anomalous (IY, R, A), for which reason they alter the ي of تَقَرَّاء into و (R): whereas, in the unsound in the ع, [whether it belong to the cat. of the و or ي (R),] neither فُعَلَاءٌ nor أَفْعَلَاءٌ occurs, but فَعَالٌ, as طَوَالٌ and قَوَامٌ (IY, R); or طِيَالٌ and قِيَامٌ which are rare, as says the poet

فَبَيَّنَ لِي أَنَّ الْقَمَاءَ ذِلَّةٌ * وَأَنَّ أَعْرَاءَ الرِّجَالِ طِيَالُهَا

[713] (IY) *It has become plain to me that smallness is low-ness, and that the mighty ones of men are their tall ones*

(MN): فَعَالٌ is the only [broken (Sn)] pl. used in فَعِيلٌ

[i. q. فَاعِلٌ (A)] and its fem. [فَعِيلَةٌ (A)], when their ع is

a و, and their ل is sound, like طَوِيلٌ and طَوِيلَةٌ (Aud, A);

so that you say طَوَالٌ as pl. of both, except when you use

the sound pl., as طَوِيلُونَ and طَوِيلَاتٌ (A): (4) أَفْعَلَةٌ, in

the reduplicated, [as أَشْحَتٌ, أَعْرَةٌ, and أَزَلَةٌ, whence

أَذَلَّةٌ XXVII. 34. *And make the mighty*

ones of its inhabitants low (IY), and أَطْبَعَةٌ (Jh, KF), the

pl. of paucity (Jh): (5) فُعْلٌ, by assimilation to the

substantive [فَعِيلٌ (R)], as نُذْرٌ, [whence فَعِيلٌ كَانَتْ عَذَابِي

وَنُذْرٌ LIV. 16. *Then how severe were My chastisement and*

My warnings? (IY),] and سُدُسٌ (IY, R), whence the

saying of the poet [Manṣūr Ibn Misjāh adḌabbi (T)]

فَطَافَ كَمَا طَافَ الْمَصَدِّقُ وَسَطَهَا * يُخَيَّرُ مِنْهَا فِي الْبَوَارِلِ وَالسُّدُسِ

[*Then he went round, as the collector of the proor-*

rate goes round, in their midst, being allowed

to choose from them among the nine-year-old and

the six-year-old camels (T)], and صُدُقٌ and نَصْمٌ

(IY); and [similarly in the reduplicated (R),] as

لُدْ, abbreviated like رُسُلْ [above] (IY, R), and جُدُدْ [above] (IY); and [in the defective belonging to the *cat.* of the ى (R),] as ثُنِيَ, *orig.* ثُنِيَ, [like سُدُسْ (R),] where he that abbreviates [فُعَلْ] says ثُنِيَ, [with retention of the ى (IY), like سُدُسْ (R)]: (6) فُعَلَانُ, as ثُنَيَانُ and شُجْعَانُ [above], by assimilation to [the substantive, like رَغْفَانُ and (R)]: (7) جُرْبَانُ [above], فِعْلَانُ, as خِصْيَانُ, by assimilation to ظِلْمَانُ [above]: (8) أَفْعَالُ, as (R), أَشْرَافُ, [فَعِيلُ (IY),] and أَبَالُ, by assimilation [of فَعِيلُ (IY)] to [فَاعِلُ, as (IY)] pl. شَاهِدُ [251] and صَاحِبُ pl. أَصْحَابُ [247, 255] (IY, R): أَبِيْلُ is a *priest*, and Jesus (peace be upon Him!) used to be called أَبِيْلُ الْأَبْيَلِيْنَ (IY): the [heathen (MN)] poet [‘Amr Ibn ‘Abd AlJinn (MN)] says

أَمَّا وَدِمَاهُ مَآثِرَاتٍ تَحَالُهَا * عَلَى قَنَّةِ الْعُرَى وَبِالنَّسْرِ عِنْدَمَا
وَمَا سَبَّحَ الرَّهْبَانُ فِي كُلِّ بَيْعَةٍ * أَبِيْلُ الْأَبْيَلِيْنَ الْمَسِيحَ ابْنَ مَرْيَمَا
لَقَدْ ذَاقَ مِنَّا عَامِرٌ يَوْمَ لَعَلَّعَ * حُسَامًا إِذَا مَا هَزَّ بِالْكَفِّ صَبَا
(Jb, IY) *Now, by bloods flowing about, that thou wouldst think to be, upon the top of Al ‘Uzza and upon (the ب being i. q. عَلَى) the top of An Nasr, dragon’s blood, and by the fact that (مَا being infinitival) the monks extol as holy, in every church, the Priest of the Priests, the Mes-iah Son of Mary, assuredly ‘Amir tasted from us, on the day of*

mount *La'la'*, a *sword* such that, *whenever it is shaken by the hand, it cuts through the bone* (MN) : (9) [فُعُولٌ, as] ظُرُوفٌ [255], which, as Jr says, is an irregular *pl.* of ظَرِيفٌ (IY, R). And they say سَرَائٌ [257]; but apparently it is a *quasi-pl. n.*, not a [broken] *pl.* (R). And فَعِيلٌ takes the sound *pl.*, [with the و and ن when belonging to a rational being, and *masc.* (IY),] as كَرِيمُونَ, [ظَرِيفُونَ, and كَبِيبُونَ (IY)]; and [with the ا and ت when *fem.* (IY),] as كَرِيمَاتٌ (M), ظَرِيفَاتٌ, and لَبِيبَاتٌ (IY). The [broken] *pls.* of فُعُولٌ are [of 3 formations (IY),] (1) فُعُلٌ mostly, in the *masc.* and *fem.*, as صُبُرٌ (IY, R), غُفْرٌ (Jh), غُدْرٌ [247] وَإِذَا الرِّجَالُ أَحْمُ, خُضْعٌ (Jh, KF), عُلْجُلٌ (IY), غُدْرٌ (Jh), غُيْرٌ, and بُيُضٌ (Jh, KF), because this formation is of common gender [269] (IY, R) in the *sing.* (IY), the ى in فُرُوقَةٌ and مَلُوكَةٌ being intensive [265] (R), and is therefore of common gender in the *pl.* (IY); while he that says فُرُوقَةٌ [below] says فُرُوقَاتٌ, and he that says فُرُوقٌ says فُرُقٌ in the *pl.* (R) : فُعُلٌ is regular in the *ep.* فُعُولٌ not i. q. مَفْعُولٌ, as صَبُورٌ *patient*, *pl.* صُبُرٌ : whereas, if it be i. q. مَفْعُولٌ, it does not take the *pl.* فُعُلٌ, as رُكُوبٌ *ridden* [below] (A); [though] رَسُولٌ *envoy*, i. q. مَرْسَلٌ *sent*, has the *pl.* رُسُلٌ (Jh, KF) or رُسُلٌ [above] (Jh) : (2) فَعَائِلٌ, in the *fem.* [exclusively (IY)], as عَجَائِرٌ [below], جَدَائِدٌ,

[and قَلَاتِص (R),] because the sign of the *fem.* is supplied in it (IY, R); so that it is, as it were, فَعُولَةٌ (R) : (a) they assimilate the [*fem.*] *ep.* فَعُولٌ to the substantive, and therefore pluralize it in the same way as the latter; so that, as they say قَدُومٌ *an adze*, *pl.* قُدُمٌ and قَدَائِمٌ, and قَلُومٌ *a young she-camel*, [which IY regards as a substantive,] *pl.* قُلُوصٌ and قَلَاتِصٌ, so they say عَجُوزٌ, *pl.* عَجَزٌ and عَجَائِزُ (IY), and عَجُورٌ *distracted by the loss of her little one* (Jh, KF), *pl.* عَجُلٌ and عَجَائِلُ [below] (KF); but sometimes they dispense with one of the two [formations] by the help of the other, saying صَعَائِدُ, but not صُعْدٌ, and عُجَلٌ [249], but not عَجَائِلُ [above] (S, IY); and فَعَائِلُ is more frequent in the *fem.* than فَعُولٌ, and especially in what is peculiar to the *fem.*, like قَلُومٌ, [which R regards as an *ep.*] and جُدُودٌ *having little milk*: and they say صَفِيٌّ *having much milk*, *pl.* صَفَايَا [726], which may be فَعُولٌ *pl.* فَعَائِلُ, like قَلُومٌ *pl.* قَلَاتِصٌ; or فَعِيلٌ made to accord with فَعِيلَةٌ [below], because it is *fem.* (R) : (b) Hātim at-Tā'i says

وَمَا أَنَا بِالسَّاعِي بِفَضْلِ زِمَامِهَا * لَتَشْرَبَ مَاءَ الْخَوَاصِ قَبْلَ الرِّكَائِبِ
Nor am I the man to be busy with the end of her nose-rein, in order that she may drink the water of the trough before the riding-beasts [of my fellow-travellers], where

رَكَّابٌ is *pl.* of رَكُوبٌ [above] (T), which (a) is [a substantive denoting (T)] *that [she-camel (KF)] which is ridden*, as also is رَكُوبَةٌ [above] (T, Jh, K on XXXVI. 72., KF), which is applicable to the *sing.* and the *pl.* [267] (T) ; or (b) is [an *ep.* of دَابَّةٌ *beast* understood, meaning] the *beast* [actually] *ridden*, while رَكُوبَةٌ [265, 269] is [a substantive, meaning] the *beast set apart for riding, and constantly at work* : [so that رَكَّابٌ *pl.* of رَكُوبٌ is like ذَنَابٌ *pl.* of ذَنُوبٌ in the 1st case, and like عَجَائِرٌ *pl.* of عَجُورٌ in the 2nd] (KF) : (c) they say in the *masc.* جَرَّائِرٌ (IY, A), which is extraordinary (A) : (3) فَعَلَاءٌ, which is rare, as (IY) فَعَلَاءٌ, which is anomalous in two ways, because فَعَلَاءٌ is not a *pl.* of فَعُولٌ, but, by rule, of فَعِيلٌ ; and because it does not occur in the reduplicated even of فَعِيلٌ (IY, R), but أَفَعَلَاءٌ, as أَشَدَّاءٌ [above] (R) : and similarly رُسَلَاءٌ as *pl.* of رُسُولٌ is extraordinary (A). فَعُولٌ has no sound *pl.* (R) : they do not pluralize it with the و and ن [234], even if it belong to a rational being, because its *fem.* is not pluralized with the ت and ن [234], since it is not used in the *fem.* with the sign of femininization [269] ; so that, the و being rejected in the *sing.*, notwithstanding that the femininization necessitates it, they dislike to employ a *pl.* that would necessitate what they disallow ; and therefore they deviate [in the *fem.*] from the sound to the

broken *pl.*, and make the *masc.* follow the same course (IY). But عَدُوٌّ, like [its *opp.* (IY)] صَدِيقٌ, is applied to the *pl.* [under the form of the *sing.* (IY)], as XXVI.77. [88] (IY,R), إِنَّ الْكَافِرِينَ كَانُوا لَكُمْ عَدُوًّا مُبِينًا IV.102. *Verily the unbelievers are manifest foes to you* (IY), and

وَقَوْمٌ عَلَىٰ ذَوِي مَثَرَةٍ * أَرَاهُمْ عَدُوًّا وَكَانُوا صَدِيقًا

[*And many a people full of hostility against me do I think to be foes, when they are friends* (N)], being assimilated to *inf. ns.*, because of the commensurability, like قَبُولٌ and وَلُوعٌ, and حَنِينٌ and صَهِيلٌ (K on XXVI.77.) : and عَدُوٌّ

has a [broken] *pl.* أَعْدَاءُ [above], though this is not its normal form [of broken *pl.* as an *ep.*], because it is used as a substantive (R) ; while, according to him that says عَدُوَّةٌ [234], it is not forbidden to pluralize it with the ا and ت, and its *masc.* with the و and ن (IY). As for فَعِيلٌ i. q. مَفْعُولٌ [269], its normal form [of broken *pl.* (M)], when it denotes one of the *calamities* and *disagreeables* that afflict the living being (IY,R),] is فَعَالَى, as جَرَحَى wounded [259], قَتَلَى slain (M,SH), لَدَغَى stung (IY), and أُسْرَى captive ; and أُسَارَى [250] occurs (SH) ; while [such as (IY)] قَتَلَاءُ and أُسْرَاءُ [above] are anomalous : and it does not take the sound *pl.* [with the و and ن when it is *masc.*, or with the ا and ت when it is *fem.* (IY)] ; so that جَرِيحُونَ is not said, nor جَرِيحَاتٌ (M,SH) ;

in order that it may be discriminated from the original **فَعِيلٌ** (SH), which is i. q. **فَاعِلٌ** (MASH) ; [or] because they do not distinguish between the *masc.* and *fem.* in the *sing.* by the sign [of feminization], and therefore dislike to distinguish between them in the *pl.* (IY). The *fem. eps.* of this formation have 3 paradigms [of broken *pl.*], (1) **فِعَالٌ** ; (2) **فَعَائِلٌ** ; (3) **فُعَلَاءُ** (M). The [broken] *pls.* of the [*fem.* (IY) *ep.* (R)] **فَعِيلٌ** [not i. q. **مَفْعُولٌ** (IY), when the *ʔ* is affixed to it (R),] are [of 3 formations (IY),] (1) **فِعَالٌ**, [like its *pl.* before the affixion of the *ʔ* (R),] as **ظَرَافٌ** *witty* [above] and **صَبَاحٌ** *pretty*, [like the *masc.* (IY)] : (2) **فَعَائِلٌ** (IY,R), which is mostly peculiar to the [*fem. ep.* **فَعِيلٌ**] containing the *ʔ*, whether it be i. q. **مَفْعُولٌ**, like **ذَبِيحَةٌ** *slaughtered* [below], or not, like **كَبِيرَةٌ** *great sin* (R), as **صَبَائِحٌ** *pretty*, **صَوَائِحٌ** *sound*, and **طَبَائِبٌ** *skilful* (IY), to the exclusion of the *masc. bare* [of the *ʔ*] ; while **نَظَائِرٌ** and **كَرَائِهٌ** are anomalous as *pls.* of **نَظِيرٌ** *similar* and **كَرِيهٌ** *detestable* (R), this *pl.* [in the *ep.* (R)] being like **صَوَائِفٌ** [and **سَفَائِنٌ** (IY)] in the substantive (IY,R) : (a) the substantive and *ep.* **فَعِيلَةٌ** both take the *pl.* **فَعَائِلٌ**, the substantive as **صَحِيفَةٌ** *a letter* or *epistle*, *pl.* **صَحَائِفٌ**, and **سَفِينَةٌ** *a ship* or *boat*, *pl.* **سَفَائِنٌ** ;

and the *ep.* as عَقِيلَةٌ *excellent*, *pl.* عَقَائِلُ, and كَرِيمَةٌ *generous*, *pl.* كَرَّائِمُ (Mb) : but the condition of [the *ep.*] جَرِيحَةٌ is that it should not be *i. q.* مَفْعُولَةٌ, like جَرِيحَةٌ *wounded* and قَتِيلَةٌ *slain* [269] ; so that جَرَّائِمُ and قَتَائِلُ are not said, while دَبَّائِمُ *pl.* of ذَبِيحَةٌ [above] is anomalous (A) : (b) sometimes they dispense with فَعَائِلُ by the help of فِعَالٌ, as سِمَانٌ *fat*, صِغَارٌ *young*, and كِبَارٌ *old* ; not سَبَائِنُ [(R) نِسْوَةٌ] or كَبَائِرُ or صَغَائِرُ, [the last word being allowable only in the sense of *great sins* (IY), not of *old women*] : (3) فُعَلَاءُ, in two words only, فَقَرَاءُ *needy* [women (R)] and سُفَهَاءُ *silly* (IY, R) ; while they say فَقَاتِرٌ and (KF) سَقَاتَةٌ, as they say صَحَائِمُ [above] : and, as for خَلِيفَةٌ, they say in its *pl.* خَلَائِفُ and خُلَفَاءُ, as ثُمَّ جَعَلْنَاهُمْ خَلَائِفَ فِي الْأَرْضِ X. 15. *Then We made you to be successors on the earth* and جَعَلْنَاهُمْ خُلَفَاءُ VII. 67. *He made you to be successors* : so he that says خَلَائِفُ pluralizes it according to the rule mentioned, like صَبِيحَةٌ *pl.* صَبَائِمُ ; while he that says خُلَفَاءُ makes it like فَقَرَاءُ and سُفَهَاءُ (IY) : but [they say that (R)] خُلَفَاءُ occurs [more easily (IY)] here, because خَلِيفَةٌ, [though containing the ة (R),] is [only (IY)] *masc.* (IY, R) ; so that it is

in the sense of the [فَعِيلٌ] bare [of the ة], like كُرَمَاءُ *pl.* كَرِيمٌ (R) ; and is therefore pluralized according to the sense, not the form (IY), as though they made خُلَفَاءُ *pl.* of خَلِيفٌ (R) ; and خَلِيفٌ also occurs, as

إِنَّ مِنَ الْقَوْمِ مَوْجُودًا خَلِيفَتُهُ * وَمَا خَلِيفُ أَبِي وَهَبٍ بِمَوْجُودٍ
Verily of the people are some whose successor is found,
while the successor of Abū Wahb is not to be found, so
 that خُلَفَاءُ may be its *pl.* (IY,R), except that the *pl.* is well known, contrary to its *sing.* The [broken] *pl.* of فُعَالَةٌ, like اِمْرَءَةٌ طَوَالَةٌ [above], should, by analogy, be like the *pl.* of فَعِيْلَةٌ, because of the equality of their *mascs.*, as we mentioned. And فَعْرُولٌ, when the ة is affixed to it for intensiveness, as in فُرُوقَةٌ [above], is pluralized with the ت and ت (R).

§ 247. فَاعِلٌ [or فَاعِلٌ (IY)], when a substantive, has 3 paradigms in the [broken (IY)] *pl.*, (1) فَوَاعِلٌ ; (2) فُعْلَانٌ ; (3) فِعْلَانٌ (M). The [broken (S, IY)] *pl.* of the substantive فَاعِلٌ is (1) فَوَاعِلٌ (S, IY, R), with unbroken regularity (R), this being the normal form (IY), as حَوَاجِبُ *pl.* of حَاجِبٌ *an eyebrow* (Jh, KF), كَوَاهِلُ *pl.* of كَاهِلٌ *the space between the shoulders* (IY), حَوَاطِطُ *pl.* of حَاطِطٌ *a wall, fence, walled garden* (S, IY), حَوَاجِرُ *pl.* of حَاجِرٌ [below] (S), نَوَاطِلُ *pl.* of

نَاقِلٌ *a gift* (IY), طَوَابِقُ *pl. of طَابَقُ* (S, IY) or طَابِقُ (IY), *a frying-pan* (Jk), Persian (Jh, Jk), arabicized (Jh, KF) from تَابَه (KF), and تَوَابِلُ *pl. of تَابَلُ seeds used for seasoning* (S) or تَابِلُ (Jh, KF) : (a) فَوَاعِلُ is [regular as (Aud, A)] *pl. of (a) [the substantive (IA, Aud)] فَاعِلُ* (IA, Aud, A), as طَوَابِعُ *pl. of طَابَعُ a seal or stamp* (IA, A), like خَوَاتِمُ *pl. of (KF)] خَاتَمُ a signet-ring* and قَوَالِبُ *pl. of قَالِبُ a mould* (Aud) : (b) the substantive فَاعِلُ, [whether a proper name, as جَوَابِرُ *pl. of جَابِرُ Jābir*; or not (A, MKh),] as كَوَاهِلُ *pl. of (IA, A)] كَاهِلُ* (IA, Aud, A) and جَوَائِزُ *pl. of (KF)] جَائِزُ a beam of a roof* (Aud) : (b) that is because this فَاعِلُ consists of four letters by reason of the augment [373], so that its predicament in the *pl.* is that of *quads.* ; and it is assimilated to what contains the augment of coordination, as جَوَهَرُ and صَيْرَفُ [253, 369], because like it in the number [of letters] and in the augment's being second, a letter of prolongation : while the | of فَاعِلُ is converted into و in this *pl.* because it is followed by the | of the broken *pl.*, and the two cannot be combined, because they are both quiescent ; so that elision or conversion of one of them is unavoidable ; and, elision not being permissible, because it would spoil the indication of the *pl.*, conversion is necessary : and they convert

it into و, not into ی, because they make it accord with the *dim.*, so that, as they say حَوَيْطٌ and حَوَيْجٌ, so they say حَوَائِطُ and حَوَاجِزُ, since the *dim.* and the broken *pl.* follow one course [274] ; and because they want to distinguish between the فاعِلٌ and the ی of فَيَعِلُ, as صَيَّرْتُ, since, if صَيَّارٌ were said as *pl.* of صَارْتُ, it might be mistaken for the *pl.* of صَيَّرْتُ [253] : (c) there is no difference in that [broken *pl.*] between the *det.* and the *indet.*, for you say خَوَالِدُ and قَوَاسِمُ *pls.* of خَالِدٌ *Khālid* and قَاسِمٌ *Kāsim*, as you say كَوَاهِلُ *pl.* of كَاهِلٌ ; while the *det.* is not debarred from [the sound *pl.* with] the و, and ن [234], as خَالِدُونَ and قَاسِمُونَ (IY) : (d) sometimes فَوَاعِيلُ occurs, [by implation of the Kasr (R)], as دَوَانِيقُ [255], طَوَائِيقُ, and خَوَاتِيمُ [252] (IY, R), *pls.* of دَانِيقٌ a sixth part of a dirham, طَائِيقُ [above], and خَاتِمٌ, as though they pluralized it according to a *sing.* not used, as دَانِاقُ, طَابَانُ, and خَاتَمٌ (IY) ; but that is not universal : while some say [that خَوَاتِيمُ is *pl.* of (R)] خَاتَامٌ, which occurs in the saying [of the Rājiz (Mb)]

يَا مَيَّ ذَاتَ الْجَبْرِيبِ الْمَنْشَقِ * أَخَذْتَ خَاتَمِي بِغَيْرِ حَقِّ

O Mayya, mistress of the torn sock, thou hast taken my s'gnet-ring without any right ; and, according to this, خَوَاتِيمُ is regular (IY, R) : (e) Fr says that فَوَاعِيلُ does not

occur in [the *ep*] فَاعِلٌ [253], except in something from the speech of the post-classical poets, who say بَوَاطِيْدُ as *pl.* of بَاطِلٌ *false*, assimilating it to طَوَائِيْقُ *pl.* of طَائِقٌ (IY) : (2) حَاجِرٌ, [sometimes (S),] as حُجْرَانٌ (S, IY, R), *pl.* of حَاجِرٌ [a round place retaining water, and forming part of the brink of a valley (IY), فُلُقَانٌ *pl.* of فَالِقٌ a wide tract of land between two extensive tracts of sand (S)], سَلَانٌ *pl.* of سَالٌ [a narrow bed of a torrent in a valley (IY), غُلَانٌ *pl.* of غَالٌ low ground overgrown with trees (S)], and حُورَانٌ *pl.* of حَاطِرٌ (S, IY), a garden [below], which the vulgar call حَيْرٌ (IY) : (3) فِعْلَانٌ, as جِنَانٌ (S, IY, R), *pl.* of جَانٌ (S, Jrb), which means a father of Jinn, and also a great [white (Jh)] serpent (Jrb), and حَيْرَانٌ [said by some (S), *pl.* of حَاطِرٌ (IY)] ; and similarly غَيْطَانٌ and حَيْطَانٌ, [said by some (S),] *pls.* of غَائِطٌ wide low ground and حَائِطٌ [above], the , being converted (S, IY) into ي (IY) after a Kasra (S), as in مَيْرَانٌ [685] : (a) that is because they assimilate فَاعِلٌ to فَعِيْدٌ, as جُرْبَانٌ and رُغْفَانٌ [246] ; and similarly they say here جِنَانٌ and حَيْرَانٌ, [as they say ظَلْبَانٌ and قِضْبَانٌ] (IY) : (b) فِعْلَانٌ *pl.* of فَاعِلٌ, like حُجْرَانٌ *pl.* of حَاجِرٌ a barrier, is dependent upon memory (A) : but فِعْلَانٌ is more frequent (IY, R) here than فُعْلَانٌ,

because **فَاعِلٌ** is made to accord with **فَعِيلٌ**, in which the normal form is **فُعْلَانٌ**, as **جُرْبَانٌ** and **كُتْبَانٌ**; while **فِعْلَانٌ** is rare, as **ظِلْمَانٌ** and **قَضِبَانٌ** [246]: (c) he that pluralizes **فَاعِلٌ** upon the measure **فَوَاعِلٌ** pluralizes it as a *quad.*, treating the *aug.* in it as equivalent to a *rad.*; while he that pluralizes it upon the measure **فُعْلَانٌ** or **فِعْلَانٌ** does so by elision of the *aug.*, pluralizing it as a *tril.*, like **حُمْلَانٌ** *lambs* [237] and **وَرَلَانٌ** (IY) *pl. of وَرَلٌ a kind of lizard* (Jh, KF); but nothing of this [formation] is debarred from [the *pl.*] **فَوَاعِلٌ** (S): (4) **أَفْعَلَةٌ** [in paucity (IY)], as **أَرْدِيَّةٌ** *pl. of أَرْدٍ a valley* (IY, R), irregularly, as though *pl. of* **رَدِيٌّ** [255], like **أَسْرِيَّةٌ** *pl. of سَرِيٌّ a stream* [246] (Jh); but only in this word unsound [in the J], extraordinarily (IY): (5) **أَفْعَالٌ**, for] they say **أَوْدَاءٌ** as *pl. of أَوْدٍ* (A). The *fem.* of this formation is of two kinds, (1) made *fem.* by a *ṣ*, like **كَأْبَبَةٌ** the *top of the withers* of the horse and **جَاعِرَةٌ** *an anus*; and (2) made *fem.* by a prolonged *ā*, as **نَافِقَاءٌ** and **فَاصِعَاءٌ** [below] (IY). The [1st kind of (IY)] *fem.*, [vid. **فَاعِلَةٌ**], has one paradigm [of broken *pl.*], **فَوَاعِلٌ** (M), because, in forming the broken *pl.*, you elide the *ṣ*, since it is separable from the *n.* [266]; and then pluralize [the remainder] like

the *masc.*, converting its *l* into *و* (IY), as كَوَائِبُ (M) and جَوَائِرُ (IY). And they treat فَاعِلَاءُ as equivalent to فَاعِلَةٌ (SH), because (R) they treat the *l* of feminization as equivalent to its *ṣ* (M, R), since the former is a sign of feminization [263], like the latter (R); so that نَافِقَاءُ and قَاصِعَاءُ [below] are equivalent to نَافِقَةٌ and قَاصِعَةٌ (IY): and therefore they say فَوَاعِلُ in the *pl.* of [the 2nd kind of *fem.* also, vid. (IY)] فَاعِلَاءُ (M), as though it were *pl.* of فَاعِلَةٌ (K on LXXIV. 38.), eliding the *l* of feminization in forming the broken *pl.*, as they elide the *ṣ* (IY), as قَاصِعَاءُ, نَافِقَاءُ, دَوَامٌ [248], and قَوَاصِعُ, نَوَافِقُ, and دَامَاءُ, which all mean *a hole, or burrow, of the jerboa* (IY, R),] and سَوَابٍ (M, SH), *pl.* of سَابِيَاءُ (IY, R), which is the *piece of skin that comes forth with the young one [at its birth]* (R), and also (Jh, KF) the *increase of animals*, whence the tradition تِسْعَةُ أَعْشَارِ الْبَرَكَةِ فِي التِّجَارَةِ وَعَشْرُ فِي السَّابِيَاءِ *Nine tenths of blessing, or prosperity, are in merchandise, [i. e. in trading,] and one tenth in increase of animals, [i. e. in breeding stock]* (IY). And similarly they say خَنَافِسُ [248] in the *pl.* of خُنْفَسَاءُ *a black beetle* [273, 390] (IY, R), as though *pl.* of خُنْفَسَةٌ (IY), like قَنَابِرُ *pl.* of قَنْبَرَةٌ *a lark* [373] (R). The *ep.* [فَاعِلٌ (IY)] has 9 [paradigms of broken *pl.*], (1) فَعَلٌ; (2) فُعَالٌ; (3) فَعَلَةٌ;

(4) *فَعَلَّةٌ*, which is peculiar to the unsound in the ل ; (5) [*فَعَلٌ* or (IY)] *فَعَلٌ* ; (6) *فَعَلَاءٌ* ; (7) *فَعَلَانٌ* ; (8) *فِعَالٌ* ; (9) *فُعُولٌ* (M). The regular formations, out of these [nine], are *فَعَلٌ* and *فِعَالٌ* ; and *فُعُولٌ* seems to be abbreviated from *فِعَالٌ*, because, wherever *فَعَلٌ* is allowable, there *فِعَالٌ* is allowable; but, beyond these two formations, all are abnormal (IY). The broken pls. of the [masc. (IY)] *ep. فَاعِلٌ* are (1) *فَعَلٌ*, [mostly (R),] as *شَهْدٌ* present, [*بَرٌّ* nine-year-old camels, *قَرَحٌ* five-year-old solid-hoofed animals (S, IY), *شَرَدٌ* taking fright, and running away, *سَبَقٌ* outstripping (S), *سَمَرٌ* conversing by night (Mb), and *كَعَجٌ*, bowing down (B on II.119)] : and [similarly, in the unsound (S, IY) in the ع (S),] as *صُومٌ* fasting (S, IY, R), *نُومٌ* sleeping (S, IY), and *قُومٌ* standing (R) ; or *صِيَمٌ* [715] (IY, R), *نِيَمٌ* (IY), and *قِيَمٌ* ; or *صِيَمٌ*, [*نِيَمٌ* (KF),] and *قِيَمٌ* with Kasr of the ف on account of the ي, like *شِيُوخٌ* and *شِيِيَمٌ* for *شُيُوخٌ* and *شُيِيَمٌ* [242] (R) ; and as *غَيْبٌ* absent or hidden, [*عَيْطٌ* failing to conceive (KF),] and *حِيَضٌ* menstruating (S) : and [similarly (S)], in the unsound in the ل, as *غَرَى* raiding [below] (S, IY, R) and *عَفَى* effaced (S, IY) : (2) *فُعَالٌ*, often (S, IY, R), as *شُهَادٌ* present, *جُهَالٌ* ignorant, *رُكَابٌ* riding (S, IY), *عَرَاضٌ* happening or intervening (S),

قَرَأَ reading, and تَنَزَّأَ settling in a country (Jh, KF), like سَكَنَ dwelling (KF) ; and hence, [in the unsound in the ع ,] زَارَ visiting and غَيَّبَ absent or hidden (S, R) : (a) فَعَّلَ and فَعَّلَ are regular in [the pl. of (R)] the ep. فَاعِلٌ (R, IA, Aud, A) sound in the ل ; and extraordinary in the unsound [in the ل (IA, A)], as عَفَّى , غَرَى (IA, Aud), and سَرَى journeying by night (IA), and as غَرَا (IA, Aud, A) and سَرَا (IA, Aud) : (3) فَعَّلَ , [also often (S, R), but not like the first two (R),] as بَرَّرَ pious (S, IY, R), كَفَّرَ unbelieving (IY, R), هَدَّرَ of no account, worthless (KF, So), فَسَّقَ wicked (S, IY), جَهَّلَ ignorant, ظَلَمَ wronging, فَجَّرَ vicious, كَذَبَ lying (S), عَجَّرَ powerless (R), and قَرَأَ reading (Jh, KF) : and [similarly (S) in the unsound in the ع (IY),] as خَوَّنَ unfaithful [684,711], حَوَّكَ weaving (S, IY, R), and بَاعَ selling (S, R), by rule خَانَّ and حَاكَ (IY) ; while they [sometimes (IY)] say [خَانَّ and (IY)] حَاكَ (IY, R) also (R), as they say بَاعَ (IY) : (a) فَعَّلَ is a [common (Aud), regular (IA, A)] pl. of فَاعِلٌ when ep. of a rational masc., and sound in the ل (IA, Aud, A), as كَمَّلَ perfect, (IA, A), سَكَّرَ sorcerers (IA), and بَرَّرَ [above] ; while نَعَقَ crows, pl. of نَاعِقٌ croaking, is anomalous (A) : (4) فَعَّلَ , [when the ل is unsound (S, R), in which case the ف of فَعَّلَ

must be pronounced with Damm (R).] as غُرَاةٌ raiding, قُضَاةٌ judges (S,IY), رَمَاةٌ throwing or shooting (S), سُقَاةٌ cup-bearers, waterers (KF), and نَعَاةٌ announcers of death, as says Jarir [bewailing 'Umar Ibn 'Abd Al'Aziz (N)] نَعَى النُّعَاةُ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لَنَا * يَا خَيْرَ مَنْ حَجَّ بَيْتَ اللَّهِ وَاعْتَمَرَ (BS) *The heralds have announced the death of the Commander of the Believers. O best of them that have gone on pilgrimage to the House of God, and have visited the Holy Places !* (N) : (a) this is a formation peculiar to the unsound (IY, Jrb) : (b) فُعَلَةٌ is regular as pl. of فَاعِلٌ when ep. of a rational [masc. (IA, A)], and unsound in the J (IA, Aud, A), as رَمَاةٌ [above], قُضَاةٌ (IA, A), and غُرَاةٌ ; while كُمَاةٌ pl. of كَمِيٌ mail-clad, بُرَاةٌ pl. of بَارٌ a hawk or falcon, and هُدْرَةٌ pl. of هَادِرٌ a man of no account, worthless [below] are anomalous ; as غَوَاةٌ pl. of غَوِيٌ erring, عَرَاةٌ pl. of عَرِيَانٌ naked [250], عَدَاةٌ pl. of عَدُوٌ a foe, and رَذَاةٌ pl. of رَذِيٌ [upon the measure of فَعِيلٌ, a camel broken down, disabled, from fatigue, and a man made heavy by disease (Sn)] are extraordinary (A) : but, in my opinion, this requires consideration, because عَدَاةٌ may be pl. of عَادٍ an aggressor, a foe, not of عَدُوٌ ; nay, that is said by more than one [authority] on such as لَا يَتَعَدَّنَ قَوْمِي الْحِمْلَ [146] ; and the like is said on غُرَاةٌ and عَرَاةٌ (Sn) : (5) فُعَلٌ [or فُعْلٌ (IY), often (S, R)], as بُرْلٌ nine-year-old camels and هُرْلٌ

aged camels, [or بَرَّ and شَرَفَ (IY) ; and as عَوْدٌ having recently brought forth, حَوْلٌ failing to conceive, and عَيْطٌ (S,IY) i. q. حَوْلٌ (IY)] : (a) that is because they assimilate فَعُولٌ to فَاعِلٌ, on account of its resemblance to the latter in [measure (S), augment, and (S, IY)] number (S, IY, R) of letters (S, R) ; and therefore, as they say غُفِرَ and صُبِرَ [246], so they say بَرَّ and شَرَفَ (IY) ; and then فَعُولٌ is lightened, according to the Banu Tamim [246], by making the ع quiescent : (b) the و of the hollow must be made quiescent, according to all, as [عَوْدٌ], عَوُطٌ, and حَوْلٌ (R) ; the o. f. of عَوْدٌ, [عَوُطٌ], and حَوْلٌ being عَوُودٌ, [عَوُودٌ], and حَوُودٌ ; and the و being then made quiescent (IY), because [the Damma upon (IY)] it is deemed heavy : while in عَيْطٌ [i. q. عَوُطٌ, which is of the *cat.* of the ي (R), its o. f. being عَيْطٌ, the ي is made quiescent because (the Damma upon) it is deemed heavy ; and (IY)] the ف is pronounced, with Kasr in order that the ي may be preserved, as in بَيْضٌ pl. of أَبْيَضٌ [248,249,710,711] (IY, R) : (c) [فَعُولٌ or] فَعُولٌ as pl. of فَاعِلٌ is rare, dependent upon memory (EM) : (6) فَعَلَاءٌ, as شُعْرَاءٌ poets, جَهْلَاءٌ ignorant, [عِلْمَاءٌ learned, صُلَحَاءٌ righteous (S, IY), and عَقْلَاءٌ rational, intelligent (IY),] because فَاعِلٌ is assimilated to [the ep. (S)] فَعِيلٌ (S, IY, R), like كَرَمَاءٌ [246] (IY, R) : (a) فَعُولٌ and فَعَلَاءٌ are not regular, so that they should be copied,

because they are rare, what the Arabs say [as instances of these *pls.*] being only heard, and not exceeded : S says (IY), *فَعْلٌ* and *فَعْلَاءُ* are not [the (S,IY)] established [rule (S,IY)] in this *cat.* (S, IY, R) ; but they are caused by assimilation to another *cat.*, as before explained : (b) *فَعْلَاءُ* in this *cat.* and others mostly occurs when it indicates a *natural quality*, *praiseworthy* or *blameworthy*, like *جَهْلَاءُ* ignorant, *جَبَنَاءُ* cowardly, and *شَجْعَاءُ* brave [246] (R) ; and is frequent in *فَاعِلٌ* when indicating a sense like the *natural quality*, as *عَاقِلٌ* intelligent, *صَالِحٌ* righteous, and *شَاعِرٌ* a poet (Aud) ; and also often occurs as *pl.* of *فَعِيلٌ* i. q. *مُفَاعِلٌ* [246], like *جُلَسَاءُ* and *خُلَطَاءُ* (R) : (7) *فُعْلَانٌ* as *رُعْيَانٌ* *pastors, herdsmen* [below], *شُبَّانٌ* youthful, (S, IY, R), *صُحْبَانٌ* companions (IY), and *عُودَانٌ* having recently brought forth (BS), by assimilation to the substantive [*فَاعِلٌ* (R)], like *خُبْرَانٌ* (IY, R) *pl.* of *حَاجِرٌ* and *فُلُقَانٌ* *pl.* of *فَالِقٌ* [above] (IY) ; but it is rare (IY, Aud): (8) *فِعَالٌ*, as *نِيَامٌ* sleeping (S, IY, R), *جِيَاعٌ* hungry (S, R), *صِيَامٌ* fasting (K on XXVIII. 23, KF), *قِيَامٌ* standing (Mb, K), *صِحابٌ* companions [below] (IY, R), as says the poet Imra alKais

فَالْتَقَيْتُ فِي فِيهِ اللَّجَامَ وَتَنَنِي * وَقَالَ صِحَابِي قَدْ شَارَكَكَ فَاظْلُبْ
Then I threw the bit into his mouth, when they passed
beyond me ; and my companions said " They have gone

ahead of thee : then give chase" (Jh), كِفَارٌ traders, كِفَارٌ unbelieving, as says the poet

وَشَقَّ الْبَحْرُ عَنْ أَصْحَابِ مُوسَى * وَغَرَّقَتِ الْفِرَاعُنُ الْكِفَارُ

And the sea was divided from the companions of Moses, and the unbelieving Pharaohs were drowned (IY),

and رِعَاءٌ herdsmen (IY, R), whence حَتَّى يُضِدِّرَ الرِّعَاءُ

XXVIII.23. Until the herdsmen take away (IY) their

beasts from the water (B) : (a) فَعَالٌ is dependent upon

memory as pl. of the ep. فَاعِلٌ, like صَيَّامٌ pl. of صَائِمٌ (A) :

(b) as for what is orig. an ep., and is then treated as a substantive (S), when فَاعِلٌ is transferred from the ep. to

the substantive (R), like رَاكِبٌ [peculiar to the rider of the

camel (R)], فَارِسٌ [peculiar to the rider (R) of the horse (Jh,

KF)], رَاعٍ [peculiar to the pastor, or herdsman, of a parti-

cular sort (R), صَاحِبٌ a companion (S), and رَاهِبٌ an

anchorite, monk (EM), it is not like what follows the course of the v. in generality : for, in most cases (R)], it takes

the pl. مُضْعَبَانٌ, رُعْيَانٌ, فَرَسَانٌ, رُكْبَانٌ as فُعْلَانٌ (S),

and رُهْبَانٌ (EM), like حُجْرَانٌ in the genuine substantive

(R) ; and sometimes فِعَالٌ [also (R)], as رِعَاءٌ [and رِعَاءٌ

(R)] : but, [says S (R),] فَوَاعِلٌ is not allowable in this

[prevalent (R)] ep., [as it is in the genuine substantive

(R), as in **تَابِلٌ**, **خَاتَمٌ**, and **حَاجِرٌ** (S),] because this [is *orig.* an *ep.*, and (S)] has a *fem.* [that takes the *pl.* **فَرَاعِلٌ** (R)] ; so that they distinguish [the *pl.* of (R)] the *masc.* from [the *pl.* of (R)] the *fem.* (S, R), except in **فَرَارِسُ** [below] (S) : (9) **فُعُولٌ**, as **شُهُودٌ** witnesses (IY, R), as says the poet
وَبَايَعْتُ لَيْلَى فِي خَلَاءٍ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ * شُهُودٌ عَلَى لَيْلَى عُدُولٌ مَقَانِعُ
And I made a covenant with Lailà in a lonely place, when there were not just, sufficient witnesses against Lailà, sitting down, sitting up (IY), **حُضُورٌ** present, **رُكُوعٌ** lowering the head, bowing down (R), and **سُجُودٌ** prostrate in prayer (B on II.119) : (a) S says that it is not frequent (IY) ; [for] it occurs [only] where the *inf. n.* also is upon the measure **فُعُولٌ** (R) : (b) IM in the Tashil makes **فُعُولٌ** confined to hearsay in [the *pl.* of] **فَاعِلٌ** ; [and allowable only] when **فَاعِلٌ** is] an *ep.*, not reduplicated, like **رَادٌّ**, nor unsound in the ع, [the ع being a و,] like **قَاتِمٌ**, as **شُهُودٌ** *pl.* of **شَاهِدٌ** (A) : (c) [IHsh says in the BS,] **الْغُيُوبُ** in Ka'b's saying **تَرْمِي الْغُيُوبَ آخِ** [242] is *pl.* either of **غَائِبٌ**, like **شُهُودٌ** *pl.* of **شَاهِدٌ** ; or of **غَيْبٌ** : and the first is better ; though I have not seen them mention any but the second, notwithstanding that it is a trope, since **غَيْبٌ** is *orig.* the *inf. n.* of **غَابَ**, and is then applied to denote the **غَائِبُ** *absent* or *hidden* as unrestrictedly as

غُور is applied to denote the غَاطِر *sinking* or *sunken* in LXVII.30. [419] (BS). فَعَلَةٌ is [rare (Aud), dependent upon memory (A),] in such as هَادِرٌ pl. of (A) [above] (Aud, A). أُنْعَالٌ also, in the pl. of فَاعِلٌ, is dependent upon memory, as أَجْهَالٌ *ignorant* (A) and أَصْحَابٌ *companions* [246,255] (KF). And they say هَلَكِي as pl. of هَالِكٌ *perishing*, assimilating it to فَعِيلٌ i. q. مَفْعُولٌ, as جَرَحِي and قَتَلِي [246,259], since it is a *trial* and an *affliction*. But, as for غَيْبٌ and خَدَمٌ [257], they are *quasi-pl. ns.*, not *pls.* (IY). If فَاعِلٌ denote *others than men* (S), [i. e.] if فَاعِلٌ be *ep.* of an irrational object (IY, R, IA, Aud, BS, A), it takes the [broken (S)] pl. فَوَاعِلٌ (S, IY, R, IA, Aud, BS, A), regularly (R, Aud, A), even if it be *masc.* (S, IY, IA, A), because the irrational is treated like the *fem.* in the pl. (IY, R), since the و and ن, which are allowable in [the pl. of فَاعِلٌ denoting] *men*, are not allowable in it [234], so that it is *quasi-fem.* (S), as جَمَالٌ بَوَارِلٌ *nine-year-old he-camels* (S, IY, R) and أَيَّامٌ مَوَاضٍ *past days* [234,270] (R), like صَوَاهِلٌ pl. of (IY, IA, A) صَاهِلٌ *neighing* (IY, IA, Aud, A), said of a horse (IY), and شَوَاهِقُ pl. of (IY) شَاهِقٌ *lofty* (IY, Aud), said of a mountain (IY), whence the saying of Al Farazdak [satirizing Jarir (Jsh)]

أَخَذْنَا بِأَنَاقِ السَّاءِ عَلَيْكُمْ * لَنَا قَمَرَاهَا وَالنَّجْمُ الطَّوَالِغُ

(BS) *We have held*, i. e. *stopped the way to, the regions of the sky of eminence against you*, i. e. Jarīr and his kinsfolk, the Banū Kulaib Ibn Yarbū' Ibn Ḥanzala. *Ours are its sun and moon*, i. e. Muḥammad and 'Alī, *and the rising planets*, i. e. the eleven Executors, of the children of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib (Jsh). Many of the moderns say that this sort [of فَوَاعِلُ] is anomalous : but IM in the CK charges them with blundering in that ; and says that S distinctly declares the regularity of فَوَاعِلُ in the pl. of فَاعِلٌ when ep. of an irrational masc. ; and that the anomalous [فَوَاعِلُ] is only in such as فَوَارِسُ [below] pl. of فَارِسٌ , i. e. where فَاعِلٌ is ep. of a rational masc. (A). If فَاعِلٌ be an ep. [of a rational masc. (IA)], it does not take the pl. فَوَاعِلُ (Mb, IY, IA), although this is the o. f. (IY), in order that it may not be confounded with the fem. [below] (Mb, IY) : while [S says that (R) such as (M)] فَوَارِسُ horse-riders, [فَوَاكِسُ lowering, hanging down (Aud, A), هَوَالِكُ perishing (IY, R, Aud, A), سَوَابِقُ outstripping (IA, Aud), غَوَائِبُ absent, شَوَاهِدُ present (A), and خَوَارِجُ heretics, schismatics (T), all of which are eps. of rational mascs. (A), as also is تَوَابِعُ followers,] are [rare (IY),] anomalous (M, R, IA, Aud, A), as IM intimates by his saying "and [فَوَاعِلُ] is anomalous in [the pl. of] الْفَارِسُ with what resembles it" (A) ; and I have seen in the Commentary

of Jk on the Adab alKātib [of IKb (HKb)] حَوَارِسُ *keepers*,
guards and حَوَاجِبُ *door-keepers, chamberlains* from
 الْحِجَابَةِ *the office of door-keeper or chamberlain*, both trans-
 mitted by him from IAr; and hence, says he, the *prov.* مَعَ
 السَّيِّئِ صَافٍ *With the misser is an arrow going*
 أَمَّا وَحَوَاجِبُ بَيْتِ اللَّهِ *straight to the mark* and their saying
 وَدَوَاجِعِ *Now, by the pilgrims of the House of God,*
and its commercial visitors, vid. the assistants, and those
who let out beasts on hire; while رَوَانِدُ givers is trans-
mitted by MD, who cites

إِذَا تَلَّى فِي الْحَيِّ الْكَبِيرِ الرَّوَانِدُ

When few are the givers in the whole tribe (AKB).

But, if a poet be constrained, he may give فَاعِلُ the
 pl. فَوَاعِلُ, because it is the o. f. (IY), as نَعْمُ *لَوْلَا فَوَارِسُ مِنْ نَعْمُ*
 [548] (AKB on the verse next below): the poet (S, R)
 AlFarazdak (S, Mb, IY), being constrained (S, Mb), says
 [of men (S)]

وَإِذَا الرِّجَالُ رَأَوْا يَزِيدَ رَأَيْتَهُمْ * خُصَعَ الرِّقَابِ نَوَاسِ الْأَبْصَارِ
 [246,256] (S, Mb, IY, R) *And, when men see Yazid, thou*
seest them bent in the necks, lowering the eyes (AKB),
 meaning Yazid Ibn AlMuhallab (Mb), because you say
 هِيَ الرِّجَالُ *They are the men*, as you say هِيَ الْجِمَالُ *They*
are the he-camels, so that الرِّجَالُ is assimilated to الْجِمَالُ

(S) ; but the like of this is never found except in poetic license (Mb) : the poet [Abu-lGhūl atTuhawī (T)] says

فَدَتُ نَفْسِي وَمَا مَلَكَتْ يَمِينِي * فَوَارِسَ صَدَقَتْ فِيهِمْ ظُنُونِي
فَوَارِسَ لَا يَمْلُونَ الْمَنَايَا * إِذَا دَارَتْ رَحَا الْكَرْبِ الرَّبُونِ

[*May myself and what my right hand owns ransom horsemen that have verified my thoughts of them, horsemen that abhor not the fates, when the mill of stubborn war turns round !* (T)] ; and another says

فَأَيَقَنْتُ أَنِّي ثَأْنِرُ ابْنِ مُكَدَّمٍ * غَدَاتِنْدِ أَوْ هَالِكٍ فِي الْهَرَالِكِ
Then I made sure that I should be the avenger of Ibn Mukaddam on that morning, or be perishing among the perishing (IY), cited by IAl as by Ibn Jidhl atTī'ān (Jh) alKinānī (Mb) alFirāsī, of the Banū Kināna, lamenting his brother Mālik (T) ; and, says Sf, the saying

أَحَامِي عَنْ دِيَارِ بَنِي أَبِيكُمْ * وَمِثْلِي فِي غَوَائِكُمْ قَلِيلُ

[*I defend the homes of the sons of your father ; and the like of me among your absent ones is rare* (AKB)] occurs in poetry (R), said by [‘Utaiba or (T)] ‘Utba Ibn AlHārith [alYarbūfī (T, I Ath)] to Jaz Ibn Sa’d, who replied نَعَمْ وَفِي شَوَاهِدِنَا Yes, and among our present ones (AKB) ; and the poet, in his saying

وَإِذَا طَلَبْتَ إِلَى الْبَهْلَبِ حَاجَةً * عَرَضَتْ تَوَارِعُ دُونَهُ وَعَبِيدُ
And, when thou pursuest a need to AlMahallab, followers intervene before him, and slaves, means men by تَوَارِعُ, this

being allowable in poetry, and it is only by poetic license that he restores it to the *o. f.* (Mb). These anomalous words are variously explained : (1) S attributes *فَوَاعِلُ* to regard for the femininization in *الرِّجَالُ* [above] (AKB) : (2) Mb [followed by IY] mentions that *فَوَاعِلُ* is an *o. f.* in [the *pl.* of (T)] the prevalent *فَاعِلُ* [when *ep.* of what is rational (T)] ; and that in poetry it is allowable, good (R) : (3) according to [S and] Mb, [followed by IY] (AKB), they say *فَوَارِسُ*, [as they say *حَوَاجِرُ* (S), firstly because *فَارِسُ* is treated as a substantive, on account of its being frequently used alone, unqualified : and secondly (IY) because this word is not used [in their speech (S)] except for *men*, [and *orig.* denotes none but *them* (S, IY)] ; so that there is no fear of confusion (S, Mb, IY), since the *fem.* has no part in it (IY) ; and therefore they say *فَوَاعِلُ*, as they say *حَوَارِثُ* *Hāriths* when *حَارِثُ* is a proper name (S) : while *هَوَالِكُ* is [treated as (IY)] a *prov.* [in their speech, and *provs.* are current in a stereotyped form (IY)] ; so that it occurs in its *o. f.* (Mb, IY), from frequency of usage (Mb) : (4) some explain such instances on the theory that *فَوَاعِلُ* is *ep.* of *طَوَائِفُ* *bodies* or *bands*, in which case it is regular (A), being then *pl.* of *فَاعِلَةٌ* not of *فَاعِلُ* (Sn) : and I say

that there is no evidence in all [the *exs.*] that they mention, since هَالِكٌ may be *pl.* of هَالِكَةٌ, i. e. طَائِفَةٌ هَالِكَةٌ; and similarly the others, as الْخَوَارِجُ, i. e. الْفِرَقُ الْخَوَارِجُ the *heretical*, or *schismatical*, (*sects*), like وَالصَّافَّاتِ صَفًّا XXXVII.1. *By the (bands of Angels) standing in ranks*, i. e., طَوَائِفُ الْمَلَائِكَةِ (R) And no *ep.* of this formation, when denoting *men*, is debarred from [the sound *pl.* with] the و, and ن, as فَاسِقُونَ *wicked*, جَاهِلُونَ *ignorant*, عَاقِلُونَ *rational* (S), and قَارِئُونَ *reading* (KF): and [similarly]

النَّاعُونَ in Ka'b's saying

نَوَاحٍ رَخْوَةً الضَّبْعَيْنِ لَيْسَ لَهَا * لَمَّا نَعَى بِكَرْهَا النَّاعُونَ مَعْقُولٌ

Wailing much, loose in the two upper arms, so that her two hands are quick in movement, that had no reason [333] *left when the messengers announced the death of her first-born*, نَوَاحٍ being in the *gen.* as *ep.* of عَيْطَلٍ in the preceding verse

شَدَّ النَّهَارِ ذِرَاعًا عَيْطَلٍ نَصِيفٍ * قَامَتْ فَجَاوَبَهَا نَكْدٌ مَثَاكِيلُ

At the time of the day's becoming high [65], *were the rapid shifting of the two fore arms of a middle-aged tall woman that stood up, and was answered by childless women, bereft of many children*, where ذِرَاعًا عَيْطَلٍ is the *pred.* of كَانَ أَوْبُ ذِرَاعَيْهَا الْحَمِيمِ [75], by suppression of a *pre. n.*, i. e., أَوْبُ ذِرَاعَيْ عَيْطَلٍ, is *pl.* of نَاعٍ, its *o. fr.*

being النَّاعِمُونَ ; and like it are الْقَاضُونَ *the judges* [234] and الرَّاعُونَ *the herdsmen* (BS). The *fem.* of this formation has 2 paradigms [of broken *pl.*], فَوَاعِلُ and فُعَلُ, what contains the ة and what has no ة in it being equal in that respect (M). The [regular (R)] broken *pls.* [of the *fem.* (S, IY)] of the *ep.* فَاعِلُ, whether the ة [of feminization (S)] be expressed in it, [as in فَارِبَةٌ (S, R),] or supplied, [as in حَائِضُ (IY, R),] are (1) فَوَاعِلُ (S, IY, R), as فَوَارِبُ striking, [قَوَاتِلُ *killing*, خَوَارِجُ *going out* (S), and جَوَالِسُ *sitting up* (IY)] ; and [similarly (S)] as حَوَائِضُ *menstruating*, حَوَاسِرُ *stripped of clothes* (S, IY) and طَوَامِثُ *menstruating for the first time* (IY) : (2) فُعَلُ (S, IY, R), like the *masc.* (IY), by elision of the ة (R), while they trust to the context for distinction (IY), as نَوْمُ *sleeping* and زُورُ *visiting* ; and as حَيْضُ *menstruating*, [مُخَضُّ *seized with the pains of labour* (S),] and حُسْرُ *stripped of clothes* (S, IY). فَوَاعِلُ is a [regular (Aud, A)] *pl.* (1) of فَاعِلُ when *ep.* of a [rational (IA, A)] *fem.*, as [حَوَائِضُ *pl.* of (IA, A)] حَائِضُ (IA, Aud, A) and [طَوَالِقُ *pl.* of] طَالِقُ *divorced* (Aud) ; and (2) of فَاعِلَةٌ (IA, Aud, A) also (IA), when an *ep.* (Aud, Sn), unrestrictedly (A), i. e., of a rational being or irrational object (Sn), as فَوَاطِمُ

pl. of فَاطِمَةٌ *weaning* (IA, A), صَوَاحِبُ pl. of صَاحِبَةٌ a *companion* (IA), and صَوَارِبُ pl. of صَارِبَةٌ *striking* (A). It is disputed whether the *sing.* of عَوَارِضُ in Ka'b's saying قَنَجَلُو عَوَارِضَ [74] be عَارِضَةٌ, as ALB says in the Exposition of the Gharīb al-Hadīth, or عَارِضٌ; and whether, in the latter case, عَوَارِضُ be an anomalous pl., as Ns mentions in the exposition of 'Antara's saying

وَكَاَنَّ فَاَرَةً تَاجِرٍ بِقَسِيمَةٍ * سَبَقَتْ عَوَارِضَهَا إِلَيْكَ مِنْ أَلْفَمٍ

[*And it is as though a musk-bag of a merchant, i. e., perfumer, in a scent-basket, had preceded her side-teeth to thee from the mouth, meaning that her fragrant breath precedes her side-teeth, when thou seekest to kiss her* (EM)], declaring that فَوَاعِلُ hardly ever occurs as pl. of فَاعِلٌ, [or be regular]: but the correct opinion is that عَوَارِضُ is pl. of عَارِضٌ, because of Jarīr's saying [in an ode satirizing the poet Al-Akhtal (Jsh)]

أَتَذْكُرُ يَوْمَ تَصَقَّلُ عَارِضِيهَا * بَفَرْعِ بَشَامَةِ سُقَى الْبَشَامِ

[*Dost thou remember the day that she was polishing her two sets of side-teeth with a twig of a tree of the balsam of Makka? May the trees of balsam of Makka be watered!* (Jsh), where he means by عَارِضٌ, as ANB says, the *teeth after the central incisors*, the central incisors not being included in the عَارِضُ, or, as ISk says,

the canine tooth and the bicuspid next to it, or, as some say, what is between the central incisor and the bicuspid (Jh)] ; and that it is regular, because it is a substantive : while فَوَاعِلُ as pl. of فَاعِلٌ is anomalous only when فَاعِلٌ is an *ep.* of a rational [*masc.*], like هَالِكٌ [above], فَارِسٌ, and رَجُلٌ سَابِقٌ and نَافِسٌ ; whereas, if فَاعِلٌ be a substantive, like حَاجِبٌ [above], كَاهِلٌ, حَاطِطٌ, and دَانِقٌ, or an *ep.* of a [rational] *fem.*, like حَائِضٌ [above], طَالِقٌ, and طَامِثٌ, or of an irrational [*masc.*], like جَبَلٌ شَاهِقٌ and نَجْمٌ طَالِعٌ [above], then فَوَاعِلُ as its pl. is regular (BS). فَوَاعِلُ is also [regular as (Aud, A)] pl. of [the substantive (Aud)] فَوَعَلٌ, as جَوَاهِرٌ pl. of (IA, A) جَوْهَرٌ (IA, Aud, A) and كَوَافِرٌ pl. of [253] كَوْفَرٌ (Aud) ; or, [as IM adds in the Kāfiya (A),] فَوَعَلَةٌ, as صَوَامِعٌ pl. of (A) صَوْمَعَةٌ a monk's cell [253] (Aud, A) and [رَوَابِعٌ pl. of] رَوْبَعَةٌ a whirlwind of dust (Aud). And in the Tashīl he mentions a rule for the sorts in which it is regular, saying “ فَوَاعِلُ belongs to the *n.* whose 2nd is (1) an *aug.* ۱, except فَاعِلٌ when *ep.* of a rational *masc.* ; or (2) a , not co-ordinating [it] with a *quin.*”, meaning to exclude [by “*aug.*” such as the ۱ of آدَمُ (684), pl. أَوَادِمُ (686) upon the measure of أَفَاعِلُ (249) ; and (Sn)] by “not co-ordinating [it] with a *quin.*” such as [the, in (Sn)]

حَوْرَنُقْ, pl. خَرَائِقُ [upon the measure of فَعَالِلُ (Sn)] by elision of the , [253] (A). فَعْلُ is regular in [the pl. of] the ep. فَاعِلَةٌ sound in the J (IA, Aud, A), as [ضَرْبٌ pl. of (IA)] ضَارِبَةٌ and [صَوْمٌ pl. of (IA)] صَائِمَةٌ (IA, Aud), [and] as عُدْلُ pl. of عَاذِلَةٌ *blaming* (A). فَعَالُ is extraordinary in [the pl. of] فَاعِلَةٌ, as in the saying [of AlKutāmi (MN, J)]

أَبْصَارُهُنَّ إِلَى الشَّبَابِ مَائِلَةٌ * وَقَدْ أَرَاهُنَّ عَنِّي غَيْرَ مُدَادٍ
(IA, Aud, A) *Their eyes are [continually (J)] turning towards the youths; and sometimes I see, i. e., know, them to be not averse from me* (MN, J), where مُدَادٍ is [meant to be (IA)] pl. of مُدَادَةٌ (IA, Sn), the [acc.] pron. [in أَرَاهُنَّ (MN)] belonging to the *women* (MN, Sn): but [apparently (Aud), as some explain the verse (A),] مُدَادٍ *averted* is pl. of مُدَادٌ, [not of مُدَادَةٌ (Aud),] the [acc.] pron. [in أَرَاهُنَّ (MN, J)] belonging to the *eyes* (Aud, A), not to the *women* (Aud), because بَصْرٌ مُدَادٌ *an averted eye* is said, like حَدٌّ بَصْرٌ *a sharp eye* (A); and in that case there is nothing extraordinary in it, because it is then agreeable with analogy (J). فَعَالُ is dependent upon memory as pl. of the ep. فَاعِلَةٌ, like صِيَامٌ pl. of صَائِمَةٌ *fasting* (A). And none of these eps. containing the ʾ is debarred from the [sound pl. with the ʾ and] ت, as ضَارِبَاتٌ and حَارِجَاتٌ (S).

§ 248. The *n.* ending in an *l* of feminization, fourth, abbreviated or prolonged, (1) when a substantive, has 2 paradigms [of broken *pl.* (IY)], (a) فَعَالَى, as دَفَارَى *pl.* of ذِفْرَى *a prominent bone behind the ear* and (IY) صَحَارَى [*pl.* of صَحْرَاءُ *a desert* (IY)] ; (b) فِعَالٌ, [as ذِفَارٌ *pl.* of ذِفْرَى (IY)] : and (2) when an *ep.*, has 4 paradigms, (a) فِعَالٌ, as عِطَاشٌ [*pl.* of عِطَشَى *thirsty* (IY)], بَطَاحٌ [*pl.* of بَطَحَاءٌ *wide, orig. an ep., as مَكَانٌ أَبْطَحٌ a wide place* and بَرِيَّةٌ *a wide desert, said of what is spacious* (IY)], and عِشَارٌ [*pl.* of عِشْرَاءٌ *having been ten months pregnant, said of a she-camel* (Jh, KF), and نَفَاسٌ *pl.* of نَفَسَاءٌ *in the state following child-birth* (IY), said of a woman, the only two instances of فِعَالٌ *pl.* of فِعَلَاءٌ (Jh, KF) in the language (Jh)] ; (b) فُعْلٌ, as حُمْرٌ [below] ; (c) فُعْلٌ, as الصُّغُرُ [below] ; (d) فَعَالَى, as حَرَامَى (M) *pl.* of حَرَمَى *longing for the male, said of a ewe* (IY). Its broken *pl.* is of two kinds, (1) the ultimate *pl.* [18,256], in which case you say, (a) in the abbreviated, فِعَالٍ and فَعَالَى in the substantive, as دَعَاٍ and دَعَاوَى [*pls.* of دَعْوَى *a claim*] ; and [according to R] only فَعَالَى in the *ep.*, as حَبَالَى [*pl.* of حَبْلَى *pregnant* (Jh, KF), أَنَاثَى *pl.* of أَنْثَى *female, feminine* (KF),] and خَنَاثَى *pl.* of خُنْثَى *a hermaphrodite* : (b) in the prolonged, فَعَالَى and فِعَالٍ ; while فَعَالَى is allowable,

but rare, though it is the *o. f.* : (2) **فَعَالٌ** , as **إِنَاتٌ** [**ذِفَارٌ**] , **عِشَارٌ** , and **بِطَاحٌ** [**جِرَامٌ** (Jh, KF)] , **عِطَاشٌ** [**خِنَاتٌ** (KF)] , **حَرَمَى** [**عَطَشَى** (KF)] , **أُنْثَى** [**ذِئْبَى**] , **بَطَحَاءٌ** , and **عُشْرَاءٌ** : but [according to R] this *pl.* occurs only where the ultimate *pl.* does not occur [250] ; so that, since they say **إِنَاتٌ** , they do not say **أَنَاتٌ** or **أَنَاتَى** [above] ; and, since they say **خِنَاتَى** , they do not say **خِنَاتٌ** [above] (R). **فَعَالٌ** and **نَعَالٌ** are common to the substantive and the *ep.* (IY). The *o. f.* in this *cat.* is the ultimate *pl.*, the **ا** of femininization being taken into account because of its inseparability (R). Since the **ا** of femininization is not separable from the word, as the **ة** is [266], they consider it as part of the word itself ; and therefore, when it is fourth, the *n.*, being by means of it like the *quad.*, takes the *pl.* of the latter ; so that they say [in the substantive] **عَلَقَى** *pl.* of **عَلَقَى** *an ever-green plant of which brooms are made* and **ذِفَارَى** *pl.* of **ذِئْبَى** ; and, in the *ep.*, **حَبَالَى** *pl.* of **حُبْلَى** and **سَكَارَى** *pl.* of **سَكْرَى** *drunken* : thus **حَبَالَى** and **ذِفَارَى** correspond to **جَعَادِبٌ** [246] and **دَرَاهِمٌ** [245] ; and the [final] **ا** in **حَبَالَى** [and **ذِفَارَى**] is not like the **ا** in **حُبْلَى** [and **ذِئْبَى**] , because the latter is for femininization, while the former is converted from a **ي** , since **حَبَالَى** is a *pl.* upon the model of **جَعَانِرٌ** [246], in which the letter after the **ا** [of the broken *pl.*] is pro-

nounced only with Kasr, so that حَبَالِي is constructively حَبَالِي, a Fatha being substituted for the Kasra, and an | for the ي, because the | is lighter in pronunciation ; and therefore the preventive of triptote declension in حَبَالِي and ذَفَارِي is not like its preventive in حَبَلِي and جَعَابِرُ, but is only like its preventive in مَسَاجِدُ and ذِفَرِي [18] (1Y). Conversion of the ي into | is necessary, [according to R,] in the *ep.* whose | is abbreviated, contrary to the substantive, because the *ep.* is heavier [240], as respects the sense, than the substantive, so that necessary alleviation is more appropriate to it ; and the | is more frequent than the ي in the substantive also. They flee from the ي to the | in these *pls.*, contrary to such as جَوَاء *pl.* of جَائِيَّة [726], in order to match the *pl.* with the *sing.* in the two positions, i. e., حَبَالِي and جَوَاء ; and to distinguish the | of femininization from others, vid. the converted |, as in مَلْهِي [229,727], and the | of co-ordination, as in أَرَطِي *a kind of tree growing in sands* [272]. The same conversion, however, of the ي into | that occurs in [what ends in] the | of femininization sometimes occurs in what ends in a converted |, by assimilation of the latter to the former, as مَدَارِي and مَدَارِي [256,661,726], *pls.* of مَدْرِي *a comb or hair-pin* ; but it is not regular : while Sf says that it is regular, whether the | in the *sing.* be converted or co-ordinative, though the *o. f.* is [فَعَالٍ with] retention of the ي ; and,

according to this, you say مَلَاء and مَلَاهِي as *pls.* of مَلَّهِي , and أَرَاط and أَرَاطِي as *pls.* of أَرَطِي , because, says he, it is impervious to ambiguity ; but it is better to stop at what has been heard. As for the *n.* ending in the prolonged *l* fourth, three forms occur in it, the most frequent being نَعَالِي (R). In the broken *pl.* of what ends in the two *l* s of feminization [263,683], as صَحْرَاء and عَذْرَاء *virgin, maiden*, you say (1) صَحَارِي and عَذَارِي ; (2) صَحَارٍ and عَذَارٍ ; (3) صَحَارِي and عَذَارِي , which is the *o. f.* : the poet says

لَقَدْ أَغْدُو عَلَى أَشَقَرٍ * يَجْتَابُ الصَّحَارِيَّ

cited by Mb as by AlWalid Ibn Yazid [Ibn 'Abd AlMalik Ibn Marwān, *Assuredly I sometimes go forth in the early morning upon a sorrel that traverses the deserts* (AKB)]; another says الْبَطَاحِيُّ الرَّغَابُ the wide pebbly watercourses, meaning the *pl.* of بَطَحَاء ; and As transmits صَلَانِي as *pl.* of صَلَفَاء *hard ground*, and خَبَارِي as *pl.* of خَبْرَاء *level ground, producing lote-trees* : for صَحْرَاء and its like, as عَذْرَاء and خَبْرَاء , are of five letters ; and the *l* [of prolongation], when it occurs fourth in a word containing this number [of letters], is not elided in the broken *pl.*, being elided only when you find elision to be unavoidable [253] ; and, when retained, it must be converted into ي , because the , [or other letter] before it is pronounced with Kasr [685] ; and therefore the Hamza

becomes an **ا**, since it was converted into Hamza only because it was preceded by the **ا** of prolongation [683]; so that, when the **ا** is removed by its conversion into **ي**, the Hamza reverts to its former state as an **ا** [of femininization]; and then they convert the **ا** of [femininization] into **ي** because of the quiescence of the **ي** before it, the letter before **ا** being never quiescent; and incorporate the [first] **ي** converted from the **ا** of prolongation into the [second] **ي** converted from the **ا** of femininization, as **صَكَارِي** and **صَلَانِي**; then some elide the first **ي** for abbreviation, as **صَكَارِ** and **صَلَابِ**; and then some substitute a Fatha for the Kasra and an **ا** for the **ي**, [as **صَكَارِي** and **صَلَانِي**,] because the **ا** is lighter, and this formation is not liable to be confounded with anything else, and in order that the *pl.* may end in **ا**, like the *sing.* (IY). This conversion of the **ي** into **ا** is not allowable in the [prolonged] **ا** of co-ordination: you do not say **حَرَابِي** as *pl.* of **حِرَابَةٌ** a male chameleon [273, 385], but **حَرَابِي** or **حَرَابِ**, because the **ا** of femininization is worthier of being preserved [250, 282], on account of its being a sign, than the **ا** of co-ordination. Two words, vid. **بَكَاتِي** Bactrian camels and **مَهَارِي** Mahrî camels [below], are co-ordinated with the *cat.* of **صَكَارِي**, although the *sing.* does not contain the **ا** of femininization; so that the three forms [**بَكَاتِي**, **بَكَاتِ**, **بَكَاتِ**]

(Jh, KF), and بَحَائِي (KF), and مَهَارِي, مَهَار (Jh, KF), and مَهَارِي (KF),] are allowable in them, though the double ي is preferable : but they are not to be copied ; so that أَثَانِي and عَوَارِي are not said as *pls.* of أَثْفِيَّة a stone, one of three, supporting the cooking pot and عَارِيَّة a loan, [but أَثَانِي and أَثَابِي, and عَوَارِي (Jh, KF) and عَوَار (KF)] : and one word of the defective, vid. مُعْيِي tired, weary said of a he-camel, or مُعْيِيَّة said of a she-camel, *pls.* مَعَاي and مَعَايَا [661,726] said of he-camels or she-camels, is co-ordinated with such as [فَتْرِي a legal opinion, *pls.* فَتَار and فَتَارِي (R). فَعَالِي and فَعَال are associated in the *pl.* of (1) فَعْلَاء when (a) a substantive, as صَحَار and صَحَارِي, *pls.* of صَحْرَاء ; (b) a *fem. ep.*, [not being *fem.* of أَفْعَل (Sn),] as عَذَار and عَذَارِي, *pls.* of عَذْرَاء : (2) فَعْلِي [فَعْلِي or] فَعْلِي, when a substantive, as عَلَاق [253] and عَلَاتِي, *pls.* of [عَلَقِي or (Jh)] عَلَقِي [272,375] : (3) فَعْلِي [فَعْلِي or] فَعْلِي, when a substantive, as دَفَار and دَفَارِي, *pls.* of [دَفْرِي or (Jh,BS, KF)] دَفْرِي [272,375] : (4) فَعْلِي when a *fem. ep.*, not being *fem.* of أَفْعَل, as حَبَالِي and حَبَالِي, *pls.* of حَبَلِي : and these sorts are all regular, as IM intimates, except فَعْلَاء when a *fem. ep.*, like عَذْرَاء, in which فَعَالِي and فَعَالِي are not regular, but dependent upon memory,

as IM plainly declares in the Tashīl, contrary to what is implied by his language here and in the CK : (5) مَهْرِي [below,] where they say مَهَارِي and مَهَارِي ; but these two [pls.] are not to be copied. فَعَالٍ is separate [from فَعَالِي in the pl. of such as حَذَرِيَّةٌ [385], سَعْلَاءُ a she-devil, عَرَقَةٌ [a piece of wood fixed across the rim of the leathern bucket (Sn), to prevent it from collapsing], and لَمَاطِي [with Kasr of the ق, the end of the eye next to the nose (Sn)] ; and, when the 1st of the two aug. is elided, in such as حَبْنَطِي and عَفَرَتِي [253], عَدَوَلِي [a town in Al Bahrain (Dm)], قَهْرَبَاءُ [a small arrow (Dm)], بُلْهَنِيَّةٌ [677], فَلَنْسُورَةٌ [253, 390, 675], and حَبَارِي [below]. And فَعَالِي is separate [from فَعَالٍ in the pl. of the eps. فَعْلَانُ, as سَكْرَانُ and غَضْبَانُ [250] ; and فَعْلِي, as سَكْرِي and غَضْبِي (A). فَعَالِي is [regular as (Aud)] pl. of every tril. [substantive (IA) quiescent in the ع (A)], whose final is an [aug. (A)] double ي not denoting *fresh relation*, [there being no relation in it at all, like كُرْسِيٌّ, or a relation not fresh, i. e., not regarded now, because forgotten or like the forgotten, so that it is co-ordinated with what contains no relation at all, that مَهْرِي (Sn),] as [كُرَاسِيٌّ pl. of (IA, A)] كُرْسِيٌّ a chair or throne [294] (IA, Aud, A), بَرَادِي pl. of بُرْدِي a bulrush (IA), قَبَارِي pl. of (Jh, KF) قُمْرِي a turtle-dove,

[بَحَاتِي^٥ pl. of (Jh, KF)] بُخْتِي^٥ (Aud), and كَرَايِي^٥ pl. of كُرَيِي^٥ a crane ; but not تَرَائِي^٥ pl. of تُرْكِي^٥ a Turk (A). As for أَنَاسِي^٥, it is [said to be (R)] pl. of إِنْسَانُ^٥, [not of إِنْسِي^٥, being orig أَنَاسِينُ (Aud, A),] a ي being substituted for the ن, like ظَرَائِي^٥ pl. of ظَرْبَانُ^٥ [237, 250] (R, Aud, A) ; while some of the Arabs say أَنَاسِينُ and ظَرَائِينُ, according to the o. f. (Sn) : but [AH says that, if a man were to adopt the opinion that (Sn)] it is pl. of إِنْسِي^٥ (R, Sn), like كَرَايِي^٥ pl. of كُرْسِي^٥ (R), he would adopt a good opinion, and would get rid of the assertion of substitution, since the Arabs say إِنْسِي^٥ a human being, man in the sense of إِنْسَانُ^٥ ; and AH thus seems to intimate that the *relation* is forgotten, as is known from his words “ in the sense of إِنْسَانُ ” (Sn). The sign of the *fresh relation* is that the ي may be elided, while the indication of a sense understood before its elision remains. The ي sometimes denotes *real relation*, but the *n.* containing it is afterwards so much used that the *relation* becomes forgotten, [i. e., when the *relation* is not regarded at all (Sn),] or like the forgotten, [i. e., when it is sometimes regarded (Sn),] so that the *n.* is treated like what is not *rel.*, as مَهَارِي^٥ pl. of مَهْرِي^٥ [above], which was orig. the camel relating to Mahra [Ibn Haidān (ID, Jh, KF), father of (Jh)] a tribe [of Kuda‘ā (Dh, LL)] in AlYaman, and was

afterwards so much used that it became a substantive denoting the *well-bred camel*. IM mentions in the Tashil that this *pl.* belongs also to such as عِلْبَاءُ *a certain sinew in the neck* [273,385], حَوْلِيَا *ringworm* [273,385], and حَوْلِيَا [282] ; and that it is dependent upon memory in such as صَحْرَاءُ and عَذْرَاءُ [above], إِنْسَانٌ , and طَرِبَانٌ (A). As for [the second paradigm (IY),] فِعَالٌ , it is because the *l* of feminization, being like the *ṣ* , is elided in the [broken (IY)] *pl.*, as is done with the *ṣ* ; so that عِطَاشٌ (R), بَطَاحٌ , and إِنَاتٌ are like قِصَاعٌ [238] (IY,R), جِفَارٌ (IY), and بَرَامٌ : and this [paradigm فِعَالٌ] is chosen from among all the [broken] *pls.* of فَعْلَةٌ and فَعْلَةٌ because it most resembles فَعَالِي , which is the *o. f.* ; while such as نَفْسَاءُ and عَشْرَاءُ , being made to accord with such as أَنْثَى , take the *pl.* فِعَالٌ , although فِعَالٌ is not a broken *pl.* of فَعْلَةٌ [238], because of the aforesaid affinity of فِعَالٌ to فَعَالِي , which is the *o. f.* in its like, as we mentioned. Such as نَفْسَاءُ does not take the ultimate *pl.*, as the [formation] quiescent in the ع does, because the *l* is like the fifth, on account of the vowel of the ع : and neither the ultimate *pl.* nor فِعَالٌ has been heard as *pl.* of فَعَالِي , like أُرَبَى [272] and دَقَرَى [272, 375] ; or فَعَالِي , like الْمَرَطَى [272] and دَقَرَى [272,375] ; or فَعْلَاءُ , like ثَادَاءُ [385] ; but, if they took a

broken *pl.*, it would by analogy be *فَعَالٌ*, as we mentioned in the case of such as *نَفْسَاءُ*, although the most suitable *pl.* of the whole is with the *ا* and *ت* [below] (R). *فَعَالٌ* is dependent upon memory as *pl.* of (1) the *ep.* *فُعَلَى*, as *رَبَابٌ* *pl.* of *رَبَّى* [below]; (2) the *ep.* *فَعَلَاءُ*, as *عِجَابٌ* *pl.* of *عَجَفَاءُ* lean (A). The *pl.* of *رَبَّى* having recently brought forth, [applied, as AZ says, to a she-goat, but, as others say, to a she-goat and a ewe, and sometimes to a she-camel also (Jh),] ought to be *رَبَابٌ* with Kasr of the *ر*; but *رَبَابٌ* with Damm is said, which is not a *pl.*, but a quasi-*pl. n.*, like *رَحَالٌ* and *تَوَامٌ* [257] (R): and some of the Arabs say *نَفَاسٌ* [*pl.* of *نَفْسَاءُ* (KF)], like *رَبَابٌ* (S); but there is no other instance of *فَعَالٌ* *pl.* of *فَعَلَاءُ* (KF). Fr holds *فَعَلٌ* to be regular as *pl.* of (1) *فِعَلَى* when a substantive, as *ذِكْرٌ* *pl.* of *ذِكْرَى* remembrance [272], and (2) *فَعَلَةٌ* when its *ع* is a *ي*, as *ضَيْعٌ* *pl.* of *ضَيْعَةٌ* an estate [238], as he holds *فَعَلٌ* to be regular in such as *رَوِيًّا* and *نَوْبَةٌ* [below]; and Mb holds it to be regular in such as *هِنْدٌ* [18], as he holds *فَعَلٌ* to be regular in such as *جُمْلٌ* [below]: while the opinion of the majority is that such instances of the foregoing as occur are dependent upon memory, and not regular. Neither *فَعَالٌ* nor *فِعَلٌ* occurs as *pl.* of any

n. whose ف is a ي , except what is extraordinary, like يَعارُ , which, says IM in the Tashil, is pl. of يَعرُ , i. e., the male kid tied up [as a bait] in the pitfall dug for the lion, and of يَعرَّة (A). فَعْلٌ and فُعْلٌ are peculiar to the ep. (IY). فَعْلٌ is the pl. of فَعْلَاء [when an ep. (IY),] fem. of أَفْعَلُ , as حُمْرٌ (IY), صُفْرٌ (D, IY), خُضْرٌ , and سُودٌ (D), pls. of حَمْرَاءَ red, صَفْرَاءَ yellow, [خَضْرَاءَ green, and سَوْدَاءَ black] (IY), whence وَمِنَ الْجِبَالِ جُدَدٌ بَيْضٌ وَحُمْرٌ مُخْتَلِفٌ XXXV. 25 (D) And of the mountains are some having streaks, white and red, whose colors are varying [in intenseness and faintness (B)], and some intensely black (K, B), or, according to 'Ikrima, and long, or high, black mountains (K). فُعْلٌ is regular as pl. of أَفْعَلُ and فَعْلَاء , when eps., either corresponding one to the other, as حُمْرٌ pl. of أَحْمَرُ [249] and حَمْرَاءَ ; or isolated by a preventive in nature, as أَكْبَرُ having a big gland to the penis and أَذَرُ having a swollen testicle, رَتْقَاءَ having the passage of the vagina closed up and عَفْلَاءَ having a thickening of the vulva : but, if they be isolated by a preventive in usage exclusively, as رَجُلٌ آلِيٌّ a man having a big rump and امْرَأَةٌ عَجْرَاءُ a woman having a big rump, since they do not say رَجُلٌ أَعَجَزُ nor امْرَأَةٌ أَلْيَاءُ in the best known dial., the regularity of فُعْلٌ is disputed ; for IM in the CK distinctly declares that it is regular, and he

is followed by BD ; while in the Tashīl he distinctly declares that it is dependent upon memory ; and here the looseness of his language agrees with the former. The ف of this *pl.* must be pronounced with Kasr when the ع is a ع, as بَيْضٌ [710] (A). The medial of this [*pl.*] may not be mobilized, except in poetry, as in Ṭarafa's saying

أَيُّهَا الْفَتَيَانِ فِي مَجْلِسِنَا * جَرِّدُوا مِنْهَا وَرَادًا وَشَقْرًا

O ye youths in our assembly, detach from them bright bays and sorrels, in order that [the pl. of] أَفْعَلٌ when an ep. may be distinguished from [the pl. of] the substantives that take this pl., as رُسُلٌ and كُتُبٌ [246,711] : for the ع of the latter is pronounced with Ḍamm, but may be made quiescent ; while [the ع of] the former is quiescent, and may not be pronounced with Ḍamm, except by poetic license, when they assimilate it to the substantive (IY). Its ع may be pronounced with Ḍamm in poetry [249] on three conditions, soundness of its ع, soundness of its ل, and absence of reduplication, as in the saying

طَوَى الْجَدِيدَانِ مَا قَدْ كُنْتَ أَنْشُرُهُ * وَأَنْكَرْتَنِي ذَوَاتُ الْأَعْيُنِ النَّجَلِ

[The night and the day folded up what I had been wont to unfold ; and the mistresses of wide-opened eyes disliked me (MN)], which is frequent ; whereas, if its ع be unsound, as in بَيْضٌ white and سُودٌ black, or its ل, as in عُمَى blind and عُمْرٌ blind by night, or it be reduplicated, as in غُرٌ pl.

of ^{أَفْر} *white, illustrious*, Damm is not allowable (A). And ^{نَفْس} and ^{نَفْس}, like ^{كُتِبَ} and ^{كُنِبَ} [246], are *pls.* of ^{نَفْسَاء} (KF). And ^{فَعْلٌ} is the *pl.* of ^{الْفُعْلَى} *fem.* of ^{الْأَفْعَلُ} [355], because ^{أَفْعَلٌ}, not being *indet.*, but always accompanied by the determinative **ل** and **ل** or the particularizing ^{مِنْ}, falls short of the course of *eps.*, and follows the course of substantives, since the normal form of *eps.* is indeterminateness, inasmuch as they follow the course of the *v.* ; and therefore it takes the broken *pl.* of substantives, so that you say, in the *masc.*, ^{الْأَكْبَرُ} the greatest and ^{الْأَصَاغُرُ} the smallest, like ^{الْأَجَادِلُ} and ^{الْأَفَاكِلُ} [249], as ^{وَكَذَلِكَ جَعَلْنَا فِي كُلِّ قَرْيَةٍ أَكْبَرًا مُجْرِمِيهَا} VI.123. And so have *We set in every city the greatest of its sinners* [356] ; and, in the *fem.*, ^{الْكُبْرَى} *pl.* of ^{الْكَبْرَى} and ^{الصُّغْرَى} *pl.* of ^{الصَّغْرَى}, as ^{إِنَّهَا لِأَحَدَى الْكُبْرَى} LXXIV. 38. Verily it, i. e., Hell, is one of the greatest [trials (K,B) and calamities (K)], because they treat the **ل** of feminization in it as equivalent to the **ة** (IY) ; so that, since ^{فُعْلَةٌ} taken the *pl.* ^{فُعْلٌ} [238], ^{فُعْلَى} also takes it (K). ^{فُعْلٌ} is regular as *pl.* of ^{الْفُعْلَى} [355], when *fem.* of ^{الْأَفْعَلُ}, as ^{الْكُبْرَى} *pl.* of ^{الْكَبْرَى} ; whereas, if ^{فُعْلَى} be not the *fem.* of ^{الْكَبْرَى}, as ^{بُهْمَى} [258] and ^{رُجْعَى} a return, reply, answer [272], it does not take the *pl.* ^{فُعْلٌ} : (a) Fr holds ^{فُعْلٌ} to be regular as *pl.* of (1) ^{فُعْلَى} when an *inf. n.*, like ^{رُجْعَى}

[above], and (2) **فَعَلَةٌ** when its 2nd [rad.] is a quiescent , like **جَوَزَةٌ** [254], so that you say **رُجِعَ** and **جُوزَ** in their *pl.*, like **رَوَى** and **نُوبَ** [238] in [the *pl.* of] **رَوِيًّا** and **نُوبَةً** [above] ; while others hold **رَوَى** and **نُوبَ** to be instances of what is dependent upon memory, and not regular : (b) Mb holds **فُعِلَ** to be regular as *pl.* of **فُعِلَ** when *fem.* without a ة , as **جُمِلَ** *Juml* [18] ; while others confine it to hearsay : but IM's language in the *Kāfiya* and its Commentary necessarily implies agreement with Mb ; for he says in the *Kāfiya* "And **هِنْدُ** is like **كِسْرَةٌ** a *fragment* [238, 239] in **فَعِلَ** [above], and **جُمِلَ** is like **بَرْمَةٌ** a *cooking-pot*, [*pl.* **بَرْمٌ** (KF),] in **فُعِلَ** " ; and says in its Commentary "And **فُعِلَ** and **فُعِلَ**, when *fem.*, are co-ordinated with **فَعَلَةٌ** and **فُعَلَةٌ** [238], so that **هِنْدُ** *pl.* **هِنْدٌ** and **نَفْسٌ** *pl.* **نَفْسٌ** are said". And ISd transmits **نَفْسٌ** and **نَفْسٌ** as *pls.* of **نَفْسَاءُ** (A). Every *n.* ending in the **ل** of feminization, [abbreviated or prolonged (IY),] may be pluralized with the [**ل** and (IY)] **ت** , [because the *n.*, when it ends in the **ل** of feminization, follows the course of that which contains the ة of feminization, on account of their agreement in being *aug.* and in importing the sense of feminization (IY),] except the **فَعَلَاءُ** of **فَعِلَ** [234, 249] and the **فَعِلَانِ** of **فَعِلَى** [234, 250] (SYI) : and

[thus], when *paucity* is meant, ذَفَرِيَّاتُ [pl. of ذَفَرَى (IY,BS), like عَلَقِيَّاتُ (BS) pl. of عَلَقَى], حُبْلِيَّاتُ [pl. of حُبْلَى (IY)], الصُّغْرِيَّاتُ [pl. of الصُّغْرَى (IY)], خَبْرَاوَاتُ (S) pl. of خَبْرَاءُ (Jh,KF)], صَحْرَاوَاتُ [pl. of صَحْرَاءُ (IY)], عَشْرَاوَاتُ pl. of عَشْرَاءُ, and نَفْسَاوَاتُ pl. of نَفْسَاءُ (S)] are said (S,M) ; but not حَمْرَاوَاتُ, while the Prophet's saying لَيْسَ فِي حَمْرَاوَاتٍ صَدَقَةٌ [234] is because it is treated as a substantive (M), since [by *greens*] he means *vegetables* [below] (IY). The فَعْلَاءُ [fem. (D)] of أَفْعَلُ is not pluralized with the ا and ت, nor its masc. with the و and ن (D,IY), because it is not conformable to the *v.* : for *eps.* are of two kinds, (1) conformable to the *v.*, like ضَارِبُ and ضَارِبَةٌ [343] ; and (2) not conformable [to the *v.*], like أَحْمَرُ and its like : and the first kind takes the sound pl., as قَاتِمُونَ and ضَارِبُونَ in the masc. [247], and قَاتِمَاتُ and ضَارِبَاتُ in the fem. [247], because, being conformable to the *v.*, it is assimilated to the form of the *v.*, to which the pron. of the pl. is attached, since the *v.* is preserved, being altered by means of what is attached to it ; so that ضَارِبُونَ is treated like يَضْرِبُونَ, and ضَارِبَاتُ like يَضْرِبْنَ : while the second kind does not take the sound pl., except by poetic license, as فَمَا وَجَدْتُ أَحْمَرَ [234,249], though IK used to say " I do not see any harm in it "

(IY). This is subject to the condition that فَعْلَاءُ be not transferred to the *cat.* of the substantive, really, like سَوْدَاءُ *Saudá*, when it is made a proper name ; or virtually, like خَضْرَاءُ in the tradition لَيْسَ أَلْحُ [above], because it is so prevalently applied to *vegetables* that it includes the *green* and others : and خَضْرَاوَاتُ, as it occurs in the tradition, has been expressly declared to be correct, for Mb says so in the Mukṭadab ; but, as for خَضْرَاوَاتُ with Damm of the خ, which is current upon the tongues of men, there is said in the TT to be no reason for it, while some say that the correct form of it is خَضْرَاتُ *pl.* of خَضْرَةٌ *a green plant* (CD). And for the same reason the فَعْلَى of فَعْلَانُ does not take the sound *pl.* with the ا and ت, nor its *masc. the* [sound] *pl.* with the و and ن (IY). When the ا [of femininization (IY,R)] is fifth, the *n.* containing it (M,R), if it be prolonged, may be pluralized with the ا and ت ; or, the ا being elided, may take the ultimate *pl.*, as قَوَاصِعُ and خَنَافِسُ *pls.* of قَاصِعَاءُ and جَلَائِلُ, قَرَائِثُ, بَرَائِكُ [247] ; and similarly قَرِيَنَاءُ, بَرَائِكَاءُ [246], جَلُولَاءُ : but, if it be abbreviated (R), is pluralized, [says S, only (IY,R)] with the [ا and (R)] ت (M,R), as حُبَارِيَّاتُ [*pl.* of حُبَارَى *a bustard* (IY)] and سُبَانِيَّاتُ (M) *pl.* of سُبَانَى *a quail*, even if you mean *multitude* (IY), because, if you said حَبَائِرُ

[and سَمَائِنُ after eliding the 1 of feminization (IY)], or حَبَارَى [and سَمَانَى after eliding the 1st 1 (IY)], the former would be liable to be mistaken for the *pl.* of فَعَالَةٌ [246], and the latter for the *pl.* of [فَعَلَى or (R)] فَعَلَاءُ [above] (IY,R). IM, however, mentions in the Tashil that فَعَائِلُ is *pl.* of such as حَبَارَى [378] and حَرَابِيَّةٌ [stout, inclining to shortness (Dw)], if the augment after their 1 be elided [253]; and apparently it is regular in what is commensurable with these words; while he restricts حَبَارَى and حَرَابِيَّةٌ to the case where the 2nd of their two *aug.* is elided, in which you say حَبَائِرُ [above] and حَرَائِبُ, only in order to exclude the case where the 1st of the two *aug.* is elided, in which you say حَبَارُ [above] and حَرَابُ (A).

§ 249. أَفْعَلُ, (1) when a substantive, has one paradigm [of broken *pl.*], أَفَاعِلُ, as أَجَادِلُ [235, 248, 253] (M), أَفَاكِلُ [248], أَكَادِعُ, and أَرَانِبُ, *pls.* of أَجْدَلُ hawk [372], أَكْدَلُ a fit of quaking or shivering [369, 372, 672], أَكْدَعُ a kind of red gum [672], and أَكْدَبُ a hare [18, 672], because, being like the *quad.* in number [of letters], it takes the *pl.* thereof [245], so that أَفَاكِلُ is like جَعَانِرُ [248]: (a) every *tril.* substantive beginning with an *aug.* Hamza taken the broken *pl.* أَفَاعِلُ, even if its vowels vary

[255], as أَصَابِعُ *pl.* of إصْبَغُ [372], أَبْلَمُ *pl.* of أَبْلَمُ, and أَصْبَغُ *pl.* of إصْبَغُ [253] (IY) : (2) when an *ep.*, has 3 paradigms, (a) فَعَلٌ (M), which is the [regular (R) broken (S, R)] *pl.* of [every (IY)] أَفْعَلُ [when it is an *ep.* (S), whose *fem.* is فَعْلَاءُ (IY, R)], as حُمُرٌ (S, M), خُضْرٌ, بَيْضٌ, سُودٌ (S), and صُفْرٌ (IY), *pls.* of أَحْمَرٌ *red* (S, IY), أَخْضَرٌ *green*, أَبْيَضٌ *white*, أَسْوَدٌ *black* (S), and أَصْفَرٌ *yellow* (IY) ; and of its *fem.* (S, R), as حُمُرٌ and صُفْرٌ, *pls.* of حَمْرَاءُ and صَفْرَاءُ [248] (S) : (a) they assimilate it to فَعُولٌ (S, IY on § 248), where they say عَجُولٌ *pl.* of صَبُورٌ and عَجُولٌ *pl.* of عَجُولٌ [246] (IY), because it is a *tril.* (S, IY), as فَعُولٌ is (IY) ; and contains an *aug.*, as فَعُولٌ does ; and the number of its letters is like the number of the letters of فَعُولٌ (S) : (b) its ع may not be pronounced with Damm, except by poetic license (S, IY on § 249, R) : (b) فُعْلَانُ (M), which [often (S, R)] occurs as *pl.* of this أَفْعَلُ (S, IY, R), as حُمْرَانُ *red* (S, M, R), بَيْضَانُ *white*, سُودَانُ *black* (S, IY, R), شُبَّطَانُ *having grizzled hair* (S, IY on § 248), and أَدْمَانُ *tawny* (S) : the poet says

وَمِعْرَى هَدْبًا يَغْلُو * قِرَانِ الْأَرْضِ سُودَانَا

[673] *And shaggy goats that mount the hillocks of the ground, black* (IY on § 249) : (a) that is because, since they give it the *pl.* فُعْلٌ, like the *pl.* of the unaugmented [*ep.* فَعْلٌ], they give it the *pl.* فُعْلَانُ also, like وَغْدَانُ *pl.* of وَغْدٌ

mean or sordid, and weak [239] (IY on § 248) : (b) **فَعْلَانُ** is dependent upon memory as *pl.* of the **أَفْعَلُ** of **فَعْلَاءُ**, like **سُودَانُ** *pl.* of **أَسْوَدُ** *black* and **عُمَيَّانُ** *pl.* of **أَعْمَى** *blind* (A) : (c) **أَفَاعِلُ**, as **الأَصَاغُرُ** *the smallest* (M). The *ep.* is either the **أَفْعَلُ** of **فَعْلَاءُ** or the **أَفْعَلُ** of **الْفُعْلَى** (R) : but only the **أَفْعَلُ** whose *fem.* is **فُعْلَى** takes the *pl.* **أَفَاعِلُ** (M), because this **أَفْعَلُ**, when synarthrous [356], follows the course of the substantive, and therefore takes the broken *pl.* of substantives (IY on § 249). And, says S (Jh), we have heard the Arabs say **الأَصَاغِرُ** (S, Jh), as you say **الْقَشَاعِمَةُ** [265] and **صَيَارِفَةُ** [253] (S). And you say **الأَصْغُرُونَ** (S, Jh) and **الأكْبَرُونَ** (S), [because] it takes the [sound (IY)] *pl.* with the **و** and **ن** also (M), as XVIII. 103. [35, 248] (S, M), the **و** and **ن** and the broken *pl.* being combined here, as **فُعْلُ** and **فُعْلَانُ** are combined [in the **أَفْعَلُ** of **فَعْلَاءُ**] (S). When an *ep.*, such as **أَحْمَدُ** and **أَسْعَدُ**, is used as a [proper] name, it becomes a substantive, and takes the [broken] *pl.* of substantives, as **أَحَامِدُ** and **أَسَاعِدُ**; and the sound *pl.* also, as **أَحْمَدُونَ** and **أَسْعَدُونَ**; because the sense of qualification is removed from it by its use as a [proper] name (IY). But **أَحْمَرُونَ** is not said [234], in order that it may be distinguished from the **أَفْعَلُ** of superiority; nor **حَمْرَاوَاتُ** [234], because the *fem.* is subordinate to the *masc.* (SH) : though **أَفْعَلُونَ** and

فَمَا وَجَدَتْ آلَ حِمْيَرَ are allowable by poetic license, as فَمَا وَجَدَتْ آلَ حِمْيَرَ [234, 248], and IK allows that in a case of choice (R) ; while الْخَضْرَاءُ occurs [248], because of its prevalence as a substantive (SH), since the prevalence of application kills the sense of qualification (R). And, as for the saying [of AlA'shà, when threatened with death by 'Alkama Ibn 'Ulātha Ibn 'Auf Ibn AlAḥwaṣ (IY, AKB) Ibn Ja'far Ibn Kilāb Ibn Rabī'a Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Ṣa'sa'a alKilābī al'Āmirī aṣṢaḥābī (AKB)]

أَتَانِي وَعِيدُ الْخَوْصِ مِنْ آلِ جَعْفَرٍ * فَيَا عَبْدَ عَمْرٍو لَوْ نَهَيْتَ الْأَحَارِصَ
[The threat of the Aḥwaṣes (meaning the children of Rabī'a Ibn Ja'far, named Al Aḥwaṣ because of a narrowness in his eye), of the race of Ja'far, has come to me. Then, O 'Abd 'Amr Ibn Shuraiḥ Ibn AlAḥwaṣ, if thou hadst forbidden the Aḥwaṣ's, (it would have been better for them), 'Abd 'Amr being addressed because he was then their chief (AKB)], the two sides of qualificativity and substantivity [240] are regarded in it (M). أَحَوْصٌ being orig. of the cat. of أَحْمَرٌ, its pl. is فُحُلٌ : but, when it is made a proper name, its pl. may be (1) أَفَاعِلٌ, like that of the substantive أَفْعَلٌ ; (2) فُحُلٌ from regard to the o. f. ; (3) أَفْعَلُونَ when it is a proper name of the rational [masc.] ; (4) أَفْعَلَاتٌ when it is a proper name of the fem. [234]. And أَرْمَلٌ and أَرْمَلَاتٌ are allowable as pls. of such as أَرْمَلٌ

needy and أَرْمَلَةٌ [18], because they are like ضَارِبُونَ and فَارِبَاتٌ [234, 247] (R) ; while أَرَامِلٌ [or أَرَامِلَةٌ (KF)] is the [broken] *pl.* of أَرْمَلٌ and أَرْمَلَةٌ (T, KF), because it applies to the *masc.* and *fem.* (T) , أَرَامِلٌ , says ISk, being the *needy*, both men and women (Jh).

§ 250. When فَعْلَان is a substantive, its [broken (IY)] *pl.* is فَعَالِينَ (M, R), as شَيْاطِينُ [*pl.* of شَيْطَانٌ a *devil* (IY)], سُلْطَانِينَ [*pl.* of سُلْطَانٌ a *sovereign* (IY)], and سَرَّاجِينَ (M) *pl.* of سَرَّحَانٌ a *wolf* (IY), whether it be quiescent in the ع , [as mentioned (MASH)] ; or mobile, as [وَرَاشِينَ *pl.* of MASH)] وَرَشَانٌ a *kind of pigeon*, [ظُرَّابِينَ *pl.* of (MASH)] السُّبْعَانُ [236, 385], and ظُرْبَانُ [*pl.* of (MASH)] [237, 248, 385] (R, MASH) : because, being a *tril.* substantive co-ordinated with he [augmented] *quad.*, it must have the same *pl.* as what it is co-ordinated with [253] (IY) ; unless it be a coined proper name, like سَلْمَانُ, عُثْمَانُ, and غَطَفَانُ [4], because the broken *pl.* is deemed strange in the coined, contrary to the transferred, which was previously familiar with the broken *pl.*, especially when the coined contains the [aug.] † and ن , which ought to be preserved because of their resemblance to the [prolonged] † of feminization [248, 282] (R). And they say سِرَاحٌ ,

(S, M, SH) and ضِبَاعٌ (S, R) in the [broken (IY)] pl. of سِرْحَانٌ (IY, R) and ضِبْعَانٌ a male hyena, by assimilation to غُرَاتٌ pl. of غُرْتَانٌ [below] ; and طِرْبِي also in the pl. of طِرْبَانٌ (R). And فَعْلَانٌ strangely occurs [as pl. of فَعْلَانٌ (CD)] in كِرْوَانٌ pl. of كِرْوَانٌ, as says Dhu-rRumma, [praising Bilāl (Mb, SM, CD) Ibn Abi Burda Ibn Abi Mūsà alAsh'arī (SM, CD),]

وَلَكِنِّي أَقْبَلْتُ مِنْ جَانِبَيْ قَسَا * أَزُورُ فَتًى نَجْدًا كَرِيمًا يَمَانِيَا
 مِنْ آلِ أَبِي مُوسَى تَرَى الْقَوْمَ حَوْلَهُ * كَأَنَّهُمُ الْكِرْوَانُ أَبْصَرَنَ بَارِيَا
 [But I have arrived from the two sides of Kāsà, visiting an exalted generous Yamānī youth of the family of Abū Mūsà, such that thou wilt see the people flocking round him, as though they were partridges, that have seen, or when they have seen, a hawk or falcon (SM)] ; and some mention that صَفْرَانٌ a stone takes the pl. صَفْرَانٌ (D). IBR says that other words of this measure occur, besides what H mentions, vid. (1) وَرَشَانٌ [above], pl. وَرَشَانٌ ; (2) فَلَتَانٌ lively, spirited, said of a horse, pl. فَلَتَانٌ ; (3) صَبِيَانٌ sharp in affairs, [pl. صِلْتَانٌ (Md)] ; (4) صَبِيَانٌ brave, bold, [pl. صَبِيَانٌ (Md)] ; (5) شَقْدَانٌ a male chameleon, [pl. شَقْدَانٌ (KF)] ; (6) غَذِيَانٌ lively, cheerful said of a man, pl. غَذِيَانٌ (Md), which seems from the context to

have been accidentally omitted from the CD] : so that these [six], together with كَرَوَانٌ and صَفَرَانٌ mentioned by H, make eight. IA says, in his Commentary [named AlMusā'id (HKh)] on the Tashil [of IM (HKh)], "S says "that they say كَرَوَانٌ ; and for the pl. كِرَوَانٌ, which is only "the broken pl. of كَرَا, like إِخْوَانٌ [255] : but this is "a mistake, for it is only in the prov. [below] that they "say كَرَا, which is curtailed ; and the pl. of كِرَوَانٌ ought by "analogy to be كِرَايِينٌ [below]". What is [here] transmitted, however, from S is approved in the Muḥkam by ISd ; and he is followed by the author of the KF : and what IA asserts as to S's mistake [requires consideration], because, even if it were admitted that كَرَا in the prov. is curtailed, this would not harm S ; since he means that كِرَوَانٌ is pl. of an assumed sing., conformable to analogy : and this is expressly declared by Mb, who says in the Kāmil (CD), كِرَوَانٌ is pl. of كَرَوَانٌ, which is a well-known bird ; and this pl. does not belong to this substantive when complete ; but is formed by elision of the augment, كِرَوَانٌ being assumed to be pl. of كَرَا, like إِخْوَانٌ pl. of أَخٌ [239,260], رِرَالٌ pl. of رَلٌ [247] (Mb, CD), and بَرَقَانٌ pl. of بَرَقٌ a lamb [237] (Mb) ; and كِرَوَانٌ is similarly treated in the sing., as say the Arabs in one of their provs. [applied to the self-conceited (CD)]

أَطْرِقْ كَرًا أَطْرِقْ كَرًا * إِنَّ النَّعَامَ فِي الْقُرَى

(Mb, CD) *Lower thy neck, partridge ! Lower thy neck, partridge ! Verily the ostriches are in the towns, i. e., contract thine eyelids, for verily the great are in the towns, the partridge being a low bird (AKB), meaning the كَرَوَان (Mb). And, according to what is mentioned by S, and approved by Mb, this is not strange, extraordinary, as H says (CD). The كَرَا is variously said to be the كَرَوَان itself, and to be curtailed from كَرَوَان (Md) The pls. of كَرَوَان are (1) كَرَاوِين, [like وَرَاشِين (Jh)] : (2) كَرَوَان (Jh, KF), contrary to analogy, like وَرَاشَان; formed by elision of the augs., as though pl. of كَرَا (Jh). When فَعْلَانُ is an ep., [and has فَعْلَى (S, IY, R) for its fem. (IY), like سَكْرَانُ fem. سَكْرَى (R),] its [broken (S)] pls. are (1) فَعَالٌ (S, M, R), as غَضَابٌ [below] (M), by elision of the augment from its termination, as the ا [of أَنْتَى and رَبَى (IY)] is elided in [forming] إِنْكَثٌ [248] and رُبَابٌ, [so that عَجَلَانُ and عَطْشَانُ, becoming, as it were, عَجَلٌ and عَطْشٌ, take the pl. فَعَالٌ (IY),] as مِجَالٌ, and غِرَاتٌ, pls. of عَجَلَانُ *hasty*, عَطْشَانُ *thirsty*, and غَرَّانُ *hungry* (S, IY), like خِدَالٌ and صِعَابٌ [239], pls. of خَدَلٌ *plump* and صَعْبٌ *hard, difficult* (IY); and similar is [the pl. of (IY, R)] its fem. [248] (S, IY, R) : (2) فَعَالَى (S, M, R), because فَعْلَانُ resem-*

bles **فَعْلَاءَ** [248] through the two *aug.* and the [sense of] qualification (R), as **سَكَارَى** (S, M), **حَزَايَا**, **حَيَارَى**, [and **فَيَارَى** (S),] *pls.* of **سَكْرَانُ** *drunken*, **حَيْرَانُ** *perplexed*, **خَزْيَانُ** *abashed* (S, IY), and **غَيْرَانُ** *jealous* (S) ; and similar is [the *pl.* of (R)] the *fem.* (S, IY, R), as **سَكَارَى** and **حَزَايَا**, *pls.* of **سَكْرَى** and **خَزْيَا** (IY) : (a) they assimilate the **ا** and **ن** to the prolonged **ا** [of femininization, because they are both *aug.* together, and the first of them is a letter of prolongation (IY)] ; so that they say **سَكْرَانُ** *pl.* **سَكَارَى** [and **عَطَشَانُ** *pl.* **عَطَاشَى** (IY)], like **صَحْرَاءُ** *pl.* **صَحَارَى** (IY, R) and **عَذْرَاءُ** *pl.* **عَذَارَى** [248] (IY). And **حَرَمَى**, *pls.* **حِرَامُ** and **حَرَامَى**, is said, because **فَعْلَى** [here] is an *ep.*, like that which has **فَعْلَانُ**, as though, if this [word] were used in the *masc.*, **حَرْمَانُ** would be said [248] (S). And the *pls.* of **فَعْلَانُ** *fem.* **فَعْلَانَةٌ**, [like **نَدْمَانُ** *fem.* **نَدْمَانَةٌ** (R),] are the same as those of **فَعْلَانُ** *fem.* **نَدْمَانَةٌ** (S, R), as **نِدَامٌ** and **نَدَامَى**, *pls.* of **نَدْمَانُ** and **نَدْمَانَةٌ** (S). Neither of the two *pls.* is regular, either in the **فَعْلَانُ** of **فَعْلَى**, or in the **فَعْلَانُ** of **فَعْلَانَةٌ** (R) ; but **فَعْلَانُ** is more frequent (S, IY) than **فَعْلَانَى** (S). The two are sometimes combined in the **فَعْلَانُ** of **فَعْلَانَةٌ**, like **عَطَاشُ** and **نِدَامَى** ; [and in the **فَعْلَانُ** of **فَعْلَى**, like **عَطَاشُ** and **عَطَاشَى** :] but not with the **ا** of femininization, as we

mentioned [248], بِطَاحٌ being said, but not بِطَاحِي ; and صَحَارِي , but not صَحَارُ (R). And they sometimes give some [eps.] of this [measure] the broken *pl.* نُعَالِي , as سُكَارِي *drunken* and عَجَالِي *hasty* ; while some say [سُكَارِي and عَجَالِي (S). IH says that [only] (R) four are [optionally (MASH)] pronounced with Damm [of the ف (MASH)], كُسَالِي *lazy*, [*pl.* of كَسَلَانُ (Jh, KF), *fem.* كَسَلَانَةٌ (KF),] سُكَارِي , عَجَالِي , and غِيَارِي *jealous* (SH) ; but I have not seen any one [else] restrict نُعَالِي to four. Z indeed says in the M that (R) some of the Arabs say كُسَالِي , سُكَارِي , عَجَالِي , and غِيَارِي with Damm (M, R) : but even in this passage there is no express declaration of restriction ; while in the K on IV. 10. [585] he mentions that (R) مُعَانِي and مُعَانِي are read, like سُكَارِي and سَكَارِي (K, R). This Damm is found in the *pl.* of [some eps. of the measure (R)] نُعْلَانُ , exclusively (IY, R), in order that it may be known to be the *pl.* of نُعْلَانُ , not of نُعْلَاءُ (IY), because the ultimate *pl.* as broken *pl.* of نُعْلَانُ is contrary to the *n. f.*, since نُعْلَانُ takes it only because of the resemblance of the ا and ن to the [prolonged] ا of feminization ; so that [the vowel of] the initial of the irregular *pl.* is altered from what it ought to be, in order to notify from the very first that this *pl.* is contrary to rule. Damm is (1) preferable to Fath in كُسَالِي and

سُكَارَى : (2) necessary in the قُدَامَى of the bird, i. e., its anterior wing-feathers, and in أُسَارَى [246], pls. of قَادِمَةٌ and أُسِيرٌ ; and this shows how very different they are from what the broken pls. of these two [sings.] ought to be : (3) not allowable in anything else. Some GG, seeing the difference of فُعَالَى from the ultimate pl., by reason of the Damm of the initial, say that it is a quasi-pl. n., like رُبَابٌ [248], قَوْمٌ, and نَفَرٌ ; and is not a broken pl. [257]. When an ep. is upon the measure فُعْلَانُ, like غُرْبَانٌ and خُمْصَانٌ, it does not take the pl. فُعَالَى, because فُعْلَانٌ with quiescence of the ع does not occur fem. [273], so that فُعْلَانُ should be assimilated to it ; and therefore they say خِصَامٌ [below] as pl. of خُمْصَانٌ and خُمْصَانَةٌ, by assimilation to غُرَاتٌ pl. of غُرْتَانُ [above] (R). فُعَالٌ is common, [i. e., regular (IA),] as pl. of (1) the ep. فُعْلَانُ [239] and its two fems. (IM), فُعْلَى [fem. of the diptote (Sn)] and فُعْلَانَةٌ [fem. of the triptote (Sn)], as غَضَابٌ [above], pl. of غَضْبَانٌ angry, wrathful and عَضْبَى, and نِدَامٌ [above], pl. of [نَدَمَانٌ repentant and (IA)] نَدَمَانَةٌ (IA, A) ; (2) the ep. فُعْلَانُ and likewise [its fem. (A)] فُعْلَانَةٌ (IM), as خِصَامٌ [above], pl. of خُمْصَانٌ lank-bellied and خُمْصَانَةٌ (IA, A). IM intimates by his saying "common" that it is not regular ; and so he expressly declares

in the CK : but his language in the Tashīl necessarily implies that it is regular (A) ; and so he expressly declares in the U, as Syt says (Sn). Some of the Arabs say (R), and you may say (S), خُصَّصَانُونَ [234] and خُصَّصَانَاتُ , [from regard to the fact that خُصَّصَانُ is not of common gender (R)] ; and [similarly (R)] نَدَمَانُونَ (S,R) and نَدَمَانَاتُ (R) ; and عُرْيَانُونَ [and عُرْيَانَاتُ], like طَرِيفُونَ and طَرِيفَاتُ [246], because the ة is affixed to the *masc.* formation, when you mean to form the *fem.* (S) : but they do not say عَرَاءُ [or عَرَايَا (S)], because they use عَرَاءُ [*pl.* of عَارٍ (R)] instead (S, R), since عُرْيَانُ *naked* [247] and عَارٍ *naked* are synonymous (R). The فَعْلَانُ of فَعْلَى does not take the [sound (R)] *pl.* [with the , and ن (S)], except in poetic license (S, R), because the ة does not occur in its *fem.* (S).

§ 251. فَيَعِلُّ is one of the formations peculiar to the unsound, like the *pl.* فُعْلَةٌ [247] (IY). فَيَعِلُّ occurs only in the unsound in the ع [373], like سَيِّدٌ ; and فَيَعِلُّ only in the sound in the ع, like حَيِّدٌ *a lion*, except in one word : the poet [Ru'ba (Jh)] says

مَا بَالُ عَيْنِي كَالشَّعِيبِ الْعَيْنِ

[What is the matter with mine eye, that it runs like the dripping water-skin ? (MAR)]. This is the opinion of S, who says that some measures are peculiar to some sorts, as فُعْلَةٌ is peculiar to the *pl.* of the defective, and

فَاعِلٌ to [the *pl.* of] the non-defective (R). فَاعِلٌ, like قَائِمٌ upright, سَيِّدٌ a lord, and بَاعٍ a seller, is treated like فَعَالٌ [252] (S) : and [therefore] its regular [and frequent (IY)] *pl.* is the sound (IY, R), in the *masc.* and *fem.* (R), because it is an *ep.* [239] to whose *fem.* the ة is affixed for distinction [265], as مَيِّتٌ dead, *fem.* مَيِّتَةٌ, and بَاعٍ, *fem.* بَاعَةٌ; and because it is conformable to فَاعِلٌ, since it contains the same number [of letters], and the position of the augment in both [measures] is the same; so that, as the normal *pl.* of فَاعِلٌ is the sound, like صَارِبُونَ and صَارِبَاتٌ [247], so the most frequent *pl.* of فَاعِلٌ is the sound (IY). For the *masc.*, then (S), they say (S, M) يَبْعُونَ (S), هَيِّنُونَ (M), and مَيِّتُونَ (IY); and [for the *fem.* (S)] بَاعَاتٌ (S, M), هَيِّنَاتٌ, and مَيِّتَاتٌ : and in tradition is أَلْمُؤْمِنُونَ هَيِّنُونَ لَيِّنُونَ *The believers are quiet, gentle* [below] (IY). And they say هَيِّنٌ *pl.* هَيِّنُونَ and لَيِّنٌ *pl.* لَيِّنُونَ, because فَاعِلٌ is abbreviated, and subjected to elision [703] (S); and similarly مَيِّتُونَ and مَيِّتَاتٌ are abbreviated by elision of the ع (R). In فِيهِنَّ خَيْرَاتٌ حَسَانٌ LV. 70. *Therein shall be good, beautiful maidens* خَيْرَاتٌ means خَيْرَاتٌ, being abbreviated (K, B), as in the Prophet's saying هَيِّنُونَ لَيِّنُونَ [above] (K); while خَيْرَاتٌ is read,

according to the *o. f.* (K, B) : and in the saying of Sabra Ibn 'Amr alAsadī [alFak'asī (T)], lamenting 'Amr Ibn Mas'ūd [alAsadī (SR)] and Khālīd Ibn Nadla [alAsadī (SR, IATH)]

أَلَا بَكَرَ النَّاعِي بِخَيْرِي بَنِي أَسَدٍ * بَعَثُوا بِنِ مَسْعُودٍ وَبِالسَّيِّدِ الصَّنَدِ

Now the herald has come early in the morning with the tidings of the death of the two good men of the Banū Asad, of 'Amr Ibn Mas'ūd and of the sovereign lord, the poet means خَيْرِي ; and then abbreviates it, like مَيِّتٌ and مَيِّتٌ ,

and هَيِّتٌ and هَيِّتٌ (Jh). When فَيَعِلٌ is meant to have a

broken pl., it is made to accord with some other [measure] containing the same number of letters (IY) The

broken pls. of فَيَعِلٌ , [like مَيِّتٌ (SH),] are (1) أَفْعَالٌ , [in the

masc. and fem. (R),] like أَمَوَاتٌ (S, M, SH), pl. of (a) مَيِّتٌ

(S, IY, R), فَيَعِلٌ being assimilated to فَاعِلٌ , like أَشْهَادٌ

pl. of شَاهِدٌ [246] (S, IY), by elision of the aug., as though

مَوْتٌ remained, and then they said أَمَوَاتٌ , like أَسْرَاطٌ

pl. of سَوْطٌ a whip [242] and أَحَوَاضٌ pl. of حَوْضٌ a cistern

[below] (IY) : (b) مَيِّتَةٌ (S, IY, R), which is like the

masc. (S, IY), because in forming the broken pl. you elide

the ة (IY) : (a) similarly they say أَحْيَاءٌ pl. of [حَيٌّ living

and (IY, R)] حَيَّةٌ , and أَنْصَاءٌ [239], pl. of نَضْبٌ and

(IY, R)] نَضْوَةٌ (S, IY, R), and أَنْقَاصٌ [239] pl. of نَقْصٌ and

(R)] نِقْصَةٌ (S, R), that being frequent (IY) ; and like [أَنْصَاءُ *pl.* of] نِصْرَةٌ is نِسْوَانُ *pl.* of نِسْوَةٌ *women* [255], as though broken *pl.* of نِسْوٌ (S) : (b) they say أَقْوَالٌ, and sometimes (IY) أَقْيَالٌ ; as *pl.* of قَيْلٌ *a king* (S, IY), *orig.* قَيْلٌ, which is فَيْعِلٌ from الْقَوْلُ, being said of the *king* because of the execution of his *word* : so he that says أَقْوَالٌ pluralizes it according to the *o.f.*, like آمَوَاتُ *pl.* of مَيِّتٌ ; while he that says أَقْيَالٌ pluralizes it according to its form ; but the first is the right way (IY) : and [they say (IY)] أَكْيَاسٌ *pl.* of كَيْسٌ (S, IY), meaning كَيْسٌ *clever*, upon the measure of فَيْعِلٌ, as is shown by their often pluralizing it with the و and ن (IY) ; for, [the broken *pl.* being more frequent in فَعْلٌ, and the و and ن in فَيْعِلٌ (S),] if قَيْلٌ and كَيْسٌ were فَعْلٌ, [and not *orig.* فَيْعِلٌ (S),] the broken *pl.* would be more usual, like صِعَابٌ, [خِدَالٌ ; and فِسَالٌ (S),] in the *pl.* of صَعْبٌ (S, IY), خَذَلٌ, and فَسَلٌ [239, 250] (S) : (2) فَعَالٌ, like جِيَادٌ (S, M, SH), *pl.* of جَيِّدٌ *excellent* (S, IY), and طِيَابٌ *pl.* of طَيِّبٌ *nice* (S), فَيْعِلٌ being assimilated to فَاعِلٌ (IY), like جِيَاعٌ and تَجَارٌ [247] (S) : (a) similarly they say سَادَةٌ as *pl.* of سَيِّدٌ, like قَادَةٌ *pl.* of قَائِدٌ *a leader* and حَاكَةٌ *pl.* of حَاكٌ *a weaver* [247] (IY) : (3) أَنْعَلَاءُ, like أَبْيَنَاءُ (S, M, SH), *pl.* of بَيِّنٌ *fluent, eloquent* (S), and

أَهْوَنَاءَ *pl.* of هَيِّنَ [714] (S, IY) ; while Jr transmits أَجْوَدَاءَ *pl.* of جَيَّدَ (IY) : (a) S says that فَيَعِلُ takes the *pl.* أَفْعَلَاءَ only because of its affinity to فَعِيلٌ in number of letters, as it is made to accord with فَاعِلٌ in such as سَادَةٌ and جَيَادٌ [above] ; and with فَعُلٌ in such as أَمَوَاتٌ [above], أَكْيَاسٌ, and أَقْوَالٌ, since فَيَعِلُ, being often abbreviated by elision of the ع, becomes like فَعُلٌ in vowel and quiescence (R). And sometimes فَيَعِلُ occurs in the *masc.* and *fem.* alike, as وَأَحْيَيْنَا بِهِ بَلَدَةً مَيِّتًا L.11. *And We quicken therewith a dead land* and نَاقَةً رَیْحًا a *restive she-camel* [269] : ArRā'ī says

وَكَانَ رَیْحَهَا إِذَا يَاسَرَتْهَا * كَانَتْ مُعَوَّدَةً لِّلرَّحِيلِ ذَلُولًا

And as though the restive one of them, when thou art gentle with her, were accustomed to the journey, well broken (S).

§ 252. The sound *pl.* is considered sufficient in (1) حُسَانُونَ, [and شَرَابَاتٌ (IY)], شَرَابُونَ, as فَعِيلٌ, فَعَالٌ, and فَعَالٌ [and فَسِيقَاتٌ (and فَسِيقُونَ (S, M, SH), these being intensive formations, which are not of common gender, the ة being affixed to them because of their resemblance to مُفَعَّلٌ in letter through the reduplication, and in sense through the intensiveness (R) ; so that these three measures have no broken *pl.* (S, M, R, Jrh) : (a) they treat نَعَالٌ [251] like

مُفْعَلٌ [below], because both are intensive, مُفْعَلٌ being conformable to فَعَلَ, as كَسَرَ *he broke in pieces, act. part.* مُكْسِرٌ, and قَطَعَ *he cut out to pieces, act. part.* مُقَطِّعٌ [489]; and because the ة of feminization is affixed to مُفْعَلٌ, as مُكْسِرَةٌ and مُقَطِّعَةٌ, and فَعَالٌ is similar, as شَرَّابٌ *great drinker* and شَرَّابَةٌ: so that you say قَتَّالُونَ *slaughterers* and قَتَّالَاتٌ, as you say مُقَتِّلُونَ and مُقَتِّلَاتٌ: (b) the predication of فَعَالٌ, as حُسَانٌ *very beautiful*, كَرَامٌ *very generous*, قَرَاءٌ *a devotee*, and وَضَاءٌ *clean*, in the pl. is the same as that of فَعَالٌ, because it is like فَعَالٌ in intensiveness, and the ة is affixed to its fem.: AshShammākh says
 دَارُ الْفَتَاةِ الَّتِي كُنَّا نَقُولُ لَهَا * يَا ظَبِيَّةَ عَطَلَا حُسَانَةَ الْجَبَدِ
 [The abode, or (I mean) the abode, of the girl, to whom we were wont to say, O doe-gazelle unadorned, very beautiful in the neck, where, says S, دَارُ is governed in the occ. by subaudition of أَعْنَى, and there is a version with the nom. (Jh)]: (c) فَعِيلٌ, as فَسِيقٌ *profligate*, شَرِيبٌ *wine-bibber*, and سَكِيرٌ *drunkard*, is like that, because it is like فَعَالٌ in intensiveness, and the ة of feminization is affixed to its fem. (LY): (d) similarly فَعُلٌ, like رَمُلٌ *cowardly* and جَبًا *afraid, fearful*, and فَعِيلٌ, like رَمِيلٌ *cowardly* [and سَكِينٌ *taciturn* (253)], being intensive paradigms, to which

the *z* is affixed for the *fem.* (R)], have [only (R)] the sound *pl.* : (e) as for [the intensive formations (R)] مَفْعَلٌ, [like مَهْدَارٌ *babbler* (R)], مِفْعِيلٌ, [like مَحْضِيرٌ *running hard* (R)], مَفْعَلٌ, [like مِدْعَسٌ *piercing much with the lance*, فَعَالٌ, like صَنَاعٌ *clever, skilful, in work*, فَعَالٌ, like هِجَانٌ *white, well-bred camel*, and فَعُولٌ, like صَبُورٌ *very patient* (R)], they are of common gender [269] (S,R) ; and not one of them has a sound *pl.*, except in poetic license: and we have mentioned the broken *pls.* of فَعَالٌ, فَعَالٌ and فَعُولٌ when *eps.* [246] (R) ; while the broken *pl.* of مَفْعَلٌ and مِفْعِيلٌ is مَفَاعِلٌ, like مَقَالِيَتْ *pl.* of مَقَلَاتٌ *a she-camel that brings forth one, and afterwards does not conceive*, and a woman no child of whom lives, [and مَهَادِيرٌ *pl.* of مَهْدَارٌ (S)], مَاشِيرٌ *pl.* of مَشِيرٌ *lively, spirited she-camel or courser* [and مَحَاضِيرٌ *pl.* of مَحْضِيرٌ (S)] ; and [similarly (S) the *pl.* of (R)] مَفْعَلٌ [is مَفَاعِلٌ (R)], like مَدَاعِيسٌ *pl.* of مِدْعَسٌ [and مَقَاوِلٌ *pl.* of مَقُولٌ *talkative* (S)] : but they say مَسْكِينُونَ [and مَسْكِينَاتٌ (R)] because they say مَسْكِينٌ [and (R)] فَقِيرَةٌ by assimilation to فَقِيرٌ and (R)] فَقِيرَةٌ [234] (S, R) ; while they say مَسَاكِينٌ, as they say مَاشِيرٌ (S) : (2) مَفْعُولٌ, مَفْعِلٌ, and مَفْعَلٌ, as مَضْرُوبُونَ *beaten* (S, M, SH), مَكْرُمُونَ *honoring*, and مَكْرُمُونَ *honored*

(M, SH), i. e., every *act. part.* or *pass. part.* that is conformable to the *v.*, and whose initial is [an *aug.*] م [676], its normal *pl.* being the sound, because of its resemblance to the *v.* in letter and sense (R): (a) مَفْعُولٌ, like مَضْرُوبٌ *beaten*, is treated like فَعَالٌ, because it is virtually conformable to the *v.* [347]; and because the ة of feminization is affixed to it, as مَضْرُوبَةٌ: and therefore its normal *pl.* is the sound, as إِنَّهُمْ لَهُمُ الْمَنْصُورُونَ XXXVII. 172. *Verily they, assuredly they are the holpen* and مَلْعُونِينَ أَيْنَمَا ثَقِفُوا أَخِذُوا XXXIII. 61. *Accursed, wherever they be found, they shall be taken, and slaughtered with great slaughter*: (b) similarly what is [actually] conformable to the *v.*, like مَفْعَلٌ [above] and مَفْعَلٌ, as مَكْسَرٌ *breaking in pieces* and مَكْسَرٌ *broken in pieces*, مَكْسَرٌ being an *act. part.* conformable to the *act.* [aor.] يَكْسِرُ [343], and مَكْسَرٌ a *pass. part.* conformable to the *pass.* [aor.] يُفَعَّلُ [347]; and the ة of feminization being affixed to its *fem.* (IY): while مُخْتَارٌ and مُنْقَادٌ [also] are like مَضْرُوبٌ; so that مُخْتَارُونَ and مُنْقَادُونَ are said, and they do not form a broken *pl.*: so IM mentions in the U; and it involves a contradiction of A's assertion that مَخَافِرٌ and مَنَافِدٌ are said [253] (Sn). But they say (1) عَوَافِرُ (S, M, SH) as *pl.* of عَوَّارٌ a coward (S, IY, R), assimilating it to نَقَائِرُ *pl.* of نَقَّارٌ a kind of

small sparrow (S), because they treat it as a substantive (IY, R), since they seldom qualify the *fem.* by it (S) ; for they do not say عَوَارَةٌ of a woman, because bravery and cowardice are [mostly (R)] qualities of men (IY, R) : AlA'shà says

جُنْدَكَ الطَّارِفُ التَّلِيدُ مِنَ أَلْسَا * دَابَّ أَهْلُ الْهَبَاتِ وَالْأَكَالِ

غَيْرٌ مِيدِلٌ وَلَا عَوَارِيزُ فِي أَهْيَجَا * وَلَا عَزْلٌ وَلَا أَكْفَالِ

Thy host, old and new, of chiefs worthy of grants and of the portions of the spoil set aside for the chiefs, are not afraid, nor cowards in war, nor weaponless, nor unable to keep their seats on horseback (IY) ; and in poetry you may say عَوَارِيزُ [715], as says Labîd

وَفِي كُلِّ يَوْمٍ ذِي حِفَاطٍ يَلُومُنِي * فَقُمْتُ مَقَامًا لَمْ تَقُمَّهُ الْعَوَارِيزُ

And, on every day containing an occasion of defence, he upbraids me : therefore have I stood, or may I stand, in a place that cowards stand not in ! (Jh) : this, then, is anomalous in فَعَالٌ (IY) : (2) in the *pass. part.* of the [unaugmented] *tril.* [482] (R), مَلَاعِيْنُ, [مِيَامِيْنُ (M, SH),] and مَشَاتِيْمُ (S, M, SH) as says the poet [AlAkhwaṣalYarbū'î (AKB)] [426] (IY), and [similarly (R)] مَلْعُونٌ and مَسَالِيْحُ, as [broken (IY)] *pls.* of مَلْعُونٌ *accursed*, [مَيْمُونٌ *fortunate* (IY, R),] مَشْرُومٌ *ill-omened*, مَكْسُورٌ *broken*, and مَسْلُوحَةٌ *a skinned carcass of a sheep or goat* (S, IY, R), as though assimilating them to the substantive

{S, IY) of this measure (S), [i. e.,] of five letters, the fourth of which is a letter of prolongation and softness [253] (IY), like مَغَارِدُ pl. of مَغْرَدٌ a kind of truffle [379] (IY, R) and بَهَائِلُ pl. of بَهْلُولٌ a noble : and this is anomalous in مَفْعُولٌ (IY) : (3) in the masc. مَفْعَلٌ [or مَفْعَلٌ (R), مَيَاسِيرُ, مَفَاطِيرُ, and مَنَاصِيرُ (S, M, SH), as pls. of مَوْسِرٌ wealthy [686, 710], مَفْطَرٌ breaking his fast (S, IY, R, Jrb), and مَنَكِرٌ (IY, R), act. part. of أَنْكَرَ (IY), [or] مَنَكِرٌ cunning (S), making the ى obligatory in them, in order to manifest that their broken pl. is contrary to rule, analogy requiring the sound pl. (R) ; [but] مَيَاسِيرُ in فَاسْتَقْدِرَ اللَّهُ الْخَ [204] is pl. of مَيْسُورٌ i. q. يُسَّرُ ease, prosperity [333] (SM) : (4) in the مَفْعَلٌ peculiar to the fem. (S, R), and not having the ى affixed to it (S), مَطَائِلُ, مَشَادِنُ (S, M, SH), and مَرَاضِعُ (R), as pls. of مُطِفَلٌ a mother having a little one with her, مُشَدِنٌ a doe-gazelle whose young one has grown strong, and become able to do without its mother (S, IY), and مَرْضَعٌ suckling (K, B on XXVIII. 11.), because this cat., [being mostly denuded of the ى, has no sound pl., but (R)] takes the [broken (S)] pl. (S, R) مَتَائِلُ ; though it sometimes occurs with the ى also, as مَتَلٌ and مَتَلِيَّةٌ, said of a she-camel, followed by her little one,

and مُجْرِبَةٌ and مُجْرِبٌ, said of a bitch, *having a whelp or puppy*, the ة being expressed in the defective from fear of catachresis through elision of the sign of feminization and of the J of the word (R) : and [they allow the addition of ي in the pl. of this fem., in order that it may be a quasi-compensation for the supplied ة ; so that (R)] they [sometimes (S, IY)] say مَشَادِيْنُ, مَطَائِلُ (S, IY, R), and مَرَاصِيْعُ (R), irregularly (S, IY) : (a) the ي in مَطَائِلُ is an impletion, as in the saying [of AlFarazdak, describing his she-camel (AKB),]

تَنْفِي يَدَاهَا الْخَصَى فِي كُلِّ هَاجِرَةٍ * نَفَى الدَّرَاهِمِ تَنْقَادَ الصَّيَارِفِ
[339] (BS) *Her two forelegs scatter the pebbles in every hot noon, with the scattering of the dirhams by the testing of the money-changers* (Jsh, EC, AKB, J), the evidence being in الصَّيَارِفِ, pl. of صَيَّرَفَ [253] ; while الدَّرَاهِمِ is pl. of دَرَهَمٌ a dial. var. of دِرْهَمٌ, as

لَوْ كَانَ عِنْدِي مِائَتَا دِرْهَامٍ * لَأَبْتَعْتُ دَارًا فِي بَنِي حَرَامٍ

If I had two hundred dirhams, I would buy a mansion among the Banu Harām (BS) : (b) it may be omitted, as

وَحَرَّمْنَا عَلَيْهِ الْمَرَاصِعَ XXVIII. 11. *And We forbade him the suckling women and* جَنَى النَّحْلِ فِي أَلْبَانِ الْحِ [below]

(R). أَمَسَتْ سَعَادُ بِأَرْضِ الْحِ in Ka'b's saying [452]

is pl. of مَرَسَالٌ, which is مَفْعَالٌ from رَسَلَتْ a she-camel

quick in returning the two forelegs in journeying ; and the counterpart of it is the *pl.* of مَطْعَانُ , مِطْعَامُ and مِجْرَاعُ : the poet says

مَطَاعِينَ فِي الْهَيْجَا مَطَاعِيمُ فِي الْقَرَى
إِذَا أَصْفَرَّ آفَاقُ السَّمَاءِ مِنَ الْقَرَسِ

Spearing much in war, entertaining much in hospitality,
when the regions of the sky become yellow from intense
cold ; and Ka'b says in this ode

لَا يَفْرَحُونَ إِذَا نَالَتْ رِمَاحُهُمْ * قَوْمًا وَلَيْسُوا مَجَارِيعًا إِذَا نِيلُوا

They rejoice not when their spears reach a hostile people,
nor are they given to repining when they are reached
by the foe, making مَجَارِيْعُ triptote by poetic license [18] :

and the *ep.* beginning with م is debarred from the broken *pl.* in only two cases, (1) when it is upon the measure of مَفْعُولُ , like مَضْرُوبُ , such as مَلَاعِينُ and مَشَائِيمُ being anomalous : (2) when the م is pronounced with Damm, like مُكْرِمُ and مُنْطَلِقُ [253] ; but from this are excepted the مَفْعِلُ and مُفْعِلُ peculiar to the *fem.*, like مُرْضِعُ suckling and مُكْعِبُ having swelling breasts, the broken *pl.* being allowable in these two [measures], as in XXVIII.11. and the saying of Abù Dhu'aib

وَإِنْ حَدِيثًا مِنْكَ لَوْ تَبَدَّلِيْنَهُ * جَنَى النَّحْلِ فِي الْبَآنِ عَوْدَ مَطَائِلِ
مَطَائِلَ أَبْكَارِ حَدِيثٍ نَتَاجُهَا * يَشَابُ بِمَاءِ مِثْلِ مَاءِ الْبِفَاصِلِ

[above] *And verily a discourse from thee, if thou wouldst vouchsafe it, would be the honey of the bees in milk of she-camels recently delivered, having little ones with them, having little ones with them, such as have brought forth only once, whose bringing forth is recent, when it is mixed with water like the water of the مَفَاصِل*, [pl. of مَفْصِل (Jh),] which, says As, means the place of parting of the mountain from the tract of sand, gravel and small pebbles being between the two, for the water of that [ground] is clear, sparkling (BS). And they say مَنَاتِين as pl. of مُنْتِنٌ *stinking*, and مُنْتِنٌ (Jh, KF) with two Kasras (KF), the م being pronounced with Kasr for alliteration to the Kasra of the ت, because مَنَعِلٌ is not one of the formations (Jh), and مُنْتِنٌ with two Dammas, and مُنْتِينٌ (KF), as قَالَتْ سُلَيْمَى أَلْح [239] (Jh).

§ 253. The preceding [broken] *pls.* [except فَعَالِلٌ] all belong to the unaugmented and augmented *tril.*; and [those given in the IM] consist of 25 formations, four of which denote *paucity* [235], and the remainder *multitude* (MKh). The formations of paucity are (1) أَفْعُلٌ [235, 237-239, 242-244, 246, 254-256, 260]; (2) أَفْعَالٌ [235, 237, 239, 242, 246, 247, 251, 254-257, 260, 261]; (3) أَفْعِلَةٌ [235, 237, 246, 247, 256, 257]; (4) يَفْعَلَةٌ [235, 237, 246, 255, 257]. And the formations of multitude are (1) فُعُلٌ [237-239, 246-249,

256, 259, 261] ; (2) **فَعَلَّ** [237-239, 246-248, 256] ; (3) **فَعَلَّ** [235, 238, 244, 248, 254, 257, 260] ; (4) **فَعَلَّ** [235, 238, 239, 248, 254] ; (5) **فَعَلَّ** [247, 251] ; (6) **فَعَلَّ** [235, 247, 251, 257] ; (7) **فَعَلَّ** [239, 246, 247, 259] ; (8) **فَعَلَّ** [235, 237, 239, 247, 254] ; (9) **فَعَلَّ** [247, 248] ; (10) **فَعَلَّ** [247, 259] ; (11) **فَعَلَّ** [237-239, 242, 244, 246-248, 250, 251, 254-256, 259, 260] ; (12) **فَعَلَّ** [237-239, 242, 243, 246, 247, 254-256, 260] ; (13) **فَعَلَّ** [237-239, 246, 247, 250, 254-256] ; (14) **فَعَلَّ** [237, 239, 246, 247, 249, 256] ; (15) **فَعَلَّ** [239, 246, 247] ; (16) **فَعَلَّ** [235, 246, 251] ; (17) **فَعَلَّ** [246-248, 254, 255] ; (18) **فَعَلَّ** [246, 248, 256, 261] ; (19) **فَعَلَّ** [248, 255] ; (20) **فَعَلَّ** [239, 248, 250, 259] ; (21) **فَعَلَّ** [248] (Aud) : this is the last of the [25] paradigms mentioned by IM in the *Alfiya* for the broken *pl.* of the unaugmented *tril.* and of the *tril.* augmented by a letter neither co-ordinative (A), like [the **ي** in] **صَيَّرَ** [369, 373, 674], *pl.* **صَيَّرَ** on the measure of **فَيَايَلُ** [below] (Sn), nor quasi-co-ordinative (A), like [the Hamza in] **إِصْبَغَ** [372, 672], *pl.* **أَصَابِعُ** on the measure of **أَفَاعِلُ** [249] (Sn) : (22) **فَعَالِلُ** [below] ; (23) the like of **فَعَالِلُ** [below] (Aud) : [and so far the total number of formations in paucity and multitude is 27, as stated in § 234 ;] while there

remains one formation of the *tril.*, (24) **فَعَالِي** [239, 246, 250], which IM has omitted [here] ; so that the total is 28 : these are the well-known formations of the broken *pl.* ; and there remain some other formations, which are disputed (MKh). IM adds in the *Kāfiya* 4 formations [of multitude], (24) **فَعَالِي** [above] ; (25) **فَعِيلٌ** [237, 239, 255, 257] ; (26) **فَعَالٌ** [247, 248, 250, 255, 257] ; (27) **فَعَالِي** [237, 250, 272] ; [raising the total to 31]. As for **فَعَالِلٌ**, it is the *pl.* of every *n.* whose *rad.* exceed three. And by its like is meant what resembles **فَعَالِلٌ** in number [of letters] and conformation, though differing from it in measure, as **مَفَاعِلٌ** and **فَيَاعِلٌ** [above] (A). It is every *pl.* [other than **فَعَالِلٌ** itself] whose third [letter] is an *l* followed by two letters (IA). **فَعَالِلٌ** is the regular *pl.* of four [sorts (Sn)], (1) the *quad.*, (a) unaugmented [245], like **جَعْفَرٌ** [and **زَيْبَرٌ** (Aud)] ; (b) augmented, like **مُدْخَرَجٌ** and **مُتَدَخَرَجٌ** [below] : (2) the *quin.*, (a) unaugmented [245], like **سَفَرَجَلٌ** [and **جَحْمَرِشٌ** (Aud)] ; (b) augmented (Aud, Sn), like **قَرَطْبُوسٌ** and **خَنْدَرِيسٌ** [below] (Aud), [and] like **قَبْعَثَرِي** [below] (Sn). And the like of **فَعَالِلٌ** is the [regular (Aud)] *pl.* of every augmented *tril.*, [like **جَوْهَرٌ**, **صَيِّفٌ**, and **مَسْجِدٌ** (IA),] other than what has been previously mentioned [246-251] (IA, Aud, A)

such as [the *cat.* of كُبْرَى and سَكْرَى (A),] حَبْرَاء and أَحْمَرُ ,
 [رَامٍ and كَامِلٌ (A),] and the like (IA, A), in which there
 exist broken *pls.* of other formations (A). Every *tril.*
 containing an augment for co-ordination (S, M, A) with
 the *quad.* (S, M), like جَوْهَرُ [369, 675], صَيْرَفُ [above], and
 عَلَقَى [248, 272, 375] (A), [and] like تَوَكَّبُ [373] (S, M),
 سَمَلَقُ [373], جُنْدَبُ [373, 677], غَيْلَمُ [689], تَوَاتَمُ
 [374, 674] عَثِيرُ, [369, 374, 675] جَذَوَلُ (S), [675] قَسَرَرُ
 (S, M), سُلَمُ [below], دَمَلُ a *purulent pustule* or *boil*, and
 قَرَدَدُ [375, 392, 731] (S), or not for co-ordination (S, M, A),
 but not a letter of prolongation (S, M), like إَصْبَعُ [above]
 مَسْجِدُ [361], and سُلَمُ [374] (A), [and] like أَجْدَلُ [249,
 372], تَنْضُبُ [372, 678], and مِدْعَسُ (M), which is a *solid*
spear (Jh, IY), as related by AUd (Jh), forms its [broken
 (S)] *pl.* like (S, M, A) مَفَاعِلُ (S), [or rather] فَعَالِلُ (A),
 the [broken] *pl.* of the *quad.* [245] (M), so that you pro-
 nounce its initial with Fath, augment it by an 1 third,
 and pronounce the letter [next] after the 1 with Kasr (IY),
 as جَوَاهِرُ [247], صَيَارِفُ [above], and عَلَاقٍ [248], and as
 أَصَابِعُ [above], مَسَاجِدُ [18, 248, 376], and سَلَائِلُ, so long
 as it is not one of the aggregate previously excepted (A),
 vid. the *cat.* of كُبْرَى, etc (Sn) : you say [كَوَاكِبُ (S, IY),
 جَدَاوِلُ (S),] قَسَارِرُ, سَمَالِقُ, (383) جَنَادِبُ, (383) غَيَالِمُ, تَوَاتِمُ

(S, M), عَنَابِرُ (S, IY), سَلَامٌ, and قَرَادُ (S); and أَجَادِلُ [235, 249, 376], تَنَاصُبُ [376] (S, M), and مَدَاعِيسُ (M). That [augmented *tril.* (R)] which is upon the measure of the *quad.*, [i. e., equal to the *quad.* in number of letters (R),] whether it be co-ordinated [with the *quad.* (R)], like كَوَكَبٌ, [كَوَكَبٌ (247) (R),] جَدَوَلٌ, and عِثِيرٌ, or not co-ordinated, like تَنْضُبٌ and مَدْعَسٌ, [and whether it be (R)] with a letter of prolongation [fourth (R)], like قِرْوَانٌ [below], قُرْطَاطٌ, and مَضْبَاحٌ, or without a letter of prolongation [fourth, like the *ess.* from كَوَكَبٌ to مَدْعَسٌ (R)], follows the course of the *quad.* [245] (SH), provided that the equality [in number of letters] be not caused by augmentation with a letter of prolongation, as in فَاعِلٌ [247], فَعَالٌ [246], فَعُولٌ, and فَعِيلٌ, because the broken *pl.* of these paradigms is not like the broken *pl.* of the *quad.*; but they have special *pls.*, as before shown. This saying of IH, however, is tropical, because the special vowels and the quiescences are considered in the measure; so that تَنْضُبٌ is not said to be upon the measure of جَعْفَرٌ from regard to [the arrangement of] the vowels without restriction [of sort], except by a far-fetched trope: and similarly the augmentativeness and the radicalness of the letters are considered; but by a near trope the co-ordinated is said to be on the measure of the standard, as جَدَوَلٌ and كَوَكَبٌ are said to be on the measure of جَعْفَرٌ (R)

When such an augmented *tril.* contains the § of feminization, like مَكْرَمَةٌ *a generous deed* (S, IY on § 245, R), عَوْدَقَةٌ *a grapnel [having three flukes (Jh)]*, with which the bucket is drawn out (S) of the well (Jh), and أَنْبَاءٌ *a finger tip* (R), then, [in multitude, as is said (R),] it forms its broken *pl.* in the same way, like عَوَادِقُ, مَكَارِمُ (S), and أَنْامِلُ (R) ; and in paucity it takes the [sound (R)] *pl.* (S, IY, R) with the [ا and (IY)] ت (S, IY), like مَكْرَمَاتُ (IY, R) and أَنْمَلَاتُ [256] (R), because of the influence of the § of feminization (IY). This is when the augmented *tril.* is not foreign nor *rel.* (Jrb). When it is foreign (S, M, Jrb), arabicized (S), like جَرْبٌ *a sock* (S, IY, Jrb) and مَوْزَجٌ *a boot* (S, IY), both Persian (IY), صَوْلَجَانٌ *a crook, or hooked stick, used in playing polo*, [Persian (Jh),] كَرْبَجٌ *a [green-grocer's (Jk)] shop* (S), *orig.* كَرْبَجَةٌ in Persian (Jk), طَيْلَسَانٌ *a hood or scarf* (S, IY), Persian (Jh), *orig.* تَالَشَانٌ (KF), and كَيْلَجَةٌ *a certain measure of capacity* (IY), or *rel.* (S, M, Jrb), like أَشْعَثِيٌّ (Jrb) *related to AlAsh'ath* (LTA, LL), an ancestor (LL), [and] like مُنْدِرِيٌّ *related to AlMundhir Ibn Má asSamá, مَسْمَعِيٌّ related to Misma', [a father of a clan (KF),] سَيْبَجِيٌّ [below], Persian, بَرْبَرِيٌّ [below], مُهَلْبِيٌّ related to AlMuhallab Ibn Abi Sufra, أَحْمَرِيٌّ related to AlAhmar, [which,*

says AsSam'ānī, is, I think (LTA), a sub-tribe of AlAzd (LTA,LL),] and أَزْرَقِي related to [Nāfi' Ibn (LTA,I,LL)] *AlAzraq* [309] (IY), the ʾ is [in most cases (S, IY), as Khl asserts (S),] affixed to its final (S, M, Jrb) in the [broken (S, Jrb)] *pl.* (S, IY, Jrb), which is formed like (S, IY) مُفَاعِلُ [or rather فَعَالِلُ] (S), the preceding [broken] *pl.* of the *quad.* [245] (IY) : they say (1) جَوَارِبَةٌ [265] (S, M), مَوَارِجَةٌ, طَيَالِسَةٌ, and كَيَالِجَةٌ; while the counterpart of that in Arabic is صَيَقِلٌ *a polisher, fur-bisher, pl.* صَيَاقِلَةٌ [18, 265], صَيَّرَ *a money-changer, pl.* صَيَارِفَةٌ [249], مَلَأَ *an angel, pl.* مَلَائِكَةٌ [below] (S, IY), and أَشَاعَنَةٌ [265] (M) : (2) أَنَاسِيَةٌ *pl.* إِنْسَانُ [below] (S) : (2) أَشَاعَنَةٌ [265] (M), مَنَادِرَةٌ, مَسَامِعَةٌ, سَيَابِجَةٌ *a people from AsSind at AlBasra*, who were policemen and warders of the gaol, بَرَابِرَةٌ (IY),] مَهَالِبَةٌ, أَحَامِرَةٌ, and أَزَارِقَةٌ (S, IY), because they elide the two ى s of relation, and then pluralize مَنَذِرٌ in the form مَنَادِرٌ, since it is of four letters, and affix the ʾ as a compensation for the elided ; and similarly in مَسْعٌ and سَيْنَجٌ ; while in مُهَلَّبٌ the ل being double, they elide one of the two ل s, so that there remains مُهَلَّبٌ, a word of four letters, which they then pluralize like the *quad.* ; and similarly in أَحْمَرٌ and أَزْرَقٌ, which they pluralize as substantives [249], since they do not mean them to be *eps.* (IY).

For, the foreign being subordinate to the Arabic, the sign of subordination, vid. the ة , is added, to indicate its foreignness ; and, the ى of relation being like the ة [below], inasmuch as both are applied to denote *distinction between the individual and the genus*, as تَمَرٌ and تَمَرَةٌ [254, 265], and زَنْجِيٌّ and زَنْجٌ [294], it is meet that the ة should take the place of the ى in the *pl.* (Jrb). Foreignness and relation are combined in بَرَابِرَةٌ [*pl.* of بَرَبَرِيٌّ *an inhabitant of Barbary* (R)] and سَيَابِجَةٌ (S, R) *a people from India*, who convoy vessels on the sea, *pl.* of سَيَبِجِيٌّ (R), meaning *Barbaris* and *Saibajis*, as مَسَامِعَةٌ means *Misma'is*, the inhabitants of a country being like a tribe (S). But they sometimes say كَرَائِجُ , (265) (Jb, KF), مَوَازِجُ , [جَوَارِبُ (Jk),] and كَيَالِجُ (S, IY, R), by assimilation to the Arabic *pl.* (R), like كَرَاكِبُ and صَوَامِعُ [247] (S, (IY) ; and similarly الْأَشَاعِرُ [the *Ash'athīs* and (KF)] الْأَشَارِيسُ [below] (S). According to S, in the *pl.* of the *rel.*, the ة is a compensation for the ى of relation necessarily elided in the *pl.*, because the ultimate *pl.*, being heavy in form and sense, is not compounded, and made like one *n.*, with any but a light thing ; while the ة is lighter than the double ى , and there is an affinity between them [above] ; so that it is chosen for the compensation : whereas, in the *pl.* of the foreign, the ة , not being a compensation for any thing, is not necessary,

as in the *pl.* of the *rel.* ; but is an indication that its *sing.* is arabicized. Sometimes the *ʔ* in the ultimate *pl.* is (1) substituted for a *ي* other than the *ي* of relation, as جَعَاجِعَةٌ *pl.* of جَعَجَاعٌ *a chief* [265], the *o. f.* being جَعَايِمُ : while the *ʔ* in رَنَادِقَةٌ and فَرَارِنَةٌ may be either a substitute for the *ي* [265], since رَنَادِيقُ or رَنَادِقٌ and فَرَارِينَ or فَرَارِنٌ are said ; or an indication of foreignness : (2) applied to denote *corroboration of plurality*, as مَلَايِكَةٌ and صَيَافِلَةٌ [265], as in other *pls.*, like حَجَارَةٌ and هُمُومَةٌ [237, 265] : while the *ʔ* in أَنَاسِيَّةٌ [above] is said either to be a compensation for one of the two *ي* s in أَنَاسِيٌّ [248, 685], as وَأَنَاسِيٌّ كَثِيرًا XXV.51. *And many men* ; or to denote *corroboration of plurality*, as in مَلَايِكَةٌ, on the ground that أَنَاسِيَّةٌ is *pl.* of إِنْسَانٌ *orig.* إِنْسِيَانٌ [286], the ا and ن being elided in the *pl.*, as in زَعَاغُرٌ *pl.* of زَعْفَرَانٌ [399]. It is said, however, that in the *pl.* of the *rel.*, as أَشَاعِنَةٌ, the *ʔ* is not a compensation for the *ي*, since the *ي* is not in its *sing.* ; but the *ʔ* in the *pl.* is an indication that you name every one of the related by the name of the [ancestor] related to ; so that أَشَاعِنَةٌ is *pl.* of أَشَعْتُ, every one of the tribe being named by the name of the oldest ancestor, as is said on سَلَامٌ عَلَى آلِيَّاسِينَ XXXVII. 130. *Peace* [25] *be upon the Eliases*, [read with

the conj. Hamza as a *pl.*, meaning *Elias and his people*, like *الْخَبِيبُونَ* *Khubaib and his adherents* and *الْمُهَلَّبُونَ* *AlMuhallab and his partisans*, *وَإِنَّ أَلْيَاسَ* *And verily Elias being* read for *إِلْيَاسَ* in XXXVII. 123 (K),] and *الْأَشْعَرُونَ* *The Ash'ars*, [AlAsh'ar being the father of a clan in AlYaman (Jh, KF), whence Abū Mūsā alAsh'arī (KF)]: but this explanation is weak, because it does not extend to the [person] related to a place, like *الْمُشَاهِدَةُ* *the inhabitants of AlMashhad* [265] and *الْبَغَادَةُ* *the inhabitants of Baghdad*, since a person is not named by the name of his town, as he is by the name of his ancestor, though even that is rare (R). When the *quad.* is augmented by (S, M, R, IA, Aud, A) a soft letter (S, M, Aud, A), which is [generally] (S) a letter of prolongation (S, IY, R, IA), what is meant being a quiescent unsound letter (MKh), fourth (S, M), [aud] penultimate (R, IA, Aud, A), whether preceded by a vowel homogeneous (A, MKh) with it, in which case it is conventionally termed letter of prolongation (MKh), as in *قَنْدِيلٌ* *a candle or lamp* [396, 674] (S, IY, R, IA, Aud, A) and *خَنْدِيدٌ* *eminent* (S), *جُرْمُوقٌ* *a galoche* (IY) and *عُصْفُورٌ* *a sparrow* [396] (R, IA, Aud, A), *سَرْدَاجٌ* *a fleshy she-camel* [396, 673] (M, Aud) and *قِرْطَاسٌ* *a roll, scroll, or sheet of paper or papyrus* (R, IA, A), or by a heterogeneous vowel, [in which case it is named soft (MKh),] as in *غُرْنِيقٌ* and

فِرْدَوْسُ [396] (A, MKh), its [broken (S, IY)] *pl.* is upon the measure (S, M, R, IA, A), مَفَاعِيلُ (S) [or rather] فَعَالِيلُ (M, R, IA, A), as قَنَادِيلُ [18] (S, M, IA, A) and خَنَادِيلُ (S), جَرَامِيقُ (IY) and عَصَائِيرُ (IA, A), سَرَادِيحُ (M) and قَرَاتِيصُ (IA, A), and as غَرَانِيقُ and فَرَادِيسُ (A, MKh). This *aug.* is not elided [283] (IY, IA, Aud, A) : but [is sounded true if it be a ي ; and (Aud)] is converted into ي if it be a , or ا (IY, Aud, Sn), because it is [quiescent and (IY)] preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr [685] (IY, Sn) : for you do not elide anything when you find any means of avoiding elision [248] (IY). And similarly the *tril.* (1) co-ordinated with the *quad.* (S, M), and then augmented by a letter of prolongation fourth, like قُرَوَاحُ [384] and قُرَطَاطُ [385] (S, IY), as قَرَاوِيحُ [388] and قَرَاتِيطُ (S, M) ; while the saying of the poet [Suwaid Ibn AṣṢāmit (Jh)]

أَدِينُ وَمَا دَيْنِي عَلَيْكَ بِمَغْرَمٍ * وَلَكِنْ عَلَى الشِّمِّ الْجِلَادِ الْفَرَاوِجِ
I lend ; and my debt is not secured upon thee, but upon the tall, hardy, long-legged she-camels is analogous to the saying of the other, [Jandal {Ibn AlMuthannà (MN)} at Tubawī (AAz, MN), addressing his wife (AAz),]

غَرِّكَ أَنْ تَقَارَبْتَ أَبَاعِرِي * وَأَنْ رَأَيْتِ الدَّهْرَ ذَا الدَّوَائِرِ
 حَتَّى عِظَامِي وَارَاهُ ثَاغِرِي * وَكَعَدَ الْعَيْنَيْنِ بِالْعَوَارِيرِ
 [715] (IY), or in another version وَكَاحِلَا عَيْنَيَّ (MN), *It*

hath emboldened thee [to upbraid and thwart me (AAz)]
that my camels have dwindled down to few, and that
thou hast seen time to be the author of vicissitudes, so
that it has bowed my bones, and I see it to be breaking my
front teeth, and it has anointed the two eyes, [or and
anointing my two eyes (MN),] with motes (AAz, MN), or
severe ophthalmias, orig. بِالْعَوَاوِيرِ (MN), as though he eli-
ded the ع for abbreviation, as is indicated by the soundness
of the , (IY) : (2) containing an augment not a letter of
prolongation (S, M), whereby it becomes of four letters
(IY), and having for its fourth a letter of prolongation,
but not formed like the quad. whose fourth is a letter of
prolongation (S), the augment not being for co-ordina-
tion, like مَصْبَاحٌ [366, 379] and أَنْعَامٌ [256], where the م
[or the Hamza] is aug., not a letter of prolongation, and
the ا is aug., a letter of prolongation and softness, and
(IY) like يَرْبُوعٌ [379] and كَلْبٌ [384] (S, IY) or كَلَابٌ
[384] (IY), as مَصَائِمٌ [18] and أَنْاعِمٌ [256], and (M) as
يَرْابِيعٌ [386] and كَلَائِبٌ (S, M). These exs. form their
broken pl. like that of the quad. whose penultimate is
a letter of prolongation, like قَرَطَاسٌ, although they are
not quads. : and so do other exs., not mentioned by [S, Z,
or] IH, of the tril. augmented by two letters, one of
which is a soft letter fourth, whether a letter of pro-
longation, as in إَجْفِيلٌ [379, 672], اُمْلُودٌ, and اِصْبَاحٌ ; or

not a letter of prolongation, as in سَكِنَتْ [252, 384] and سَنُور [384] (R). The condition that the soft letter, which is retained, should be fourth is prescribed only where the ف and ع are not repeated [370] : so that مَرَارِيسُ [below] is said with retention of the ي, although it is not fourth in مَرَمَرِيسُ; and the latter may not be treated like قَرَطَبُوسُ [below] by saying مَرَامِرُ : but you may say that the ي is fourth after the elision of what is elided, vid. the second م, by analogy to what A says below on حَيْرَبُونُ (Sn). The *dim.* of مُسَرَّوْلُ *feathered down the legs* being مُسَرِّيلُ, its broken *pl.*, when it has one, ought to be مَسَارِيلُ; and similarly كَنْهَرُ [below], *pl.* كَنَاهِيرُ, since its *dim.* is كَنِيهِيرُ (R). But that [augmented *quad.* or *tril.*] in which the unsound letter [fourth] is mobile, like كَنْهَرُ [396] and هَبْيَيْحُ [384], is excluded from that [predicament]; for the unsound letter in it is not converted into ي, but elided, as كَنَاهِرُ and هَبَايْحُ, because the unsound letter is then not a soft letter. And such [augmented *trils.* (Sn)] as مَخْطَارُ and مَنَقَادُ also are excluded : for مَخَاطِيرُ and مَنَاقِيدُ are not said, by conversion of the ا into ي, because the ا is not *aug.*, but converted from a *rad.*; so that مَخَاطِرُ and مَنَاقِدُ are said [252] (A) : so in the A ; but it obviously requires consideration, since by analogy مَخَايِرُ

and *مَقَارِدُ* should be said, by elision of the *ت* and *ن*, because they are *aug.*, not of the *ل*, which should, on the contrary, be restored to its *o. f.*, vid. the *ي* [and *و*] (MKh). When the [*tril.* or other (MKh)] *n.* contains an augment whose retention would spoil the formation of the [ultimate (IA)] *pl.* [by excluding it from (Sn)] *فَعَالِيلُ* and *فَعَالِلُ* [and what resembles them in number and conformation, though it differ from them in measure (Sn)], this augment is elided (IA,A). You elide from the augmented *tril.*, like *مُنْطَلِقٌ* [252, 382], *مُسْتَخْرِجٌ* [387], *مُقْعِنِسٌ* going backwards, jibbing [432, 496], *قَلَنْسَوَةٌ* [248, 390, 675], *حَبْنَطِي* [below], *اِسْتِخْرَاجٌ* [332, 680], etc., and from the augmented *quad.*, like *مُدْحَرَجٌ* [393, 676], *مُكَرَنْجِمٌ* [495], and *اِحْرَنْجَامٌ* [below], what you elide in the *dim.* [283] (R). The augment of the *tril.*, if single, as in *اَفْضَلُ*, *مَسْجِدٌ*, *جَوْهَرٌ*, *صَيْرَفٌ*, and *عَلَقِي*, is not elided: but what exceeds one [letter] is elided; so that one is elided from such as *مُنْطَلِقٌ* [below], and two from such as *مُسْتَخْرِجٌ* [above] and *مُتَدَكِّرٌ* (Aud). If the [augmented *tril.*] *n.* can be pluralized in one of the two forms by eliding part of the augment and retaining part, then it has two states, (1) that one part should be superior to the other, and (2) that the case should not be so (IA). Superiority [of one part over another] is reduced by IM in the Tashil to three matters,

(1) superiority in respect of sense ; (2) superiority in respect of form ; (3) insufficiency of its elision to avert the elision of the other (Sn). If one of the two paradigms be attainable by elision of part [of the augment] and retention of part (A), you [must (And)] retain that which is superior (R, And, A) in sense or form (A) ; and elide the other, whose presence would spoil the formation of *حَبْنَطِي* or *مَفَاعِيلُ* : while, if neither be superior, as in *حَبْنَطِي* [below], you are allowed an option, exactly as in the *dim.* [283] (R). Thus in [the *pl.* of (IA, Sn)] *مُسْتَدْعٍ* you say *مَدَاعٍ* [below], eliding the *س* and *ت* [together, because their retention would spoil the formation of the *pl.* (A)] ; and retaining the *م*, because it [is initial, and (IA)] is [superior to them in sense, being (A)] added to indicate a sense (IA, A) peculiar to *ns.* [676] (A, MKh), since it indicates an *act.* or *pass. part.* (Sn, MKh), contrary to them, since they are added in *ns.* and *vs.* : and similarly in [the *pl.* of (Sn)] *إِسْتِخْرَاجٍ* [when a proper name, because the *inf. n.* is not pluralized (Sn),] you say *تَخَارِيجٍ*, retaining the *ت* in preference to the *س*, because the *ت* is superior in form to the *س*, since its retention does not produce an unprecedented paradigm, because *تَفَاعِيلُ* exists in the language, like *تَمَائِيلُ* [386] ; whereas *سَخَارِيجُ* would be unprecedented, because there is no *سَفَاعِيلُ* in the language : and another instance of *lit.* superiority is

the *pl.* of مَرَامِيس [370] where you say مَرَارِيس [above], with elision of the [second] م and retention of the ر, because with that the *n.*'s being *orig. tril.* cannot be ignored ; whereas, if you elided the [second] ر, and retained the م, saying مَرَامِيس, that would give rise to the notion that the *n.* was *orig. quad.*, and that مَرَامِيس was فَعَالِيل, not فَعَانِيل (A). The م [676] is worthier of remaining than anything else (IM), because of its superiority to the other *aug.* letters (A, MKh) : so that you say مَطَالِق, not نَطَالِق, as *pl.* of مُنْطَلِق; and مَدَاع [above], not سَدَاع, nor تَدَاع, as *pl.* of مُسْتَدِع (Aud). There is no dispute about this when the second of the two *augs.* is non-co-ordinative, like the ن of مُنْطَلِق, in the *pl.* of which you say مَطَالِق, eliding the ن, and retaining the م: and, when the second of the two, [by which A means the non-co-ordinative and the co-ordinative (Sn),] *augs.* is co-ordinative, like the س of مُقْعَنْسَس, [which is not the second of two *augs.*, but the third of three, vid. the م, the ن, and one of the two س (Sn),] then, according to S, the case is similar, so that مَقَاعِيس is said ; while Mb disputes this, eliding the م, and retaining the co-ordinative, vid. the س, because it is *quasi-rad.*, so that قَعَايس is said : but the opinion of S is preferable, because the م, being initial, and denoting a sense peculiar to the *n.*, is worthier of remaining (A) ; and [according to IHsh also] the م is unrestrictedly superior, contrary to the opinion of Mb

(Aud). By *worthiness* here IM does not mean *preferability of one of the two matters with allowability of either*, because retention of the م is necessary in what has been mentioned, on account of its being *worthier*, [the practice of the *worthier* being obligatory here (Sn),] so that it must not be deviated from (A). And the [disj. (MKh)] Hamza [672] and the ي [674] are like the م [in being *worthier* of remaining (A)], if they precede (IM), i. e., if they be initial (Aud, A), as in يَلْنَدُّ and أَلْنَدُّ [376], in the *pl.* of which you say أَلْدُّ and يَلْدُّ (IA, Aud, A), *orig.* أَلْدُّ (Sn, MKh) and يَلْدُّ (Sn), eliding the ن , and retaining the Hamza and the ي , because they are initial ; and because they occupy a position, [vid. the first (Sn),] wherein they are applied to indicate a sense, [vid. *speaking* in the case of the Hamza, and *absence* in that of the ي (Sn), as in أَقُومُ *I stand* and يَقُومُ *He stands* (IA),] contrary to the ن , which occupies a position wherein it does not indicate any sense at all (IA, A). The retention of the م , ي , and Hamza in the *exs.* mentioned is on account of *id.* superiority (A), notwithstanding the existence of the *lit.* also, vid. initiality, because the *id.*, being stronger, is more entitled to consideration, wherever it exists (Sn). And, [when the elision of one of the two *augs.* is sufficient to avert the elision of the other, while the converse does not hold good, as (Aud, Sn)] if you pluralize what is like حَيْرَانٌ *a cunning old woman*, then elide [the one

whose elision is sufficient, like (Aud)] the *ی*, not [the one whose elision is insufficient, like] the *و*, this being an established rule (IM) ; so that you say حَرَابِینُ, eliding the *ی*, and converting the *و* into *ی*, because, [when the *ی* is elided, its elision is sufficient to avert the elision of the *و*, which then remains fourth, penultimate, and may therefore be treated like the *و* of عَصْفُورٌ ; whereas (A),] if you elided the *و* (IA, Aud, A), saying حَرَابِئُنْ (Aud, Sn), its elision would not be sufficient to avert the elision of the *ی* (IA, A), because the *ی* would not be in a position securing it from elision (A), or more plainly, in the words of IUK [and IA] (Sn), because the retention of the *ی* would make the form of the [ultimate (IA)] *pl.* unattainable (IA, Sn), and (Sn) that would necessitate your eliding the *ی* [also (Sn)], and saying حَرَابِینْ (Aud, Sn), since the *!* of the broken *pl.* is not followed by three letters, the middle one of which is quiescent, except when the middle one is unsound (Aud). And they allow an option, [when neither of the two *augs.* is superior to the other, as (IA)] in the two *augs.*, [vid. the *و* and *!* (Aud, A),] of سَرَنْدَى, and all that resemble it [in containing two *augs.* for co-ordination of the *tril.* with the *quin.* (A)], like عَلَنْدَى coarse (IM), حَبَنْطَى [283, 395] (IA, A), and عَفَرَنْتَى [378, 677] (A): so that you [may (A)] say سَرَانْدُ, عَلَانْدُ, [حَبَانْطُ (IA, A), and عَفَارُنْ (A), eliding

the **ا**, and retaining the **ن** (IA, A); or **سَرَادٍ**, **عَلَادٍ**, **حَبَاطٍ** (IA, A), and **عَفَارٍ** (A), eliding the **ن**, and retaining the **ا** (IA, A), which is then converted into **ى** (A, MKh), as in **جَوَارٍ** (MKh)]: while the reason for allowing an option in these two *aug.* is (IA, Aud, A) that they are equal (Aud, A), because they are added simultaneously for co-ordination [of the *tril.* (A)] with the *quin.*, and neither of them has any superiority over the other (IA, A). The augment of the *quad.* (Jrb, IA, Aud, A), like **حَبَرَتِي** [397] and **عَنْكَبُوتٌ** [399, 678] (Jrb), whether it be a final, as in **سِبْطَرِي** [272, 397], or not, as in **فَدَوَكْسٌ** [395] and **مُدْخَرَجٌ** [393, 676] (A), one letter, as in **مُدْخَرَجٌ**, or two, as in **مُتَدَخَرَجٌ**, or three [392], as in **أَحْرَنْجَامٌ** [283] (MKh), is [necessarily (Aud, Sn)] elided when not [a letter of prolongation (Jrb, IA), (nor) a soft letter (Aud, A),] penultimate (Jrb, IA, Aud, A), [and] fourth (Sn), as **حَبَارُنْ** and **عَنَّاكِبُ** (Jrb); [and] as **سَبَاطِرُ**, **فَدَاكِسُ**, and **دَحَارَجُ** (IA, A), *pl.* of **مُدْخَرَجٌ** and **مُتَدَخَرَجٌ** (Sn, MKh); and as **حَرَاجِمُ**, where the last [*aug.*, *vid.* the] **ا** is converted into **ى**, and the others are elided (MKh). The *pl.* of **عُدَايَرَةٌ** [395] in Ka'b's saying

وَلَنْ يَبْلُغَهَا إِلَّا عُدَايَرَةٌ * فِيهَا عَلَى الْآلَيْنِ إِرْقَالٌ وَتَبْعِيلٌ

And that not aught will convey me to, or reach, this **يَبْلُغَهَا** being coupled to the **يَبْلُغَهَا** in the preceding verse **أَمْسَتْ**

سَعَادُ الْحَمَلِ [452], *save a big*, [strong (Jh, KF),] *hardly she-camel, wherein are ambling and easy running notwithstanding fatigue*, is عَدَاةٌ, the 1 of which is like the 1 of مَسَاجِدُ [above]; and is not that which was in the *sing.*, but the latter is elided: and in this broken *pl.* are combined the two alterations, *lit.* and *id.*, which are separated in such as كُتِبَ and نُلِكَ [234] (BS). The augment of the *quin.* (Aud, A, MKh), like قَرَطُبُوسُ and خَنْدَرِيسُ [401] (MKh), [and] like قَبْعَثَرِي [401, 673] (A), is [necessarily (Aud, Sn)] elided (Aud, A, MKh), together with the 5th [*rad.*] (Sn), two letters being elided from the augmented *quin.*, [when it is pluralized (A),] the *aug.* and the 5th *rad.* (A, MKh), as قَرَاطِبُ and خَنَادِرُ (MKh), [and] as قَبَاعِثُ (A). Some say that, the elision of the 5th *rad.* being known from IM's previous saying "And, from an unaugmented *quin.*, etc." [245], the choice [there] allowed between the 5th and 4th may not improbably occur here, subject to its condition; but this is open to the objection that "*quin.*" in IM's saying is restricted by "unaugmented", unless knowledge by way of analogy be meant (Sn). After the elision (R), a ى may be added [fourth (R), in the penultimate (A),] as a compensation for the elided (R, A), whether *rad.* or *aug.* (A), as in the *dim.* (R), if the word be not entitled to it otherwise than for compensation, as in لَعَاغِيْزُ *pl.* of لَغِيْرِيْ

[272], the *l* of which is elided without compensation, because its *ي*, which belonged to [it in] the *sing.*, is retained, as A will mention in the *dim.* [284] (Sn) : you say سَفَارِيحُ [and مَطَالِيقُ (A)] in the [broken (IY)] *pl.* of سَفَرَجْلُ [245] (IY, A) and مُنْطَلِقُ [above]. The KK allow the *ي* to be added in the like of مَفَاعِلُ, and elided from the like of مَفَاعِيلُ, as جَعَاغِرُ for جَعَاغِيرُ, and عَصَاغِرُ for عَصَاغِيرُ; and, according to them, this is allowable in prose, where they hold وَلَوْ أَلْقَى مَعَاذِيرَهُ LXXV. 15. *Even though he put forward his excuses*, [*pl.* of مَعَذِرَةٌ, by rule وَعِنْدَهُ مَفَاتِحُ (B, Sn),] to be an instance of the first, and مِفْتَاحُ VI. 59. *And with Him are the keys of the hidden*, [*pl.* of مِفْتَاحٍ, by rule مَفَاتِيحُ (Sn),] to be an instance of the second : while IM agrees with them in the *Tasbīl* as to the allowability of both matters ; though he excepts [the *ep.* (Dm)] فَوَاعِلُ [247], for which فَوَاعِيلُ is not said, except anomalously, as in the saying [of Zuhair Ibn Abi Sulmā (MN)]

عَلَيْهَا أُسُودٌ ضَارِبَاتٌ لِبُوسُهُمْ * سَوَابِيغٌ بَيْضٌ لَا يُخَرِّقُهَا النَّبْلُ
 [Upon them, i. e., the horses, are ravenous lions, whose garb is white, i. e., polished, ample coats of mail that arrows will not pierce (MN), where سَوَابِيغٌ is *pl.* of سَابِغَةٌ (119) (Dm), by rule سَوَابِيغُ (MN)] : but the BB hold

that the *ى* may not be added in the like of مَفَاعِلُ, nor elided in the like of مَفَاعِيلُ, except by poetic license [255] (A), as says the Rājiz

يَا رَبِّ بَيْضَاءَ مِنَ الْعَطَامِيسِ * تَضْحَكُ عَنْ ذِي أَشْرِ عَضَارِيسِ

O many a fair maid, of the fully-developed women, laughing so as to disclose serrated front teeth, white like hailstones, properly عَطَامِيسِ [398] (Jh) ; while in the two texts (Dm) مَعَادِيرُ is *pl.* of مَعْدَارٌ (B, Dm), and مَفَاتِحُ is *pl.* of مِفْتَاحٌ (K, B, Dm). They say قَرَادِيدُ (S, Jh, KF), from dislike to the repetition (S, Jh) of the *د* (Jh) ; and دَمَامِيدُ and سَلَالِيمُ [388] (Jh, KF). And, when you mean *men*, it is not forbidden to say قَسَوْرُونَ and قَوَّامُونَ, as its *fem.* has the *ة* affixed to it, and is pluralized with the [ا and] ت (S).

§ 254. The *sing. n.* is [sometimes] applied to the genus, its *n. un.* being then distinguished from it by the *ة* [265], as قَمَرٌ *dates* and قَمَرَةٌ *a date*, [شَعِيرٌ *barley* and شَعِيرَةٌ *a barley-corn* (1Y),] حَنْظَلٌ *colocynths* and حَنْظَلَةٌ *a colocynth*, بَطِيحٌ *melons* [384] and بَطِيخَةٌ *a melon*, سَفَرَجَلٌ *quinces* and سَفَرَجَلَةٌ *a quince* (M). The *n.* which, in the form of the *sing.*, is applied to the few and the many, and in which the *ة* is put when unequivocal designation of the *sing.* is intended, is named [collective] generic *n.* [257]

(R). The *n.* whose *n. un.* is distinguished by the *š* [is, according to us, only a *sing. n.* applied to the genus, as to the individual ; and (IY)] is not [really (IY)] a [broken (IY)] *pl.* [234, 257] (IY, SH), according to the soundest [opinion] (SH), though multitude be imported from it, because the import of multitude is not from the expression, but only from its indicated, since it is indicative of genus, which imports multitude (IY). The generic *n.*, whose *n. un.* is distinguished from it either by the *š*, as in [°]تَمْر and [°]تَمْرَة, or by the *ی*, as in [°]رُومِي and [°]رُوم [294], is excluded [from IH's definition of the *pl.*], because it does not indicate units [234], since the expression is not constituted to denote *units*, but to denote *what contains the special quiddity*, whether it be *sing.*, *du.* or *pl.* ; and, even if we admit [its] indication of them, it does not indicate them with any alteration of the letters of its *sing.* : for, if it be said "Are not its *sings.* taken, and their letters altered by elision of the *š* or *ی* ?", I say that the formation containing the *š* or *ی* is not a *sing.* of the generic *n.*, for the three reasons mentioned in the case of the *quasi-pl.* [257], to which we will add that the generic *n.* is applied to the few and the many, [°]تَمْر being applied to a date, two dates, and dates, and similarly [°]رُوم ; so that, if you eat a date or two dates, or deal with a Greek or two Greeks, you may say أَكَلْتُ التَّمْرَ *I have eaten dates* and عَامَلْتُ الرُّومَ *I have dealt with Greeks* ; whereas, if they were *pls.*, that would not be

allowable; as *رَجَالٌ* *men* is not applied to a *man* or *two men*. Some generic *ns.* indeed are so notorious in the sense of the *pl.* that they are not unrestrictedly applicable to the *sing.* or *du.* : but that is according to usage, not by constitution, like *كَلِمٌ* *words* [below] (R on IH) and *أَكْمٌ* *hills* or *mounds* [below] ; and is rare (R on SH). According to the KK, however, it is a broken *pl.* (IY, R), whose *sing.* is the formation containing the *ā* (R) : but what we have mentioned is corroborated by two [or rather four] matters (IY) ; and their saying is vicious, (1) as respects the form (R), because (a) this *n.* is [mostly (R) qualified by the *sing.* (IY)] *masc.* [271], as *أَعْجَازٌ* LIV. 20. *Trunks of uprooted palm-trees* (IY, R) ; while *أَعْجَازٌ* *نَخْلٍ خَاوِيَةٍ* LXIX. 7. *Trunks of hollow palm-trees*, where it is made *fem.*, and *وَالنَّخْلُ بِأَسْقَابٍ* L. 10. *And the palm-trees when tall*, the *d. s.* being like the *ep.*, and *السَّحَابُ الثَّقَالُ* XIII. 13. *The heavy clouds*, where it is qualified by the *pl.*, are sylleptic, because the meaning of *genus* is *generality* and *multitude*, and syllepsis is frequent (IY) : (b) its *dim.* is made conformable to it, [by common consent, as *تُصَيَّرُ* and *شُعَيْرٌ* (IY)] ; whereas, if it were a [broken (IY)] *pl.*, [then, not being in the shape of the *pl.* of paucity (R),] it would [necessarily (R)] be restored to its *sing.* (IY, R) in forming the *dim.*, and pluralized with the *ā* and *u*, as *تُصَيَّرَاتٌ* and *شُعَيْرَاتٌ* [285] : (c) if it were a *pl.*, there

would be some difference between it and its *sing.* either in consonants or in vowels [234] ; whereas the *š* is equivalent to a *n.* joined on to a *n.* [266], so that its elision does not indicate the broken *pl.* (IY) : (2) as respects the sense, because it is applied to the *sing.* and *du.* also [above] (R). These *ns.* are (1) of three letters, [upon the measure of] (a) فَعْلٌ, like تَبَرٌ [and تَمَرٌ (S)], طَلْحٌ *gum-acacia trees* [and طَلْحَةٌ a *gum-acacia tree* (S)], نَحْلٌ (S, R) and نَحْلَةٌ (S), نَبَلٌ *ants* [and نَبَلَةٌ an *ant* (Jh, KF)], بَهْمٌ *lambs* (R) and بَهْمَةٌ a *lamb* (Jh, KF), صَخْرٌ *rock* and صَخْرَةٌ a *rock* (S) : (a) when you intend paucity, you pluralize the *n.* [*un.* (S)] with the [ا and (R)] ت : and, when you intend multitude (S, R), you have recourse to the *n.* that is applied to the collection, and do not give the *n. un.* a broken *pl.* of another formation [256] (S) ; [but] you denude it of the *š*, the generic *n.* being i. q. the *pl.* of multitude, as نَبَلَةٌ [above], نَبَلَاتٌ and نَبَلٌ (R) : (b) the فَعْلَةٌ of this *cat.* sometimes takes the [broken (R)] *pl.* فَعَالٌ, as طَلْحَةٌ *pl.* طِلَاحٌ [below], بَهْمَةٌ *pl.* بِهَامٌ, [and سَخْلَةٌ a *kid*, *pl.* سَخَالٌ (S),] by assimilation to قَصْعَةٌ *pl.* قَصَاعٌ [below] ; while some say صَخْرَةٌ *pl.* صُخْرٌ [below], by assimilation to بَذْرَةٌ a *lamb's skin used to hold milk*, *pl.* بُذُورٌ, and مَائَةٌ an *abdomen, a paunch*, *pl.* مُوَرٌ [238] : (c) similarly in the hollow (S, R), as جَوْرَةٌ a *walnut*

[248], ^{جَوْرَات} and ^{جَوْر} *walnuts*, and ^{بَيْضَة} *an egg*, ^{بَيْضَات} and ^{بَيْض} *eggs* (S) ; and [here also ^{فَعْلَة} sometimes takes the pl. ^{فَعَال} (R),] as [^{خَيْمَة} *a tent or booth*, ^{خَيْمَات} and ^{خَيْم} and (S)] ^{خَيَْام} *tents or booths*, and [^{رَوْضَة} *a meadow or lawn*, ^{رَوْضَات} and ^{رَوْض} and (S)] ^{رِيَاض} *meadows or lawns* [238, 713] (S, R) ; and [^{فُعُول}, as ^{بُيُوض} (KF) : (d) similarly in the defective, [as ^{سَرَوَة} *a cypress* and ^{سَرَو} *cypresses*, ^{شَرِيَة} *a colocynth* and ^{شَرِي} *colocynths*, and (S)] as ^{صَعْرَة} *a small sparrow*, ^{صَعْر} and (S)] ^{صِعَاء} *small sparrows* (S, R) ; and the reduplicated, as ^{حَبَة} *a grain* and ^{حَب} *grains* (S) : (e) the broken pl. is not regular in it, nor in any other [measure] of this cat. (R) : (b) ^{فَعْل}, the predicament of which is like that of ^{فَعْل} (S, R), in that the generic n. denotes *multitude*, and the ا and ت paucity (R), as ^{سِدْرَة} *a lote-tree*, ^{سِدْرَات} [17, 238, 240] and ^{سِدْر} *lote-trees*, and ^{تَبْنَة} *a straw*, ^{تَبْنَات} *straws* and ^{تَبْن} *straw* (S) ; while ^{فَعْلَة} sometimes takes the broken pl. ^{كَسْرَة} pl. ^{فَعْل}, as ^{سِدْر} [238], by assimilation to ^{كَسْرَة} pl. (R)] ^{كَسْر} [238] : (c) ^{فَعْل}, [the predicament of which is like that of ^{فَعْل} (S),] as ^{دُخْنَة} *a grain of millet*, [^{دُخْنَات} *grains of millet* and ^{دُخْن} *millet* (S)] ; and [similarly the reduplicated (S),] as ^{دُرَة} *a pearl*, [^{دُرَات} and ^{دُر} *pearls* (S),] and ^{بُرَة} *a grain of wheat*, [^{بُرَات} *grains of wheat* and ^{بُر}

wheat ; and similarly the hollow, as تَوَمَّةٌ a silver bead, تَوَمَاتٌ and تَوَمٌ silver beads (S)] : while فَعْلَةٌ sometimes takes the broken pl. فَعْلٌ, as دُرٌّ and تَوَمٌ (S, R), by assimilation to غُرٌّ [238] (R) : (d) فَعْلٌ, [the predicament of which is like that of فَعْلٌ (S),] as بَقْرَةٌ a cow, bull, or ox, [بَقَرَاتٌ cows, bulls, or oxen and بَقَرٌ cattle (S),] and شَجَرَةٌ a tree (S, R), شَجَرَاتٌ and شَجَرٌ trees ; and similarly in the hollow, as هَامَةٌ an owl, هَامَاتٌ and هَامٌ owls, رَاحَةٌ a palm of a hand, رَاحَاتٌ and رَاحٌ palms of hands, [as says a poet, describing some cloud drawing near to the ground,

يَكَادُ يُمَسِّكُهُ مِنْ قَامٍ بِالرَّاحِ

They that stand well-nigh grasp it with the palms of the hands (BS),] شَامَةٌ a mole, شَامَاتٌ and شَامٌ moles, سَاعَةٌ an hour or a time, [سَاعَاتٌ and (Mb, Jh, KF)] سَاعٌ, as says AlKutāmī

فَكُنَّا كَأَنَّكَ لَحْرِيقٍ أَصَابَ غَابًا * فَيَخْبُو سَاعَةً وَيَهِيْجُ سَاعًا

Then we were like fire that, or when it, has reached beds of reeds, so that it sinks down at one time, and rises up at times (S), and حَاجَةٌ a want or need, حَاجَاتٌ and حَاجٌ, as in the saying

وَقَدْ تُنْجِرُ الْعَاجَاتُ يَا أُمَّ مَالِكٍ * كَرَأَمٍ مِنْ رَبِّ بَيْنَ صَنِينِ

And sometimes wants, or needs, elicit, O Umm Mālik, noble deeds from a master niggardly of them and the saying of ArRā'ī

and (S)] *إِصْنَاءٌ* *pools* [238] (S, R) ; for we have heard that from the Arabs (S) ; but the broken *pl.* in the defective is rare : (b) S says that *فَعْلَةٌ* with quiescence, and *فَعْلٌ* with Fath, of the *ع* sometimes occur (R) : they say *حَلَقٌ* *rings* and *فَلَكٌ* *whirls* of spindles, [for the genus (R)] ; and *حَلَقَةٌ* *a ring* and *فَلَكَةٌ* *a whirl* of a spindle, lightening, [says he (R),] the *n. un.* [by making the *ع* quiescent (R)], when they affix the augment, [i. e., the *ة* (R),] to it, [and alter the sense (S),] as they lighten [such as *نَمْرِيٌّ* (R)] in [affixing the *ي* of (R)] relation (S, R) to it [296], since the *ة* is akin to the *ي* [253, 294] (R) : but this is rare (S) ; while *حَلَقَةٌ* [with Fath of the *ع* (R)] is transmitted [by Y (S)] on the authority of IAl (S, R), in which case *حَلَقٌ* is not anomalous ; and some of the Arabs say *حَلَقَةٌ* with quiescence of the *ع*, and *حَلَقٌ* [238] with Kasr of the *ي* in the generic *n.*, like *بَذَرَةٌ* *pl. بَذَرٌ* : (c) the reason why, in the whole of this *cat.*, we have assigned the broken *pl.* to the *n. un.*, not to the generic *n.*, is only that the generic *n.*, being i. q. the *pl.* of multitude, ought not to be pluralized (R) : (e) *فَعِلٌ*, in which [the predicament is the same as in *فَعْلٌ*, except that (S)] the broken *pl.* [of the *n. un.* (S)] does not occur, [as it does in *فَعْلٌ* (R),] because of the rarity of *فَعِلٌ* [in comparison with *فَعْلٌ* (S)], as *نَبِقَةٌ* *a fruit of a lote-tree*, [*نَبِقَاتٌ* and *نَبِيقٌ*

fruit of a lote-tree, لَبْنَةٌ a brick, لَبَنَات and لَبْنٌ (S),] and كَلِمَةٌ a word [238] (S, R), كَلِمَات and كَلِمٌ [above] () : (f) فَعَلٌ, which [is treated like, but (S)] is rarer than فَعِلٌ, as عِنَبَةٌ a grape, [عِنَبَات and (Jh) عِنَب grapes (S),] and حَدَاةٌ a kite (S, R), حَدَات and حَدَا kites (S) : (a) the [broken] pl. of حَدَاةٌ is حَدَا (Jh, KF, HH), says As, like لَبَا biestings (HH) ; and حَدَاة (KF) ; and [IKb adds (HH)] حَدَاتٌ (KF, HH) with Kasr (KF) : (g) فَعَلٌ, which [is treated in the same way, but (S)] is rarer than فَعِلٌ, as سَمَرَةٌ a gum-acacia tree (S, R), سَمَرَات [and سَمَرٌ in paucity (Jh)] and سَمَرٌ, and ثَمَرَةٌ a fruit, ثَمَرَات and ثَمَرٌ (S) : (h) فَعَلٌ, [which also is rare (R),] as بُسْرَةٌ a full-grown unripe date, [بُسَرَات and بُسْرٌ (S),] and هُدْبَةٌ an eyelash (S, R), هُدْبَات and هُدْبٌ (S) : (i) فَعَلٌ, [which is similar (S),] as عَشْرَةٌ a shrub named gigantic swallow-wort, [عَشَرَات and عَشْرٌ (S),] and رُطْبَةٌ a fresh ripe date (S, R), رُطْبَات and رُطْبٌ [238] ; while some people say أَرطَابٌ for رُطْبٌ [237], as they say أَعْنَابٌ for عِنَبٌ [237] (S) : and [similarly (S)], in the defective, مَهَاةٌ seed of the stallion in the she-camel's womb, مَهَى (S, R) ; while Akh asserts that the n. un. of طَلَى necks is طَلَاةٌ ; and, if you mean paucity, you pluralize with the [ا and] ت (S) : (a) the rule in all these measures is, as we mentioned first, that in paucity they

are pluralized with the **ا** and **ت**, while in multitude the **ة** is elided : (2) of more than three letters, as **نَعَامٌ** *ostriches* and **نَعَامَةٌ** *an ostrich*, **سَفَرَجَلٌ** and **سَفَرَجَلَةٌ** [above] (R). This [*n.* (R)] mostly occurs in things [created (M, R) by God (IY),] not manufactured (M, SH), because, [say the GG (R),] the former are [often (R) a genus (IY)] created by God in an aggregate, like **تَمْرٌ** *dates* [and **تَفَاحٌ** *apples* (R)]; so that, [the aggregate being anterior to the individual (IY), a *n.* is constituted to denote *the genus*; and afterwards (R),] when the individual is required to be distinguished, the **ة** is affixed (IY, R) to it (R), as **تَمْرَةٌ** *a date* [and **تَفَاحَةٌ** *an apple* (Jh)]: while the counterpart of that is the *inf. n.*, such as **ضَرَبٌ** *striking* and **أَكَلَ** *eating*, which is a generic *n.* indicative of multitude, denoting *acts*; but, when they affix the **ة**, saying **ضَرْبَةٌ** *a stroke* and **أَكْلَةٌ** *a meal, repast*, becomes limited, and indicates *a single instance* [336] (IY): whereas in manufactured things the individual is anterior to the aggregate (IY, R); so that in the expression also their *sing.* is anterior to their *pl.* But this requires consideration, because the generic *ns.* mentioned are not constituted to denote *the collection*, as the GG imagine, so that their reasoning should be correct; but denote mere *quiddity*, whether it be with paucity or with multitude (R). And [the few that occur in manufactured things (R),] such as

لَيْنٌ ⁹ *ships or boats* [and سَفِينَةٌ ⁹ *a ship or boat* (M, R)], لَيْنٌ ⁹
bricks (M, SH) and لَبْنَةٌ ⁹ *a brick* (M, R), for which, says ISk,
 some of the Arabs say لَبْنٌ and لَبْنَةٌ, like لَبْدٌ ⁹ *felt* and لَبْدَةٌ ⁹
a piece of felt (Jh), نَرِيٌّ ⁹ *nose-rings* for camels and *anklets*
 and بُرَّةٌ ⁹ [238, 260] (R), قَلَنَسٌ ⁹ *caps* [721] (M, SH) and قَلَنَسَةٌ ⁹
a cap (M, R), are [anomalous (Jrb),] not regular (M, SH),
 the rule in such *ns.* being to form a broken *pl.*, as قَصْعَةٌ ⁹
a dish or platter, *pl.* قَصَاعٌ [above], and جَفْنَةٌ ⁹ *a bowl*, *pl.*
 جَفَانٌ [238]; but are assimilated to created things.
 And sometimes they assimilate created to manufac-
 tured things, giving them a broken *pl.*, as طَلَحٌ ⁹ [above],
 سَحَالٌ, and صُخُورٌ ⁹ (IY). But كَمَاةٌ ⁹ *truffles or mushrooms*
 and كَمٌّ ⁹ *a truffle or mushroom*, [فَقْعَةٌ ⁹ *white truffles* and فَقْعٌ ⁹
a white truffle (R),] جَبَاةٌ ⁹ *red truffles* and جَبٌّ ⁹ *a red truffle*
 are the converse of تَمْرٌ ⁹ and تَمْرَةٌ ⁹ (M, SH), and are extra-
 ordinary (IY), because they [generally (R)] denote *the*
collection when they contain the ة, and *the individual*
 when they are denuded of it (IY, R); though sometimes
 the reverse (R). And sometimes they have broken *pls.*,
 according to analogy, as جَبَاةٌ ⁹, like فَقْعَةٌ ⁹ [237]; and أَكْمُو ⁹,
 like أَكْلُبٌ ⁹ [237], whence وَلَقَدْ جَنَيْتُكَ الْحَاحَ [504, 599] (IY).

§ 255. The [broken (S, IY)] *pl.* is sometimes not
formed from the *sing.* [used (M), but from an assumed

expression *syn.* with it (IY)], whence (1) ^{أَرَهَطُ} [256] (S, M, SH), as ^{يَا بُرْسُ لِلْحَرْبِ الْحَـ} [101] (IY), *pl.* of ^{رَهَطُ}, as though [broken (S)] *pl.* of ^{أَرَهَطُ} (S, IY, R, Jrb) i. q. ^{رَهَطُ} [257] (IY), a *pl. pl.* (T), because the substantive ^{أَفْعَلُ}, however it may vary, takes the *pl.* ^{أَفَاعِلُ} [249] (Jrb) :

(a) ^{أَرَهَطُ}, [according to S (T), is not used, not being *pl.* of ^{رَهَطُ}, since, if it were so, ^{أَرَهَطُ} would not be anomalous ; but (IY), as is said (R) by others (T),] is used [by the poet, when he needs it (IY)], as

وَنَاصِحٌ مَّفْتَضِحٌ فِي أَرَهَطَةٍ * مِنْ أَرْفَعِ الْوَادِي وَلَا مِنْ بَعْثَطَةٍ

And many a disgracer [of others (MAR)], disgraced among his [own (MAR)] kinsfolk, from the highest part of the valley, and not from the middle of it (IY, R), in which case ^{أَرَهَطُ} is regular (R) : (b) similarly ^{أَكَرَعُ} *pl.* of ^{كَرَاعُ}

a shank (S, R), as though broken *pl.* of ^{أَكَرَعُ} [246] (S) :

(2) ^{أَبَاطِيلُ} (S, M, SH), *pl.* of ^{بَاطِلٌ} false (S, IY, R, Jrb), as

though [broken (S)] *pl.* of ^{إِبْطِيلُ} (S, IY, Jrb) or ^{أَبْطَالُ}

[256], i. q. ^{بَاطِلٌ}, though they are not used (IY), by

rule ^{بَوَاطِلُ} [247] (IY, R) : (3) ^{أَحَادِيثُ} [257], ^{أَعَارِيفُ}, and

^{أَقَاطِيعُ} (S, M, SH), *pls.* of ^{حَدِيثُ} a tradition, ^{عَرَوْضُ} last

foot of first hemistich of a verse, and ^{قَطِيعُ} a herd or flock

(S, IY, R, Jrb), as though *pls.* of ^{أَحْدَرَةٌ} [257], ^{إِعْرِيفُ},

and ^{اِطْبِيعُ} (IY, Jrb), which are not used, by rule ^{حَدَّاثُتْ} ,
^{عَرَائِضُ} , and ^{قَطَّاعُ} (IY), because their broken *pl.*, the
 number of their letters being four by reason of the aug-
 ment in them, would be ^{فَعَاتِلُ} (S), like ^{قَلَّائِضُ} and ^{سَفَاتِنُ}
 [246] (IY) : (4) ^{أَهَالُ} (S, M, SH), *pl.* of ^{أَهْلُ} (S, IY, R,
 Jrb), as though *pl.* of ^{أَهْلَةٌ} (IY, R, Jrb), which is not
 used, by rule ^{إِهَالُ} , like ^{كِعَابُ} [237] ; while ^{آهَالُ} [below]
 occurs in poetry, like ^{أَفْرَاحُ} [237], Akh citing

وَبَلَدِيَّةٌ مَا أَلَانِي مِنْ آهَالِهَا

*And many a land such that man is not one of its inha-
 bitants* (IY) : and [similarly (IY)] ^{لَيَالُ} (S, M, SH), *pl.*
 of ^{لَيْلُ} (S, Jrb) or ^{لَيْلَةٌ} (IY), as though *pl.* of ^{لَيْلَةٌ} (IY, R,
 Jrb), which [sometimes (IY)] occurs in poetry, as

فِي كُلِّ مَا يَوْمٍ وَكُلِّ لَيْلَةٍ

In every day and every night (IY, R), though it is
 strange : and similarly ^{أَرَاظِي} , [*pl.* of ^{أَرَضُ} (Jb, KF),] by
 rule *pl.* of ^{أَرَضَاءُ} (R) ; while Akh asserts that they say
^{أَرَاظُ} [upon the measure of] ^{أَفْعَالُ} , as they say ^{آهَالُ} [above]
 (S) ; and ^{أَرُوضُ} is [sometimes used as (Jh)] a *pl.* (Jb, KF) :
 (a) ^{فَعَالُ} is extraordinary in ^{أَهْلُ} [and ^{أَرَضُ}] , and in ^{كَيْلَةٌ} a
night and ^{كَيْكَةٌ} an *agg.* (A), *pl.* ^{كَيَالُ} (KF) : (5) ^{حَبِيرُ}
 (S, M, SH), *pl.* of ^{حَبَارُ} a *he-ass* (S, IY, Jrb), as though

pl. of حَمْرٌ (IY), because فَعِيلٌ, according to S [257], is one of the *pl.* forms, but by rule is *pl.* of فَعَلٌ (R), like كَلِيبٌ *dogs* [237, 257] (IY, R), عَبِيدٌ *slaves* [237, 239] (IY), مَعِيزٌ *goats* [257], and ضَعِيثٌ *sheep* (R) : (6) أَصْحَابٌ [246, 247] and أَطْيَارٌ (S, IY), *pls.* of صَاحِبٌ *a companion* and طَائِرٌ *a bird*, as though broken *pls.* of صَحَبٌ and طَيْرٌ [257] (IY) ; and أَفْلَاءٌ *pl.* of فُلُوٌ [239, 246] (S) : (7) أَمْكُنٌ [246, 264] (S, M, SH), *pl.* of مَكَانٌ (R, Jrb), as though *pl.* of مَكْنٌ (S, IY), not مَكَانٌ (S) ; and أَرْمَنٌ [246], *pl.* of رَمَانٌ (R) ; because we do not see فُعَالٌ [or فَعِيلٌ (S)] take the [broken (S)] *pl.* أَفْعُلٌ except when *fem.* (S, IY), like عُقَابٌ *an eagle*, *pl.* أَعْقِبٌ [246] (IY) : (8) تَوَامٌ [257], *pl.* of تَوَامٌ *a twin*, [says S (R), as though broken *pl.* of تَتَمٌ (S), because, according to him, فُعَالٌ also is one of the *pl.* formations, but by rule is *pl.* of فَعْلٌ or فَعِلٌ (R).] like ظَوَارٌ *pl.* of ظَمْرٌ *a foster-mother*, and رُخَالٌ *pl.* of (S, R) رُخْلٌ (S) or (KF) رُخْلٌ *a ewe-lamb* [257] : (9) مَحَاسِنُ *pl.* of حُسْنٌ *beauty*, and مَشَابِدُ *pl.* of شَبَّةٌ *a likeness* [257] (R) : (10) طَهَارَى *pl.* of طَاهِرٌ *clean* [259], as though *pl.* of طَهْرَانٌ (Jh). طُرُوفٌ [246] is [said by Khl to be (R), as it were (IY),] *pl.* of طَرَفٌ i. q. ظَرِيفٌ, though طَرَفٌ is not used in this sense

(IY on § 246, R), as مَدَاكِيرُ is *pl.* of مِدْكَارٌ i. q. ذَكَرٌ *a penis* [257], though مِدْكَارٌ is not used [in this sense] (R). They say كِرْوَانٌ, and for the *pl.* كِرْرَوَانٌ, which is only the broken *pl.* of كَرَا, like إِخْوَانٌ [250] (S). And حَوَائِجُ is *pl.* of حَاجَةٌ (Jh, KF, A), as though *pl.* of حَائِجَةٌ (Jh, KF). According to Khl, حَاجَةٌ is *orig.* حَائِجَةٌ, and therefore takes the *pl.* حَوَائِجُ; and so say IAl and ID: and, as all three say (CD), حَائِجَةٌ has been heard (Dm, CD) in this *sing.* (Dm) from the Arabs, like حَاجَةٌ (CD); so that حَوَائِجُ may be *pl.* of it, the *pl.* of حَاجَةٌ being dispensed with (Dm): except that the well-known form is حَاجَةٌ, the use of حَائِجَةٌ being very rare, for which reason IJ says that it has not been heard, and that حَوَائِجُ is *pl.* of an assumed *sing.*; while some lexicologists hold that حَوَائِجُ is *pl.* of حَوَجَاءٌ i. q. حَاجَةٌ, which also is a *sing.* used, as in the saying of Kais Ibn Rifā'a [al Wākifi al Anṣārī (Is)]

مَنْ كَانَ فِي نَفْسِهِ حَوَجَاءٌ يَطْلُبُهَا * عِنْدِي فَأَتِي لَهُ رَهْنٌ بِاصْحَارِ
He in whose mind is a need that he seeks beside me, verily I am responsible to him for disclosure, the pl. of حَوَجَاءٌ being by rule حَوَاجٍ, like صَحَارٍ [248], but the ي being put before the ج by transposition (CD). And [the use of

(CD)] حَوَائِجُ is frequent in the [correct and chaste (CD)] language (Jh, CD) of the Arabs (Jh), as in the saying of the Prophet اسْتَعِينُوا عَلَىٰ إِنْجَاحِ الْحَوَائِجِ بِالْكِتْمَانِ لَهَا *Seek ye help for the accomplishment of your needs in concealment of them*, and in [another] tradition اَطْلُبُوا الْحَوَائِجَ *Seek ye your needs beside the handsome in face*, and in the saying of AlA'shà

النَّاسُ حَوْلَ فَنَائِهِ * أَهْلُ الْكَوَائِمِ وَالْمَسَائِلِ

*Men round his court-yard are needy and petitioners, and
the saying of AlFarazdak*

وَلِي بَيْلَادِ السِّنْدِ عِنْدَ أَمِيرِهَا * حَوَاتِجُ جَمَاتٍ وَعِنْدِي ثَوَابُهَا

And I have, in the countries of AsSind, at the court of its governor, many needs ; and in my power is their recompense, and countless other exs. in prose and verse
(CD), as

نَهَارُ الْمَرْءِ أَمْثَلُ حِينَ يُقْضَى * حَوَاتِجُهُ مِنَ اللَّيْلِ الطَّوِيلِ

The man's day is more convenient, when his wants are satisfied, than the long night (Jh), which, if all were cited, would make a thick book (CD). It is disapproved, however, by As, who says that it is post-classical [254] (Jh); while H, as [pointed out] in the Masa'il of IBr, follows As in what he mentions (CD): but As disapproves it only because it is irregular (Jh); and this is reckoned one of his slips and blunders; while [his pupils] AHm

and AFR report, on his authority, that he retracted this saying (CD). And similarly دَوَانِيْقُ [247], خَرَائِمُ, and زَوَارِيْقُ, *pls.* of دَانِقُ, خَاتَمُ, and زَوَرَقُ a *skiff*, the rule being to omit the ي [253] ; so that the anomaly in these is the impletion of the Kasr. The preceding are all *pls.* in form and sense, having *sings.* of their form, except that they are irregular. And approximate to this *cat.* are (1) the *mascs.* which, having no broken *pl.*, are pluralized with the ا and ت, as جَمَالٌ سَبَحَلَاتُ [234, 261] and رِبَحَلَاتُ [261], حِمَامَاتُ [17, 234], and سُرَادِقَاتُ [234, 261] : (2) اَرْضُونَ [234], عِزُونَ, and ثُبُونُ, and the like *fems.* pluralized with the و and ن [234, 244, 260] (R). نِسَاءٌ is a [heteromorphous (Jh, KF)] *pl.* of اِمْرَاَةٌ a *woman* (Jrb), like مَخَاضُ *pl.* of خَلْفَةٌ [238] and اُولَئِكَ *pl.* of ذَاكَ [171, 172] (Jh) ; as also are نِسْوَةٌ or نِسْوَةٌ [21, 257], نِسْوَانُ [251] (Jh, KF), and نِسْوَنُ (KF). And sometimes a *pl.* occurs that has no *sing.* at all, regular or irregular, like عَبَادِيدُ and عَبَايِدُ [257] (R). Jh says (BS), I have not heard the *sing.* of عَسَائِيْدُ meaning *mirage*, as in Ka'b's saying كَانَ اَوْبُ ذِرَاعِيْهَا اَلْحَمْعُ [75] : but the *sing.* of عَسَائِيْدُ meaning a kind of large white *truffles* or *mushrooms* is عُسْقُوْلُ ; while the poet says وَلَقَدْ جَنَيْتُكَ اَلْحَمْعُ [504] (Jh, BS), *orig.* عَسَائِيْدُ, the letter of prolongation being elided by poetic license

[253]. أَشَدُّ [238, 256] in XLVI. 14. *حتى إذا بلغ أشده*. Until, when he reacheth his strongest, or his full powers or strength, (1) is *pl.* of أَشَدُّ by elision of the augment, as AU asserts, citing in evidence عَهْدِي بِهِ شَدَّ النَّهَارِ الْح at the time of the highest part of the day [65], orig. أَشَدُّ, according to him, the Hamza having been elided; and, according to this, شَدَّ *pl.* أَشَدُّ is like أَبَّ *pasture, pl.* أَوْب [661, 686]: and this is one of Sf's two sayings (BS): (a) critical judges hold that أَنْعَمُ [238] is *pl.* of the *inf. n.* نَعَم, [from their saying يَوْمُ نَعَمٍ a day of enjoyment (Jh),] according to analogy; and that أَشَدُّ is *pl.* of شَدَّ, like أَقْدُ *pl.* of قَدَّ a kid's skin (IY on § 238): (2) is *pl.* of شَدَّة [238], as S says, like أَنْعَمُ *pl.* of نَعْمَةٍ (BS); and this is good in respect of the sense, because بَلَغَ الْغُلَامُ شِدَّتَهُ The young man reached his full vigor is said (Jh); but فَعَلَتْ does not take the *pl.* أَفْعُلُ (Jh, KF): (3) occurs [as *pl.* of شَدَّ (Jh, KF),] by elision of the ة, as IJ says (BS), like أَذْوَبُ *pl.* of ذَبَّ [237] (Jh, KF): (4) is a *pl.* having no *sing.* [of its own crude-form (Jh, KF)], as Mz says; and this is the second of Sf's two sayings (BS): (5) is [said to be (B)] a *sing.* [in the form of a *pl.* (Jh, KF, AKB)], like أَذْكُ pure lead [256] (Jh, B on VI. 153, KF, AKB), these two having no counterpart (Jh, KF, AKB); and

[this is the saying of AZ, who relates that (AKB)] its Hamza is pronounced with Damm (KF, AKB) as a *dial. var.* of Fath (AKB).

§ 256. Necessity sometimes leads to pluralization, as to dualization [232], of the *pl.* (A). The [broken] *pl.* is [sometimes (SH)] pluralized (M, SH), when they mean to intensify the *multiplication*, and to notify *different kinds* of that sort, by assimilation of the *pl.* expression to the *sing.* (IY). The *pl. pl.* is of two kinds, sound and broken (Jrb). When they mean to form a broken *pl.* of a [broken (A)] *pl.*, they [assume it to be a *sing.*, and (Jrb)] form its [broken (A)] *pl.* like that of the *sing.* resembling it (Jrb, A) in measure (Jrb), i. e., in number of letters, and [arrangement of] vowels and quiescences, even if differing from it in the sort of vowel (Sn), as ^{عَبْدٌ} [239] and ^{أَقْوِيلُ} *speeches, pls.* ^{أَعَابِدُ} and ^{أَقْوِيلُ}, because assimilated to ^{أَسَوْدُ} and ^{إِعْصَارُ} [379], *pls.* ^{أَسَاوِدُ} [249] and ^{أَعَاصِيرُ} [253]; and as ^{غَرْبَانُ} [246], *pl.* ^{غَرَابِينُ} by assimilation to [^{سِرْحَانُ} *pl.* (Jh, KF)] ^{سَرَاغِينُ} [250] (A). And, when they mean to form a sound *pl.* of a [broken] *pl.*, they affix the ^ا and ^ت to its final, as ^{جَمَالُ} [237], *pl.* ^{جَمَالَاتُ}, and similarly the rest (Jrb). The *pl.* is pluralized with the ^ا and ^ت because the broken *pl.* is *fem.* [270] (IY, R). A seems to say that the *pl.* of the *pl.* not expected [below] is regular: but AH says that, in the *pl.*

of multitude, it is not regular, by common consent ; and that, in the *pl.* of paucity, its regularity is disputed, the majority holding it to be regular, while IU adopts the opinion that it is not regular (Dm) IH says "sometimes" in order to make known that (Jrb), as S and others say (R), the *pl. pl.* is not regular (IY, R, Jrb), universal (R, Jrb), whether it be broken, like أَكَلِبُ [below] ; or sound, like بُيُوتَاتُ [below] (R) : but is confined to what the Arabs have pluralized, and does not exceed that (IY, R), because the object of the *pl.* is to indicate *multitude* ; and, this being realized by the *pl.* expression, we have no need of a second pluralization : S says that (IY) every *pl.* is not pluralized, as every *inf. n.* is not pluralized (S, IY), nor every *n.* that is applied to the collection [254] (S) ; and [Jr says that (IY)], if you said أَفَالِسُ as *pl.* of أَفَلَسَ [and أَكَلِبُ as *pl.* of أَكَلَبَ (IY)], it would not be allowable (IY, R) : and, that being the case, the *pl. pl.* is anomalous (IY). Similarly the *pl.* of the generic *n.* is not regular (R, Sn), by common consent, if its sorts do not differ, whether it have a *n. un.* distinguished by the ة [254], or not : while, if they do differ, the majority hold that its *pl.* is not regular, because of its rarity ; but Mb, Rm, and others hold it to be regular (Sn). And similarly the *inf. n.*, because it also is a generic *n.* [336] : so that you do not say شُتُومٌ and نُصُورٌ, as *pl.* of شَتَمَ and نَصَرَ, nor أَبْرَارٌ as *pl.* of بَرٌّ [254] ; but confine

yourself to what has been heard, except that the poet, if constrained, pluralizes the *pl.*, as

بِأَعْيُنَاتٍ لَمْ يَخَالِطْهَا الْقَدَى

With eyes that moths have not troubled (R). And, as for the *quasi-pl. n.*, S seems to say that its *pl.* is not regular ; while أَقْوَامٌ and أَرَاهِطٌ, *pls.* of قَوْمٌ [257] and رَهْطٌ [255, 257], are instances of what has been heard : so [says Syt] in the Ham' (Sn). The *pl. pl.* occurs in the *pl.* of paucity, and in the *pl.* of multitude (IY) : but is frequent in the *pl.* of paucity ; and rare in the *pl.* of multitude, except [when the *pl. pl.* is formed] with the *ا* and ت (Jrb) : being easier in the *pl.* of paucity, because this indicates *few* ; so that, when *many* are meant, they pluralize it a second time (IY). It has been often heard in أَفْعُلُ , أَفْعَلَةٌ , and أَفْعَالٌ (R) : but, as for Z's saying "every أَفْعُلُ or أَفْعَلَةٌ" and "every أَفْعَالٌ" [below], it is a careless expression, the correct doctrine being what we have mentioned (IY). In the *pl.* of paucity (S, IY), (1) every (M) أَفْعُلُ or أَفْعَلَةٌ takes the [broken (S)] *pl.* أَفْعَالُ (S, M), because أَفْعُلُ is assimilated to أَفْعَلُ , [like أَرْتَبُ (IY),] and أَفْعَلَةٌ to أَفْعَلَةٌ (S, IY), like أَرْمَلَةٌ [249] (IY), as (a) أَيَادٍ *pl.* of أَيْدٍ [243, 260] (S, IY, R), *pl.* of يَدٌ a hand (IY), as says the Rājiz, [describing snow (Jh)]

كَانَتْ بِالْمُصْخَصَاتِ الْأَنْجَلِ * قُطُنٌ سَكَامٌ بِأَيَادِي غُرُلٍ

As though it, on the broad plain, were cotton soft to the feel, in hands of spinners (IY) ; and *أَرْطَبُ* *pl. of* *أَرْطَبُ* (S, IY, R), *pl. of* *رَطْبُ* *a skin for holding milk* (IY), as says the Rājiz

تُحَلَبُ مِنْهَا سِتَّةُ الْأَوَاطِبِ

The six skins of milk are milked from her (S, IY) : [and] as *أَكَلِبُ* (M, SH), which, I think, does not occur, for which reason Jr says [above] that, if you said *أَكَلِبُ*, it would not be allowable ; though Jh has transmitted it as (IY) *pl. of* *أَكْلِبُ* *dogs* [237] (IY, Jrb) : and *أَيْنُقُ* *pl. of* *أَيْنُقُ* [238] (Jh, KF, HH) : (a) Jh says (HH), the *pl. of* *نَاقَةٌ* in paucity is *أَنُقُ* ; and then, deeming the Damma too heavy upon the و, they make the و precede [the ن], saying *أُونُقُ*, which is transmitted by ISk from some of the Tā'is ; and then they substitute a ي for the و, saying *أَيْنُقُ* (Jh, HH) : (b) *أَسَاقِي* *pl. of* *أَسْقِيَّةٌ* (S, IY, R), *pl. of* *سِقَاءٌ* *a skin used to hold water or milk* (IY) ; and *أَسَاوِرُ* (M), *pl. of* *أَسْوَرَةٌ*, *pl. of* *سَوَارٌ* *a bracelet*, as *يُحَلَّلُونَ فِيهَا مِنْ أَسَاوِرَ مِنْ ذَهَبٍ* XVIII. 30. *They shall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold* (IY) ; and [sometimes (IY)] *أَسَاوِرَةٌ* (S, IY, R), *pl. of* *أَسْوَرَةٌ* (S, R), the ة being affixed for feminization of the *pl.* [265], as *فَلَوْلَا أُلْقِيَ عَلَيْهِ أَسْوِرَةٌ مِنْ ذَهَبٍ* XLIII. 53. *Then wherefore have not bracelets of gold been put upon him?* (IY), so read by some (K, B) : (2) every (M) *أَفْعَالٌ*

takes the [broken (S)] *pl.* أَفَاعِلُ (S, M), because أَفْعَالٌ is assimilated to أَفْعَالٌ [379] (S, IY), as أَفَاعِمُ (S, M, SH), *pl.* of أَفْعَامٌ [253] (S, IY, R, Jrb), *pl.* of نَعَمَ *camels* (IY); and أَفَاوِيلُ (S, IY, R), *pl.* of أَقْرَالٌ *sayings, speeches* (S, R); and أَبَايْتُ *pl.* of أَبْيَاتٌ *tents or houses* [242]; while a poet says

تَرَعَى أَنَافٍ مِنْ حَزِيزِ الْكَمْضِ

*Emaciated camels browse off the rugged ground of the salt plants, pluralizing أَنْفَاءٌ [239, 251], pl. of نِضْرٌ, [and contracting أَفَاعِلُ into أَفَاعِلُ] (S). And they say أَعْطِيَاتٌ [pl. of أَعْطِيَةٌ pl. of عَطَاءٌ a gift (KF)] and أَسْقِيَاتٌ, using the sound *pl.* [of أَفْعَلَةٌ (S, IY)], like أَنْمَلَاتٌ [253] (S, IY, R). And [in the *pl.* of multitude (IY)] they say (1) [in فِعَالٌ (S, R),] (a) جَمَائِلُ (S, M, SH), *pl.* of جَمَالٌ [237] (S, IY, R, Jrb), *pl.* of جَمَلٌ a *he-camel* (Jrb), using the [broken (S)] *pl.* فَعَائِلُ (S, R), like شَبَائِلُ (S, IY, R, Jrb), *pl.* of شِبَالٌ (S, Jrb), which is the *wind that blows from the direction of the pole-star* (Jrb), [or] *pl.* of شِبَالٌ [246] (IY, R), as though they meant *different kinds of he-camels*, not intending *multiplication* here, because the *o. f.* imports *multitude* (IY); (b) جَمَالَاتٌ, [as كَانَهُ جَمَالَاتٌ] LXXVII. 23. *As though they were yellow he-camels* (IY), as they say (S) كِلَابَاتٌ (S, M, SH), *pl.* of كِلَابٌ *dogs**

(KF), رَجَالَاتُ (S, M, R), *pl. of رَجَالُ men* [235, 237] (Jh, KF), and نِيَابَاتُ *pl. of نِيَابُ she camels* [238] (KF), using the sound *pl.* (S, IY, R), which is frequent in comparison with the broken (IY) : (2) in فُعُولُ (S, R), بُيُوتَاتُ (S, M, SH), *pl. of بُيُوتُ tents or houses* [242] (S) : (3) in فُعُلُ (S, R), حُمَرَاتُ and جُزَرَاتُ (S, M, SH), *pls. of حُمُرُ* [246] and جُزُرُ, *pls. of حِمَارُ a he-ass and جَزُورُ a camel for slaughter* (IY), طُرُقَاتُ (S, M, R), *pl. of طُرُقُ roads* [246] (S, IY), and مُعْنَاتُ (M), *pl. of مُعْنُ, pl. of مَعِينُ running water* (IY) : (4) in فُعُلُ (R), عُودَاتُ (S, M, R), *pl. of عُودُ* [247] (S, IY), *pl. of عَائِدُ* (IY, R), as says the poet [ArRā'i (IY)]

لَهَا بِحَقِيلٍ فَالْتَّيْبِرَةَ مَنْزِلُ * تَرَى الْوَحْشَ عُودَاتٍ بِهِ وَمَتَالِيَا
She has in Hākil and AnNumaira an abode, wherein she sees the wild animals when recently delivered, and followed by their little ones (S, IY) ; and [similarly (S, IY)] دُورَاتُ (S, M, R), *pl. of دُورُ* [285] (IY), *pl. of دَارُ a house, dwelling, or abode* (IY, R) : (5) in فُعَلَانُ [or فِعْلَانُ], فُعَالَيْنُ [250] like (R) مَصَارِينُ (S, M, R), *pl. of مَصْرَانُ* (S, IY, R), *pl. of مَصِيرُ a gut or bowel* (IY, R), like كُتْبَانُ *pl. of كُتَيْبُ* [246] (IY) ; and حَشَاشِينَ (S, M, R), *pl. of حَشَانُ* (S, R), *pl. of حَشُّ a garden* [below] (R), or of حَشِيشُ *dry fodder* (R on § 237) ; [or] *pl. of حَشَانُ* [237] (IY), which may be

(R) *pl.* of حَشٌّ [above] (IY, R), because it is a *dial. var.* of حُشٌّ [237], like ثِيرَانٌ *pl.* of ثَوْرٌ a bull (R). And, says ISd, it is my opinion that أَبْرَأُ and بَرَكَانٌ are *pls.* of بَرَكٌ, which is *pl.* of بَرَكَةٌ, as says Zuhair, describing a sandgrouse fleeing from a hawk to some water flowing on the surface of the earth,

حَتَّى اسْتَعَاثَتْ بِمَاءٍ لَا رِشَاءَ لَهُ * بَيْنَ الْأَبَاطِحِ فِي حَافَاتِهِ الْبَرَكِ

*Until she took refuge on some water that had no well-rope, among the wide pebbly water-courses, at whose sides were ducks or frogs (HH). But none of that is to be copied (R on § 256). The pl. pl., [says Jrb (Sn),] is not unrestrictedly applicable to less than nine, as the pl. of the sing. is not unrestrictedly applicable to less than three [234], except by a trope (Jrb, Sn). If you said عِنْدِي أَنْعَامٌ I have several camels, the least number necessarily implied would be twenty-seven, because the least that the quasi-pl. n. is unrestrictedly applicable to is three ; so that, when you pluralize نَعَمٌ, saying أَنْعَامٌ, it, being multiplied at least three times, becomes [at least] nine ; and therefore, when you pluralize أَنْعَامٌ, it becomes [at least] twenty-seven (IY). The pl. pl. is sometimes pluralized, as أَصَاتِلُ *pl.* of أَصَالٌ, *pl.* of أَصْلٌ, *pl.* of أَصِيلٌ an evening ; but some disapprove of that (MASH). أَكَمٌ is *pl.* of أَكْمٌ, like أَغْنَاكُ *pl.* of عُنُقٌ [237] ; and أَكُمٌ is *pl.* of إِكَامٌ, like كُنْتُبٌ *pl.**

of كِتَاب [246] ; and إِكَام is pl. of أَكَم [254], like جِبَال pl. of جَبَل a mountain ; and أَكَم is pl. of أَكَمَة : and the counterpart of this is ثَمَر pl. ثَمَرَة ; and ثَمَار [254] ; and ثِمَار pl. ثُمَر [238] ; and أَثْمَار pl. ثُمَر : Jh mentions them, transmitting the second from Fr ; and I know no counterpart of them in Arabic (BS). The [ultimate, i. e., ultimate broken (R),] pl. (R on IH upon the diptote, A) upon the measure of مَفَاعِلُ or مَفَاعِيلُ (A), i. e., agreeing with them in number [of letters] and conformation, even though differing from them in conventional measure (Sn), is named "ultimate" because the *n.* forms broken *pls.*, *pl.* after *pl.*, until it reaches this measure, when it (R) refuses to form a [further] broken *pl.* (R, A), because it has no counterpart among *sings.*, that it might be made to accord with (A) : but it sometimes forms a [sound (R)] *pl.* (R, A), as F mentions in the Hujjat (R), with the , and ن , like نَوَاسُون pl. of نَوَاسٍ (A), as in the saying [of Al'Ajjāj, describing a ship or boat (AKB),]

لَا يَأْتِي بِنَاصِيئِهَا مِنَ الْجُورِ * جَذْبُ الصَّرَافِينَ بِالنُّورِ

[Slowly and laboriously does the hauling of the sailors on the sheets keep her away from yawing (AKB)], صَرَافِيُون

being the sound pl. of صَرَافٍ , pl. of صَرَّاف , pl. of صَارٍ a sailor, and in

وَإِذَا الرِّجَالُ رَأَوْا يَزِيدَ رَأْيَتَهُمْ * خُضْعَ الرِّقَابِ نَوَاسِي الْأَبْصَارِ

[247] (R), نَوَاسِي with the ي being transmitted by many

(AKB) ; or with the ا and ت (A) , whence [the tradition (A)] *إِنَّكُمْ لَأَنْتُنَّ صَوَاحِبَاتُ يُوسُفَ* *Verily ye, assuredly ye are the mistresses of Joseph* (R,A) : though the sound *pl.* is not regular, universal (R). And IM adds in the Tas-hil *فَعَلَّةٌ* and *فَعَلَةٌ* ; so that, says Dm, whatever is commensurable with any of these four paradigms does not form a [broken] *pl.* (Sn). The ultimate *pl.* [18] is the *pl.* whose initial is pronounced with Fath : and whose third is a [non-compensatory (A, Fk)] ا followed by two letters, [whether one of them be incorporated into the other, as in *دَوَابٌ* , or not, as in *مَسَاجِدُ* (R)] ; or by three, the middle one of which is quiescent (R, Jm, A, Fk, upon the diptote), such that it and what follows it are not meant to be understood as separable [from the ا] (A) : while the letter next after the ا is pronounced with Kasr not accidental (A, Fk), either expressed, [as in *مَسَاجِدُ* and *مَصَائِبُ* (YS)] ; or understood, as in *دَوَابٌ* [and *مَدَارِي* (YS)], *orig.* *دَوَابٌ* [731] (A, YS) and *مَدَارٍ* [248] (YS). When the *pl.* is of this description, it is excluded from the forms of Arabic *sings.*, because you do not find a *sing.* whose third is an ا followed by two or three letters except when (1) its initial is pronounced with Damm, as *عُدَائِرُ* [395] : or (2) its ا is a compensation for one of the two ي s of relation, (a) really, as in *يَمَانٍ* and *شَكَمٍ* , *orig.*

شَامِيَّ and يَمِينِي, one of the two *س* of relation being elided, and the *ا* put as a compensation for it, [while the Hamza of شَام is pronounced with Fath for affinity to the *ا* (Sn)]; or constructively, as in تَهَام [and ثَبَان (A)], the *ا* of which was present before [the formation of the *rel.*, so that it is a quasi-compensation (YS)], as though the *rel.* were formed from فَعَل, [like يَمِين (YS, Sn),] or فَعَل, [like شَام (YS, Sn), and then one of the two *س* were elided, and the *ا* put as a compensation for it (A)]: or (3) the second of the three [letters after the *ا*] is mobile, as in [the *inf. ns.* (YS)] كَرَاهِيَّة dislike and طَرَاعِيَّة obedience [below] (A, YS); for which reason such as مَلَأْنِي [below] and صَيَّرْنِي [253] are triptote (A): or (4) the second and third are accidental, added to denote *relation*, and meant to be understood as separable [from the *ا*], the canon of which [accidental addition to denote *relation* (Sn)] is that the second and third should not precede the *ا* in existence, whether they be (a) preceded by it, as in رَبَاجِي and (A) طَفَارِي [rels. to {الرَّبَاجُ} (Jh)] a country from which camphor is imported and طَفَار a city in AlYaman (Sn)]; or (b) inseparable [from the *ا* (YS)], like حَوَارِي an assistant and حَوَالِي cunning: contrary to such as قَبَارِي, [بَحَارِي (A), and كَرَّاسِي (YS),] which correspond to مَصَابِيح

(A,YS), because [the second and third, i. e.] the two *س*s, being found in the *sing.* [248], are not accidental in the *pl.* (YS) : or (5) the letter next after the *ا* [is not pronounced with an original Kasr, but (A)] is (a) pronounced with (a) Fath, as in *بَرَكَاتٌ* [246] ; (b) Damm, as in [the *inf. n.* (YS)] *تَدَارُكٌ* ; (c) an accidental Kasr on account of the unsoundness [of the final (YS)], as in *تَدَانٍ* and *تَرَانٍ*, [*orig.* *تَدَانِي* and *تَرَانِي*, the Damma being converted into Kasra (YS, Sn) for affinity to the *س* (Sn)] : (b) quiescent, as in *عَبَالٌ pl.* of *عَبَالَةٌ a weight*, as in the saying *أَلْقَى عَلَيْهِ عِبَالَتَهُ* *He threw his weight upon him* (A, YS), *عَبَالٌ* being triptote because the quiescent in it next after the *ا* has no share in any vowel (A), since *عَبَالٌ* has no *o. f.*, in which the quiescent was mobile, contrary to such as *دَوَابٌ* (Sn). The reason why the ultimate *pl.* is so strong as to be equivalent to two causes [18] is, (1) as the majority hold, because it has no counterpart among Arabic *sings.* : (a) as for such as *أَكْمَالٌ* and *أَجْمَالٌ*, which also have no counterpart among *sings.*, the strength of their plurality is broken by their being *pls.* of paucity, the predicament of which is that of *sings* [235] : (b) the opinion is attributed to S that *أَنْعَالٌ* is a *sing.* ; and that for this reason the text has *مَا فِي بَطُونِهِ* XVI. 68. [146], though the *pron.* refers to *الْأَنْعَام* ; and the *sing.* may be qualified by it [146, 235, 257], though not by any other *pl.* measure : but it would not be

correct to urge that أَفْعَلٌ occurs as a *sing.* in أَذْرَحُ a name of a place, because it is transferred [4] from the *pl.*, like مَدَائِنُ; nor in أَجْرٌ baked bricks and أَنْكُ [255], because they are foreign; nor in أَبْلَمٌ, because it is a corrupt, anomalous, *dial. var.*, the chaste pronunciation being Damm of the Hamza [372]; nor in أَشَدُّ [238, 255], because it is an irregular *pl.* of شِدَّةٌ, or a *pl.* having no *sing.*, as is proved by the saying

بَلِّغْتَهَا وَاجْتَمَعَتْ أَشَدِّي

I was brought to it, when my strength was collected, the v. being made fem. [270] (R) : (c) R's argument, in which he follows IH in the CM, that the femininization of the *v.* proves أَشَدُّ to be a *pl.*, is controvertible; for, the Commentators and Lexicologists being agreed upon interpreting it by قُوَّةٌ strength, the femininization of its *v.* may be from regard to its meaning, not to its being *pl.* : while the true version of the saying, which is by Abū Nukhaila, praising Hishām Ibn 'Abd AlMalik, is

بَلِّغْتَهَا مُجْتَمِعَ الْأَشَدِّ * فَأَنْهَلَ لَمَّا قُمْتَ صَوْبَ الرَّعْدِ

in the 2nd *pers.*, not the 1st, *Thou wast brought to it (the Khilāfa), when collected as to thy strength; and, when thou didst rise to the throne, the thunder-shower poured down, i. e., the doors of bounty were opened; though it may be from another Rajaz poem, and God knows!* (AKB): (2) as some say, because it is the ultimate

broken *pl.*, [as explained above]: (3) as others say, because, having no counterpart among *sings.*, it resembles the foreign, which has no counterpart in the Arabic language ; but, according to this, it contains two causes, pluralization and quasi-foreignness, not one cause equivalent to two causes : (4) as Jz says, because it contains pluralization and want of a counterpart among *sings.*, want of a counterpart being, according to him, an independent cause, not needing [to be combined with] plurality ; so that, according to him also, it contains two causes ; and the causes, according to him, are more than nine : (5) as IH says, because the pluralization is really repeated, as in أَكَالِبُ ; or because this *pl.* is on the measure of the *pl. pl.*, as in مَسَاجِدُ : so that, according to him, its being the ultimate *pl.* has no effect. This form [of *pl.*], however, [in order to be an independent preventive of triptote declension,] must be without a *ṣ*, a condition intended to exclude such as مَلَائِكَةُ [253, 265], because the *ṣ* approximates the expression to the measure of the *sing.*, as كَرَاهِيَّةٌ [above], عَلَانِيَّةٌ *publicity*, and طَرَاعِيَّةٌ, so that the strength of its plurality is somewhat broken (R).

§ 257. What [Z followed by] IH mentions in this section is the *quasi-pl. n.* (R on SH). The *n.* is [sometimes] applied to the collection, though it is not a broken *pl.* of its *sing.* (S, M), but is [only a *sing. n.* applied to a mul-

titude (IY),] like ^{قَوْمٌ} *men*, ^{نَفَرٌ} *a member of men from three to ten*, [and ^{رَهْطٌ} *a number of men less than ten* (Jh, KF),] except that it has the same crude-form [and composition (IY)] as its *sing.* (S, IY), while ^{قَوْمٌ} [273], ^{نَفَرٌ}, [and ^{رَهْطٌ}] have crude-forms different from those of the *sing.*, because their *sing.* is ^{رَجُلٌ} *a man* (IY), as (1) ^{رُكْبٌ} [*owners of camels on a journey, exclusively, from ten upwards* (IY), *sing.* ^{رَاكِبٌ} (S, IY), ^{رَجُلٌ} *footmen, pedestrians, sing.* ^{رَاجِلٌ} (Jh, K, B on XVII. 66)], ^{سَفَرٌ} *travellers* (S, M), *sing.* ^{سَافِرٌ} (IY), like ^{صَاحِبٌ} *companions, sing.* ^{طَائِرٌ} *birds, sing.* ^{تَاجِرٌ} *traders* (S, IY), *sing.* ^{شَرِبٌ} *drinkers* [below] (S): (2) ^{أَدَمٌ} [*tanned hides* (IY), *sing.* ^{أَدِيمٌ} (S, IY), ^{أَفَقٌ} *partly tanned hides, sing.* ^{أَهَبٌ}, and ^{أَهَبٌ} *untanned hides, sing.* ^{إِهَابٌ} (S)] ; ^{عَمَدٌ} [*poles of tents* (IY), *sing.* ^{عَمُودٌ} (S, IY)] ; ^{خَدَمٌ} *servants* (S, M), *sing.* ^{خَادِمٌ}, and ^{غَائِبٌ} *absent, sing.* ^{غَائِبٌ} (S), like ^{حَرَسٌ} *guards, [sing.* ^{حَارِسٌ} (KF),] as ^{مِلْثَتْ حَرَسًا شَدِيدًا} LXXII. 8. *Filled with strong guards* (K, B), where, being *sing.*, it is qualified by ^{شَدِيدًا}, whereas, if its sense were regarded, ^{شَدَادًا} would be said ; while a similar construction occurs in

أَخْشَى رُجَيْلًا أَوْ رُكْبِيًّا غَادِيًا * وَالذِّئْبَ أَخْشَاهُ وَكَلْبًا عَارِيًا

I dread a small band of footmen or a small troop of camel-riders going out early in the morning ; and (dread) the

wolf, dread him [62], and a howling dog, [where the poet says غَادِيَا (N),] because رَجُلٌ and رَكْبٌ are sings. (K): (3) جَامِلٌ [a herd of camels with their herdsmen and owners, as فَاِنْ تَكُ ذَا شَاءَ كَثِيرٍ فَاَنْهُمْ * ذَوُو جَامِلٍ مَا يَهْدُ الْلَيْلَ سَامِرَةٌ (IY), by AlHuṭai'a, satirizing AzZibriḳān Ibn Badr at-Tamīmī asṢahābī, And, if thou be owner of many sheep, verily they are owners of a herd of camels, whose talkers rest not in the night, meaning that the herdsmen stay awake all night to keep watch over the camels (AKB),] and بَاقِرٌ (S, M) a herd of cows [with their herdsmen (Jh)], as in the reading اِنَّ الْبَاقِرَ تَشَابَهَ عَلَيْنَا II. 65. Verily the herd of cows described are so much alike as to confuse us (IY), sings. جَمَلٌ a he-camel and بَقْرَةٌ a cow [273] (S, IY); and جَانٌ genii, sing. جُنٌّ (KF): (4) سَرَاةٌ nobles, chiefs [246] (S, M), orig. سَرَوَةٌ (IY), sing. سَرِيٌّ (S, IY): (5) فَرَّهَةٌ (S, M) sharp in pace, said of he-asses (IY), sing. فَارَةٌ, like صُحْبَةٌ companions, sing. صَاحِبٌ (S, IY): (6) فُئَانٌ sheep (S, M), sing. فُئَاتٌ, and مَعَزٌ goats, sing. مَاعِزٌ (S, IY); and sometimes فُئَانٌ and مَعَزٌ, like رَكْبٌ (IY): (7) غَرِيٌّ raiders (S, M), as سَرَيْتُ بِهِمْ حَتَّى تَكِلُ غَرِيَّهُمْ * وَحَتَّى الْجَيَادُ مَا يُقْدَنَ بِأَرْسَانِ Have I made to journey by night, so that even their raiders are weary, and so that even the generous coursers etc.

[501], *sing.* غَارٍ ; and [similarly (IY)] عَرِيبٌ [camels *that do not return to the tribe at evening* (IY)], *sing.* عَارِبٌ , and قَاطِنٌ inhabitants, *sing.* قَاطِنٌ (S, IY) : (8) تَوَامٌ (M), *sing.* تَوَامٌ [255] (IY); ظَوَّارٌ , *sing.* ظَطَّرٌ [255] (S), أَنَاسٌ tribe (K on VII. 160), *sing.* إِنْسٌ (KF on نَوسَ) , and فَنَاءٌ she-camels *that have brought forth twice*, *sing.* ثَنَى (S) ; رَخَالٌ (M), *sing.* رَخِلٌ [255] (IY) ; and رَعَاءٌ herdsmen, [*sing.* رَاعٍ ,] as الرَعَاءُ read in XXVIII. 23. [247] (K, B) : (9) عِدَى and عَدَى [237], *sing.* أَخٌ (S) : (10-11) عَدُوٌّ enemies, foes, *sing.* عَدُوٌّ [368] (KF). This kind of *n.* (IY), such as رَكْبٌ [above], جَامِلٌ , etc. (SH), though it indicates multitude (IY), is not a [broken (IY)] *pl.* (IY, SH) of the *sing.* (IY), according to the soundest [opinion] (SH) ; but is a *quasi-pl. n.* (MASH). The *quasi-pl. n.*, as إِبِلٌ camels [232, 273] and غَنَمٌ sheep, is excluded [from IH's definition of the *pl.*], because, although it indicates units [234], still those units are not intended [and indicated] by taking the letters of its *sing.*, and subjecting them to some alteration ; but its *sing.* is a heteromorphous expression, like بَعِيرٌ a camel and شَاةٌ a sheep : for, if it be said that رَكْبٌ [above], طَلَبٌ pursuers, and جَامِلٌ are included in the definition, since their *sings.* رَاكِبٌ , طَالِبٌ , and جَمَلٌ are of their crude-forms,

as you see, رَاكِبٌ, e. g., being taken, and its letters altered, so that it becomes رَكِبٌ, I say that رَاكِبٌ is not the *sing.* of رَكِبٌ, though they happen to have the same *rad.* letters, because, if they were *pls.* of these *sings.*, (1) they would not be *pls.* of paucity, since the measures of the latter are limited [235], but *pls.* of multitude; and the *pl.* of multitude does not make its *dim.* according to its own form, but is restored to its *sing.*, while these are not restored, as رَكِيبٌ and جَوَيْبٌ [285]: (2) they would be restored to their *sings.* in forming the *rel.* [310], and رَكِيبٌ and جَامِلِيٌّ would not be said: (3) it would not be allowable to put the *pron.* relating to them into the *sing.*, as in ذُو جَامِلٍ الْخ [above] and

فَعَبَّتْ غَشَاشًا ثُمَّ مَرَّتْ كَأَنَّهَا * مَعَ الصَّبْحِ رَكِبٌ مِنْ أَحَاطَةِ مُنْجِلٍ
[271] (R on IH), from the ode celebrated as the Lāmīyat al'Arab, by AsḥShanfarā, *Then they (the sand-grouse) gulped water down hastily, and afterwards passed, as though they were, with the dawn, camel-riders from, or of, Uḥāza, hurrying along, where the pron. relating to رَكِبٌ from its ep. مُنْجِلٌ is sing. (AKB). But Akh [below] says that every n. which imports the sense of the pl., and whose sing. is an act. part, like صَحْبٌ and شَرِبٌ [above], sings. صَاحِبٌ and شَارِبٌ, is a broken pl., whose sing. is that act. part.; and it follows from the opinion of Akh,*

although he does not expressly declare it, that *بَعْدَ* *distant*, *sing.* *بَعِيدٌ*, *أَهَبٌ*, *عَمَدٌ*, *خَدَمٌ* and *غَيْبٌ*, *جَامِلٌ*, *سَرَاةٌ*, *كَلِيبٌ* and *مَعِيزٌ*, *ظَوَارٌ* and *تَوَامٌ*, *غَرَى*, *صُنْحَبَةٌ* and *فَرْهَةٌ* [237, 255], *sing.* *مَعَزٌ* and *كَلْبٌ*, *مَشِيخَةٌ* *elders*, *sing.* *شَيْخٌ*, and *مَافُونَاءُ* *she-asses*, *sings.* *شَيْخٌ*, *عَيْرٌ*, and *أَتَانٌ*, are all broken *pls.*, since they resemble *رَكْبٌ*, *سَفَرٌ*, and the like, because the *pl.* has an expression of its own composition applicable to an individual (R on SH) ; and [thus], according to Akh, the whole of the *quasi-pl. ns.*, that have *sings.* of their own composition, are *pls.*, contrary to the opinion of S : while, according to Fr, whatever has a *sing.* of its own composition, whether it be a *quasi-pl. n.*, like *رَكْبٌ* and *بَاقِرٌ*, or a generic *n.*, like *تَمْرٌ* and *زُومٌ* [254], is a *pl.* ; and whatever has not [such a *sing.*] is not [a *pl.*], such a *n.* as *إِبِلٌ* being a *sing.*, according to him. As for the *quasi-pl. n.* and the generic *n.*, that have no *sing.* of their own crude-form, they are not *pls.*, by common consent, as *إِبِلٌ* *camels* and *تُرَابٌ* *dust* ; while the reason that a *n.* like *تُرَابٌ* and *خَلٌّ* *vinegar* has no *n. un.* with the *ṣ* is that it has no individual distinguishable from another, as *تَفَاحٌ* *apples* and *تَمْرٌ* *dates* have [254] (R on IH). This sort [of *quasi-pl. n.*], which has no *sing.* of its own crude-form, is mostly *fem.* [271] (R on SH). If it be said that some *pls.* also, i. e., the

pl. of the assumed *sing.*, as عَبَايِدُ and عَبَادِيدُ [255], meaning [*horsemen*, and (KF)] *parties* [*of people, going in every direction* (Jh, KF)], and نِسْرَةٌ *pl.* of امْرَأَةٌ [21, 255, 275], being excluded by the saying "intended [and indicated] by the letters of its *sing.*" [234], ought to be *quasi-pl. ns.*, like اِبِلٌ and غَنَمٌ, I say that the *quasi-pl. ns.* are such as import the sense of the *pl.*, while differing from the measures peculiar to, or notorious in, the *pl.*; whereas, the measure of such as عَبَايِدُ and عَبَادِيدُ being peculiar to [256], and [the measure] of such as نِسْرَةٌ being notorious in [235], the *pl.*, their measure necessitates their being *pls.*; so that, a *sing.* being assumed for them, as عَبَادٌ and عَبْدُونَ, and as نِسَاءٌ, like غِلْمَةٌ *pl.* غِلَامٌ [246], they have, as it were, a *sing.* subjected to some alteration. And such as مَذَاكِيرُ *pl.* of ذَكَرٌ [255], مَحَاسِنُ *pl.* of حُسْنٌ [255, 285], and مَشَابِهُ *pl.* of شَبَّهَ, are co-ordinated with the *pl.* of the assumed *sing.*, although they have a *sing.* of their own crude-form, because it is not regular; so that their *sing.* is, as it were, مَذْكُورٌ or مَذْكَارٌ, مَحْسَنٌ, and مَشْبَهٌ: and similarly the أَحَادِيثُ *traditions* of the Prophet [255], *pl.* of حَدِيثٌ, not of the أُحْدُوَّةُ used, because the latter denotes a *facetious, low story* (may the like of it be shunned!) (R on IH). The difference between the *pl.*, the *quasi-pl. n.*, and the collective generic *n.* [254] is (1)

id. : for the *n.* indicative of *more than two* is (a) applied to denote *an aggregate of units collected*, indicating them as the repetition of the *sing.* with coupling [228] would indicate them ; (b) applied to denote *an aggregate of units*, indicating them as the *sing.* indicates the *whole of the parts* of its named ; (c) applied to denote *the essence*, the consideration of individuality being neglected in it : so the first is the *pl.*, whether it have a *sing.* of its own crude-form used, like رَجَالٌ and أُسُودٌ [237] ; or not, like أَبَايِلُ *separate companies, flocks, or beves* : the second is the *quasi-pl. n.*, whether it have a *sing.* of its own crude-form, like رَكْبٌ and صَحْبٌ ; or not, like قَوْمٌ and رَهْطٌ : and the third is the collective generic *n.*, which is distinguished from its *n. un.* mostly by the ة, as تَمْرٌ and تَمْرَةٌ [254] ; and sometimes by the ي of relation, as رُومٌ and رُومِيٌّ [294] : (2) *lit.* : for, (a) if the *n.* indicative of *more than two* have no *sing.* of its own crude-form, then, (a) if it be upon a measure peculiar to the *pl.*, as أَبَايِلُ and عَبَايِدُ, or prevalent in the *pl.*, as أَعْرَابٌ, it is a *pl.* of an assumed *sing.* : (a) we say that أَعْرَابٌ is upon a prevalent measure, because أُنْعَالٌ is extraordinary in *sings.*, as بُرْمَةٌ أَعْشَارٌ [146] : this is the opinion of some GG ; but most of them hold that أُنْعَالٌ is a measure peculiar to the *pl.*, and make بُرْمَةٌ أَعْشَارٌ a qualification of the

sing. by the *pl.* [235, 256], for which reason IM in the Kāfiya mentions only the [measure] peculiar to the *pl.* : (β) ^{أَعْرَابٌ} is not *pl.* of ^{عَرَبٌ}, because ^{عَرَبٌ} is common to the *settled Arabs* and the *nomad Arabs*, whereas ^{أَعْرَابٌ} is peculiar to the *nomads* : (b) if not, it is a *quasi-pl. n.*, as ^{رَهْطٌ} and ^{إِبِلٌ} : (b) if it have a *sing.* of its own crude-form, then, (a) if it be distinguished from its *sing.* by [elision of (Sn)] the ^ى of relation or the ^ة of femininization, [which is in its *sing.* (Sn)], it is, when not invariably *fem.*, a collective generic *n.*, as ^{رُومٌ} and ^{تَمَرٌ} [254, 294] ; and, when invariably *fem.*, a *pl.*, as ^{نَحَمٌ} and ^{تَهَمٌ} [238] : (b) if it be not so [distinguished (Sn)], then, if it accord with the preceding measures of the *pl.* [235, 237-253], it is a *pl.*, so long as it is not equal with the *sing.* in being *masc.* [270], and in having a *rel. n.* formed to it [310], in which case it is a *quasi-pl. n.*, for which reason ^{غَزَى} is decided to be a *quasi-pl. n.* of ^{غَزَا}, because it is equal with the *sing.* in being *masc.*; and ^{رَكَابٌ} *riding-camels* is decided to be a *quasi-pl. n.* of ^{رَكُوبَةٌ} [246], because they say ^{رَكَابِي} : while, if it differ from the preceding measures of the *pl.*, it is a *quasi-pl. n.*, as ^{صَحْبٌ} and ^{رَكْبٌ}, because ^{فَعْلٌ} is not one of the *pl.* formations, contrary to the opinion of Akh [above]. As for the integral generic *n.*, like ^{لَبَنٌ} *milk*, ^{مَاءٌ} *water*, and ^{ضَرْبٌ} *striking*, it does not indi-

cate *more than two*, [nor *two* (Sn)]: for it is applicable to *little* and *much*; though, when ضَرْبَةٌ is said, with the ة, it is an unequivocal designation of *unity* [254, 336] (A). فَاعِلٌ is not regular in [the *quasi-pl.* of] فَاعِلٌ, so that جَنَسٌ and كَتَبٌ are not said (R on SH). As for فَعِيلٌ and فَعَالٌ, like عَيْدٌ and طَوَارٌ, some mention that they are *quasi-pl. ns.*; but IM says in the Tashīl that, according to the soundest [opinion], they are *paradigms* of the broken *pl.* [237, 239, 255]. IS holds that فَعْلَةٌ is a *quasi-pl.*, not a broken *pl.*, because it is not regular in any formation [of *sing.* (Sn)], but is remembered in six measures, (1) فَعْلٌ, as شَيْخَةٌ [239] and ثِيَرٌ *bulls*; (2) فَعْلٌ, as فِتْيَةٌ [243, 246]; (3) فَعْلٌ, as ثَنِيَّةٌ *pl. of ثَنِيٌّ second in rank as a chief*, [like the *Minister* in relation to the *Sovereign* (Sn)]; (4) فَعَالٌ, as غَزَلَةٌ *gazelles*; (5) فَعَالٌ as غِلْمَةٌ [246]; (6) فَعِيلٌ, as صَبِيَّةٌ [246]: the source of all that being report, not analogy (A).

§ 258. The [*sing.* (S, R)] *n.* containing the sign of feminization is [sometimes (R)] applied to [the individual and (S, M)] the collection [under one form (S, M)], as حَنْزَلَةٌ *Saint John's wort* (M), an odoriferous plant (IY), بُهَيٌّ *wall-barley grass* [248, 272], طَرْفَاءٌ *tamarisk trees*, and حَلْفَاءٌ [273] (S, M, R), a plant [growing] in water (IY),

the *n. un.* being distinguished by the *ep.* [وَاحِدَةً (S,R)], as [وَاحِدَةً حَنُوتَ (IY),] بُهْمَى وَاحِدَةً, and طَرَفَاءَ وَاحِدَةً (S, IY, R) ; not by the ة [254], because two signs of femininization are not combined (IY, R) in one word (IY). But بُهْمَاءُ is transmitted, which, according to S, is anomalous, because the ة in بُهْمَى, according to him, is for femininization : while, according to Akh, the ة is for co-ordination with بُرَقَعَ [392] ; so that, according to him, بُهْمَى is pronounced with Tanwīn, triptote ; and بُهْمَاءُ is not anomalous (R). You say عُلُقَاءُ and عُلُقَاءُ [272], because the ة of عُلُقَى and عُلُقَى is [for co-ordination (IY, R),] not for femininization (S, IY, R) : but some of the Arabs pronounce عُلُقَى without Tanwīn, holding the ة to be for femininization ; so that they say عُلُقَى وَاحِدَةً (R).

Some [lexicologists (R)] mention that the *n. un.* of طَرَفَاءَ and قَصَبَاءَ reeds or canes [273] is طَرَفَةٌ and قَصَبَةٌ [with mobilization of the ع (R)] : and, as for حَلَفَاءَ, its *n. un.* is said by As to be حَلَفَةٌ, and by AZ [and Fr (IY)] to be حَلَفَةٌ (IY, R). And حَلَفَاءَ sometimes forms the broken *pls.* حَلَاثَى and حَلَاثَى, like صَحْرَاءَ [248] (R).

§ 259. The *n.* is [sometimes] made to accord with another [because of their approximation (IY)] in sense ; and therefore takes its *pl.*, as مَرَضَى sick, جَرْنَى mangy,

حَمَقَى *crippled* (IY), هَلَكَى *perishing*, مَوَتَى *dead*, حَمَقَى *stupid*, [and نَوَكَى *foolish* (IY),] which are made to accord with جَرَحَى [246], قَتَلَى, عَقَرَى *hamstrung*, لَدَغَى, and similar instances of فَعِيلٌ i. q. مَفْعُولٌ (M), because they participate with it in the [sense of] *disagreeable* (IY). فَعْلَى is *orig. pl.* of فَعِيلٌ i. q. مَفْعُولٌ in the sense of *afflicted* (R). And what resembles فَعِيلٌ i. q. مَفْعُولٌ in [this (R)] sense is made to accord with it, vid. (1) فَاعِلٌ i. q. فَعِيلٌ, [which is the nearest, because of its resemblance to the former فَعِيلٌ in form and sense (R),] as مَرَضَى *pl.* مَرِيضٌ ; (2) فَعِلٌ, as رَمَى *pl.* رَمَى ; (3) فَاعِلٌ, as هَالِكٌ *pl.* هَلَكَى ; (4) فَعِلٌ, as مَوَتَى *pl.* مَيِّتٌ (R, IA, A) ; (5) أَفْعَلٌ, as أَحْمَقُ *pl.* (A) ; (6) فَعْلَانُ, as وَكَّرَى النَّاسَ سَكْرَى وَمَا سَكْرَى *pl.* سَكْرَانُ (R, A), whence وَكَّرَى النَّاسَ سَكْرَى وَمَا سَكْرَى XXII. 2. *And thou shalt see men as though they were drunken, when they are not really drunken*, as read by Hamza and Ks (A), and رَوَّبَانُ *weakened by journeying*, [so that he is *heavy with sleep* (Jh),] *pl.* رَوَّبَى (R), as فَأَمَّا تَيْمٌ أَحْمَقُ [62] (Jh). But that does not occur regularly, so that بَخِلَى and سَقَى are not said (IY, R) as *pls.* of بَخِيلٌ *niggardly* and سَقِيمٌ *ailing* (IY). And فَعْلَى in other cases is dependent upon memory, as كَيْسٌ *clever*, *pl.*

كَيْسَى, which does not contain that sense; and ذَرْبٌ *sharp*, *pl.* ذَرْبَى (A). As for كَيْسَى, it is made to accord with حَقَى as being its *opp.* (R). And such words, though often made to accord with the sense, are sometimes made to accord with the form, as (1) مَرِيضُونَ and مَرِاضٌ, like [طَرِيفُونَ and طَرِافٌ] [246]; (2) جَرَبُونَ and جِرَابٌ, like [حَسَنُونَ and حِسَانٌ] [239], because فَعِلٌ and فَعِلٌ approximate one to the other: (3) هَالِكُونَ and هَالِكٌ, like [شَاهِدُونَ and شُهَادٌ] [247]; (4) جَرَبٌ [*pl.* of أَجْرَبٌ (Jh, AAz)], according to analogy [249], whence the saying [of Duraid Ibn As-Simma (AAz)]

مَا إِن رَأَيْتُ وَلَا سَمِعْتُ بِهِ * كَأَلَيْمٍ هَانِيٍّ أَيْنِقِ جَرَبٍ

(IY) *I have not seen, إِن being red., nor have I heard of, like the one that I have seen to-day, a smearer of mangy she-camels with pitch (AAz). Similarly أَيَامَى widows and يَتَامَى orphans are made to accord with وَجَاعَى suffering pain and حَبَاطَى having pain in the belly (M). فَعَالَى [in the masc. (R)] is orig. pl. of فَعْلَانُ [250]; while فَعِلٌ and فَعْلَانُ are often associated, like عَطِشٌ and عَطْشَانُ (IY, R); so that فَعِلٌ sometimes takes the pl. فَعَالَى, as وَجَعٌ pl. وَجَاعَى [239] and حَبِطٌ pl. حَبَاطَى, because made to accord with سَكَرَانُ pl. سَكَارَى [250] (R): and then أَيْمٌ and*

يَتِيمٌ, [participating with the *cat.* of فَعِلٌ in sense, because the widow and orphan must suffer *grief* and *pain*, and also approximating to it in form, take the *pl.* أَيَامِي and يَتَامِي; so that they (R)] are made to accord with فَعِلٌ (IY, R), which is made to accord with فَعْلَانٌ (R). but فَعَالِي is dependent upon memory as *pl.* of such as حَبِطٌ, رَئِيسٌ, يَتِيمٌ, أَيْمٌ *hurt in the head*, said of a sheep, [*pl.* رَاسِي (Sn),] and طَاهِرٌ [255] (A).

§ 260. The elided [letter] is restored in the broken *pl.*, as شَفَاةٌ *pl.* شَفَاةٌ and شَاةٌ *pl.* شِيَاةٌ [234], اِسْتَاةٌ *pl.* اِسْتَاةٌ [667], يَدَاةٌ *pl.* يَدَاةٌ and يَدِيَّةٌ (M), and دِمَاةٌ *pl.* دِمَاةٌ [and دِمِيَّةٌ]. That [*tril.*] which is curtailed of a letter, and remains *bil.*, is of two kinds, (1) what has the *š* of feminization affixed to it as a quasi-compensation for the elided, like سَنَاةٌ [265], قُلَاةٌ, شَفَاةٌ, and شَاةٌ; (2) what has no *š* in it, like اِسْتَاةٌ, يَدَاةٌ, and دِمَاةٌ (IY). What is *bil.*, and contains the *š* of feminization [244], is [ordinarily (IY)] pluralized with the [ت and (IY)] ت, [as سَنَوَاتٌ and قُلَاتٌ, through the influence of the *š* at its end (IY)]; and [sometimes (IY)] with the ن, and ن, [as سِنُونَ and قُلُونَ. (IY), like the *masc.*, as مُسْلِمُونَ (S)]: but occasionally makes a broken *pl.*, in which [case (IY)] the elided [letter (S)] is restored, as شَفَاةٌ *a lip*, *pl.* شَفَاةٌ, and شَاةٌ *a sheep*, *pl.* شِيَاةٌ (S, IY). The measure of شَفَاةٌ and شَاةٌ is فَعْلَاةٌ, the *o. f.* being

شَفْهَةٌ and شَوْهَةٌ [275, 683], with quiescence of the ع , for which reason the *pl.* is شِفَاءٌ and شِيَاءٌ , like جَفْنَةٌ *pl.* جَفَانٌ [238], and the ل being a s ; and, when the ل is elided, the ع is pronounced with Fath, because of the vicinity of the s of feminization, so that the , of شَوْهَةٌ is converted into ا [684, 719]: while Sf holds that their *o. f.* is شَفْهَةٌ and شَوْهَةٌ with mobilization of the ع , their broken *pl.* being upon the measure فَعَالٌ , like رَقَبَةٌ *pl.* رِقَابٌ [238] ; but the right view is what we have mentioned, because the *cat.* of جَفْنَةٌ is more numerous than that of قَصَبَةٌ (IY). And they say بَرَّةٌ *pl.* بَرَى [238, 254], and لُغَةٌ *pl.* لُغَى , making their broken *pl.* according to the *o. f.*, like the broken *pl.* of their counterparts that are not curtailed, as كَلْبَةٌ *pl.* كَلَى [238]. What is *bil.*, and does not contain the sign of feminization [719], (1) when its *o. f.* is فَعْلٌ , has for its broken *pl.*, in paucity, أَفْعُلٌ , as أَيْدٍ *pl.* يَدٌ [243, 256]; and, in multitude, فِعَالٌ and فُعُولٌ , as دِمَآءٌ and دُمَى [243] : (2) when its *o. f.* is فَعْلٌ , has for its broken *pl.*, in paucity, أَفْعَالٌ , as أَبٌ [orig. أَبَوْ (Jh, KF),] *pl.* آبَاءٌ , and, as Yas asserts, أَخٌ , [orig. أَخَوْ (Jh),] *pl.* أَخَاءٌ ; while [in multitude] they say أَخَوَانٌ , like خَرَبٌ *pl.* خَرَبَانٌ [239] (S). As for اسْتٌ [667], its *o. f.* is سَتَةٌ , with Fath of the ع , as is shown by their saying اسْتَاءٌ in its *pl.* of paucity ; whereas,

if it were *فَعْلٌ* [237], *أَسْتَهْ* would be said. The *o. f.* of *يَدٌ* is *يَدِي* with quiescence of the *ع*, without dispute : and, because it is *فَعْلٌ*, its *pl.* of paucity is *أَفْعُلٌ* [237], as *أَيِّدٌ*, like *أَدِلٌ* and *أَجِرٌ* [243]; while [in multitude] they say *يَدِي* (IY). According to S (Jh), the *o. f.* of *دَمٌ* is *دَمِي*, (Jh, IY); while Akh and Mb hold that its *o. f.* is *دَمِي*, as is shown, say they, by the fact that the poet, when constrained, reverts to the *o. f.*, as in

فَلَسْنَا عَلَى الْأَعْقَابِ تَدْمِي كُلُّوْمَنَا * وَلَكِنْ عَلَى أَقْدَامِنَا يَقْطُرُ الدِّمَاءُ
[by AlḤusain Ibn AlḤumām alMurri, *Then we are not such that our wounds bleed upon the heels ; but upon our feet drops the blood* (T, AKB),] and

كَأُطُومٍ فَقَدَتْ بُرْغَرَهَا * أَعْقَبَتْهَا الْغُبْسُ مِنْهُ عَدَمًا
غَفَلَتْ ثُمَّ أَتَتْ تَطْلُبُهُ * فَإِذَا هِيَ بِعِظَامٍ وَدَمًا

[Like a wild cow that missed her calf, when the ashen wolves, or dogs, had brought loss of him upon her. She was heedless; and afterwards came, seeking him; and lo, she was alone with bones and blood! (AKB)]: but the right view is the first (IY), because its *pls.* [of multitude (IY)] are *دِمَاءٌ* and *دُمِي*, like *طِبَاءٌ pls. ظِبِي* [237] and *طِبِي*, and *دَلَوٌ pls. دِلِي* [237, 243] (Jh, IY); whereas, says S, if it were like *تَفًا* and *عَصَا*, it would not have those *pls.* (Jh); while *فَإِذَا هِيَ بِالْحِمِّ*, [like *هِيَ الْحِمِّ*,]

is according to the *dial.* of those who abbreviate [231] (IY), saying دَمَا (AKB). The broken *pls.* of the *bils.*, therefore, are analogous to those of their counterparts that are not curtailed ; but the *bils.* in the language are few (S).

§ 261. The [irrational] *masc.* [*n.* (IY)] that has no broken *pl.* is pluralized with the [ا and (M)] ت, as سُرَادِقَاتُ [234, 255] (S, M), حَمَامَاتُ [17, 234, 255], and إِوَانَاتُ (S), *sing.* سُرَادِقُ a tent of cotton (IY), حَمَامُ a hot bath (Jh, KF), and إِوَانُ a portico, palace (KF) ; and [hence (S)] سِبْطَرَاتُ bulky he-camels [234, 255] and سِبْطَرَاتُ long-bodied [234] (S, M) and رِبْحَلَاتُ big [255] (S), *sing.* سِبْطَرُ (S, IY) and رِبْحَلُ (KF). In such cases they are constrained to have recourse to the *pl.* with the ا and ت, though it is not the regular form, because the broken *pl.* does not occur, while the *pl.* with the , and ن is disallowed for want of its condition [234] (R). But they do not say جَوَالِقَاتُ, since they say جَوَالِقُ (S, M, R), *sing.* جَوَالِقُ [below] (S, IY) a sack of wool or other material (IY). And the *fem.*, not containing the sign of feminization is treated in this way (S) : you do not say فَرَسَاتُ [or خَنَصِرَاتُ or مِخْلَبَاتُ (S)], since you say فَرَسُنُ hoofs of camels (S, R), خَنَامِرُ little

fingers, and *مَحَالِجُ* *rolling-pins* ; while they say *عَيْرَاتُ* [241], since they do not give *عَيْرٌ* a broken *pl.* (S). They say, however, *بُرَانَاتُ*, [*sing.* *بُرَانٌ* (S, IY, R) a *tent-pole* (IY, R),] notwithstanding their saying *بُونٌ* (S, M, R), a broken *pl.* (IY, R), as they say *عُرْسَاتُ* *weddings* or *wedding-feasts* [241] and *أَعْرَاسُ* ; and some of them say *شَمَالَاتُ* [and *شَمَائِلُ* (Jh)] as *pl.* of *شَمَالٌ* a *north wind* (S) : but that is rare, to be remembered, and not copied (IY). As for *جَوَالِقُ* [above], S mentions that only *جَوَالِيقُ* has been heard from them in its *pl.* ; but others allow *جَوَالِقُ*, like *غَرَانِقُ* *pl.* of *غُرَانِقُ* a *handsome youth*, *حَلَاحِلُ* *pl.* of *حَلَاحِلُ* a *grave chief*, *عَرَايِرُ* *pl.* of *عَرَايِرُ* a *captain of the people* (D), and *عَدَايِرُ* *pl.* of *عَدَايِرُ* [395] (CD).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE INDETERMINATE NOUN AND THE DETERMINATE.

§ 262. The *n.* is [of two kinds (Sh, KN),] *indet.* and *det.* (Aud, Sh, KN). The *det.* means the *known* thing, and the *indet.* the *unknown* (IY). The indeterminate-ness of a thing means its *being common to* [the individuals of] its *genus*, and *being an unknown part of a whole*, except in the *non-aff.* [sentence], as مَا جَاءَنِي رَجُلٌ *Not a man has come to me*, where it denotes *totality of the genus* [below] (R on IH). The *indet.* is the primary form (IY, Aud, Sh, A, Fk), because [the *n.* at first is *indet.*, like رَجُلٌ *a man*, which denotes *every one of the genus*; and afterwards what particularizes it by determination is prefixed to it, in order that it may denote *one*, to the exclusion of the rest, of its *genus*, like الرَّجُلُ *the man*, which is restricted to a particular *man*: so that (IY)] no *det.* is found, but has an *indet.* (IY, A), except the name of اللهُ *God* [52], because He has no partner (IY); whereas many *indets.* are found that have no *det.* (A). And the *det.* is secondary (IY, Aud, Sh, Fk). The *indet.* is what is common to [the individuals of (YS)] a *genus* (M, KN) objectively (Fk) existing (KN), like

رَجُلٌ *a man* (M, Fk), which is applicable to *every* [adult (Fk)] *male* [speaking animal (Fk)] *of the sons of Adam* (IY, Fk), and فَرَسٌ *a horse* (M), which is applicable to *every neighing quadruped* (IY) ; or assumed (KN) to be objectively existing, like شَمْسٌ *a sun*, which is applicable to a multiple, because it is applied to denote the *diurnal star whose appearance effaces the presence of night*, although only this single individual is objectively existing : what is considered in the *indet.* being its applicability to, not the existence of, multiplicity ; while the pluralization of شَمْسٌ, as in the saying [of AlAshtar an Nakha'i (T)]

حَبِيَّ الْخَدِيدِ عَلَيْهِمْ فَكَأَنَّهُ * وَمَضَانُ بَرَقِ أَوْ شُعَاعُ شَمْسٍ

[Upon whom the iron will be hot, so that it will be as though it were a flash of lightning or a beam of suns (T)],

is from regard to the renewal [of the rising (T)] of the sun on every day (Fk). The *indet.*, (1) when it occurs in the suite of negation, prohibition, or interrogation, (a) apparently denotes *totality of the genus* [above], whether it be *sing.*, *du.*, or *pl.* : (b) possibly does not denote *totality*, because of the context, as مَا جَاءَنِي رَجُلٌ وَاحِدٌ بَلْ

رَجُلَانِ One man has not come to me, but two men or رَجَالٌ

but men, مَا جَاءَنِي رَجُلَانِ هُمَا أَخَوَانِ Two men that are thy

brothers have not come to me, and رَجَالٌ هُمْ إِخْوَتُكَ

Have any men that are thy brothers come to thee ? ; or, but less probably, with no restriction [by the context], for which reason لَا رَجُلٌ *Not a man (is) or A man (is) not* [547], apparently denotes *totality*, but possibly *something else* : (c) unequivocally denotes *totality*, when مِنْ is prefixed to it, as مَا جَاءَنِي مِنْ رَجُلٍ [499], for which reason لَا رَجُلٌ مِنْ [99, 547], is a designation of *totality* : (a) this مِنْ, though *red.*, as the GG predicate of it, still imports *designation of totality* [499], because it is *orig.* the inceptive مِنْ ; and, when *totality of the genus* is meant, you begin at the finite end, which is *one*, and omit the higher end, which is infinite, because it is unlimited, as though you said *This genus has not come to me, from one of them to infinity* : (2) when it occurs in something else than negation, prohibition, and interrogation, (a) apparently lacks *totality* : (b) sometimes denotes *totality*, by a trope, often if it be an *inch.*, as رَجُلٌ خَيْرٌ مِنْ أَمْرَةٍ [25] ; seldom in any other case, as عَلِمَتْ نَفْسٌ مَا قَدَّمَتْ LXXXII. 5. *A soul shall know what it hath committed* : (a) the proof that, in the *aff.* [sentence], it is tropical in [the signification of] *generality*, contrary to the *n.* made literally [not ideally] *det.* by the ل [599], as in الدِّينَارُ خَيْرٌ مِنَ الدِّرْهَمِ *The dinar is better than the dirham*, is that the *totality* is preconceiva-

ble with that *J* without the context [explanatory] of particularity, while the *lack of totality* is preconceivable with the *indet.* without the context [explanatory] of generality, preconceivability without an [explanatory] content being one of the strongest proofs of the proper [as opposed to the tropical] signification (R). The *indet.* [is what (IA, Aud)] (1) receives *أَل*, when determinative (IM), like *رَجُلٌ* (IA, Aud, A), as *الرَّجُلُ* (IA): (2) occurs in the place of what has been mentioned (IM), i. e., what receives [the determinative (Aud)] *أَل*, like *ذُو* [i. q. *صَاحِبٌ* (IA, A)], because it occurs in the place of *صَاحِبٌ* (IA, Aud, A); and like *مَنْ* and *مَا*, [when *cond.* and *interrog.*, contrary to the opinion of IK upon the two *interrogs.*, which, according to him, are *det.*, and when qualified *indets.* also (A),] because they occur in the place of *إِنْسَانٌ* [or *شَخْصٌ*] and *شَيْءٌ* [182, 180]; and like *مَدٍ* with Tanwīn [187, 193, 603], because it occurs in the place of *سُكُوتًا* (Aud, A). Its sign is that it receives (1) *رُبُّ*, [like *رَجُلٌ* (Sh),] as *رُبُّ رَجُلٍ* [505] (IY, Sh): for, if you object that you say *رَبِّهِ رَجُلًا* [168, 498], and the poet says *رَبِّهِ فِتْيَةٌ أَلَمْ* [160], while the *pron.* is *det.*, I say that we do not admit the *pron.*, in what you have cited, to be *det.*; but on the contrary, it is *indet.*, because it relates to what follows it, vid. *رَجُلًا* and *فِتْيَةٌ*, which are *indet.*

[below] (Sh) : (2) the ل , as الرَّجُلُ [above] (IY). Some *indets.* are more *indet.* than others (IY, Fk), what is more general being more extreme in indeterminateness : and according to this, شَيْءٌ *a thing* is more *indet.* than جِسْمٌ *a body*, because every body is a thing, but every thing is not a body ; جِسْمٌ than حَيَوَانٌ *an animal* ; حَيَوَانٌ than إِنْسَانٌ *a human being* ; and إِنْسَانٌ than رَجُلٌ *a man* and امْرَأَةٌ *a woman* (IY). The rule is that, when the *indet.* has other *indets.* included under it, then, if it be not included under any other, it is the most *indet.* of the *indets.* ; but, if it be included under another, it is more general in relation to what is included under it, and more particular in relation to what it is included under (Fk). The *det.* is what denotes *a particular thing* (M, IH), being peculiar to *one of the genus*, and not extending to others. That depends upon the knowledge of the person addressed, not of the speaker, since the speaker sometimes mentions what is known to him, but unknown to the person addressed, as فِي دَارِي رَجُلٌ *In my house is a man* and لِي بُسْتَانٌ *I have a garden*, when he knows the man and garden ; while even the speaker sometimes does not know it, as أَنَا فِي طَلَبِ غُلَامٍ أَشْتَرِيهِ وَدَارٍ أَكْتَرِيهِ *I am in search of a male slave to buy, and of a house to hire*, when he does not intend any particular thing (IY). The *det.*

is (1) what does not receive **أَل** at all, nor occur in the place of what receives it, like **زَيْدٌ** *Zaid* and **عَمْرٌو** *Amr* [599]; (2) what receives **أَل**, but when not determinative, like **حَارِثٌ** [11], **عَبَّاسٌ**, and **ضَحَّالٌ**, the **أَل** prefixed to which denotes *allusion to an original meaning* in them [599] (Aud). It is (1) the *pron.* [160]: (2) the proper name [4] (M, IH, IA, Aud, Sh, A, Fk): (3) the vague (M, IH) *n.* (IY), which is [one of] two things (M), (a) the *dem* [171]; (b) the conjunct [176] (M, R, IA, Aud, Sh, A, Fk): (4) the synarthrous [599]: (5) the *n.* [ideally (M, IH)] *pre.* to one of these [111] (M, IH, IA, Aud, Sh, A, Fk): (6) the [*indet.* (Sn)] *voc.* (IH, Aud, A, Fk) specifically intended [48], which is added [in the CK (A)] by IM (A, Fk), who is followed in the Aud by IHsh (Fk); while some GG do not reckon it [separately] among the *dets.*, because it is a branch of the *pron.*, since it is *det.* because of its occurrence in the place of the **ل** of the second *pers.* (R): (7) the *interrog.* **مَنْ** and **مَا**, which are added by IK (A). Some *dets.* are more *det.* [than others], the *n.* being more *det.* whenever it is more particular (IY). The most *det.* of them is the *pron.* (M, A), according to the [most (A)] correct opinion (IY, A), which is that of S and the majority, who argue that there is no homonymy in the *pron.*, because it is particularized by what it relates to, for which reason it is not qualified, and does not qua-

lify [147] (IY) : then the proper name (M, A), because, though homonymy occurs in it, and it is qualified, it does not qualify (IY) : then the vague (M), [first] the *dem.* (A), because the *dem.* is qualified and qualifies, and the *ep.* is not more particular than the qualified [148] (IY) ; and then the conjunct (A) : then the synarthrous (N, A), which is the vaguest of the *dets.*, and the nearest of them to the *indets.*, that being shown by the fact that it is sometimes equal in sense to the anarthrous, as شَرِبْتُ

أَلْمَاءُ *I drank water* or أَلْمَاءُ (IY). As for the *pre.* [to a *det.* (Sh)], it (1) ranks with what it is *pre.* to (M, Sh), except only the *pre.* to the *pron.*, which ranks not with the *pron.*, but with the proper name : this is the correct opinion : (2) as some assert, always ranks with what is [next] below that *det.* : (3) as others hold, ranks with that *det.* unrestrictedly, the *pron.* not being excepted : but the second opinion is falsified by the saying [of Imra alKais (Abl)]

فَأَدْرَكَ لَمْ يَغْرَقْ مَنَاطُ عِدَارِهِ * يَمُرُّ كَخُذْرُوفِ الْوَلِيدِ الْمُتَقَبِّ

Then he overtook them, when the place where the headstall is fastened had not sweated, passing swiftly, like the perforated whirling plaything of the boy, the pre. to the synarthrous being here qualified by the synarthrous, though the ep. is not more det. than the qualified [148] ; and the third by their saying مَرَرْتُ بِرَيْدٍ صَاحِبِكَ I passed

by Zaid thy companion (Sh). Some one has arranged the *det.* in a metrical table of precedence

أَعْرِفْهَا الضَّمِيرُ بَعْدَهُ الْعَلَمُ * فَاسْمُ الْأَشَارَةِ فَمَوْصُولُ أَتَمَّ
وَبَعْدَهُ ذُو اللَّامِ وَالْبِضَافُ * فِي رَتَبَةِ الَّذِي لَهُ يُضَافُ
إِلَّا الَّذِي أَضِيفَ لِلضَّمِيرِ * فَإِنَّهُ كَالْعَلَمِ الشَّهِيرِ

The most *det.* of them is the *pron.*; after it the proper name; then the *dem.*; then a conjunct that has completed the tale of vague *ns.*; and after it the *synarthrous*; while the *pre.* ranks with what it is *pre.* to, except that which has been *pre.* to the *pron.*, for verily it is like the well known proper name (MAd). The most *det.* of the *prons.* is the *pron.* of the 1st *pers.*; then [the *pron.*] of the 2nd *pers.*, [because sometimes two or more persons are in the speaker's presence, so that one does not know which of them he is addressing (IY)]; then [the *pron.* (IY)] of the 3rd *pers.* (M, A) free from vagueness (A), i. e., relating to a *det.*, or to an *indet.* particularized by the *ep.* (Sn). As to [whether (Sh)] the *pron.* [of the 3rd *pers.* (Sn)] relating to the *indet.* [be *indet.* or *det.* (Sh)], the GG hold different opinions (Sh, Sn), (1) that it is *indet.*, unrestrictedly (Sh): (2) that it is *det.*, unrestrictedly (Sh, Sn), which is the opinion of the majority (Sn): (3) that it is (a) *indet.*, if the *indet.* that it relates to is necessarily *indet.*, as in رُبَّةٌ رَجُلًا and رُبَّةٌ فِتْنَةً أَلْحَ [above], because the *indet.* here is a *sp.*, and the *sp.* [according to the BB (MAd)] is only *indet.*

[83]; and (b) *det.*, if the *indet.* that it relates to is allow-
ably *indet.*, as in جَاءَنِي رَجُلٌ فَأَكْرَمْتُهُ *A man came to me,*
and *I honored him*, because the *indet.* here is an *ag.*, and
the *ag.* may be *indet.* or *det.* (Sh) : (4) that, as is said
[by R] (Sn), the *pron.*, when it relates to an *indet.* [pre-
viously (R on § 262, Sn)] particularized by some predi-
cament, is *det.*, as جَاءَنِي رَجُلٌ فَضَرَبْتُهُ *A man came to me,*
and *I beat him*, [because this *pron.* relates to *this man,*
who came to me, not to any other man (R on § 262)] : and
otherwise is *indet.* (R on §§ 262, 449, Sn), as أَظَنُّنِي كَانَ أُمِّكَ
[449] (R on § 262), where the *pron.* latent in كَانَ relates
to أَظَنُّنِي (AKB), whence رُبُّهُ رَجُلًا [above] (R, Sn), بَشَرٌ رَجُلًا
and نِعَمَ رَجُلًا *Most evil, and Most excellent, is he as a man!*
(R), يَا لَهَا قِصَّةٌ *O marvel at it as a story or fact!* [48, 84],
رُبُّ رَجُلٍ وَأَخِيهِ [538] (R, Sn), and رُبُّ شَاةٍ وَسَخْلَتِيهَا *Many*
a sheep etc! [223, 538], where the *prons.* are all *indet.*,
since the *indet.* related to is not previously particularized
by any predicament; whereas رُبُّ رَجُلٍ كَرِيمٍ وَأَخِيهِ would
not be allowable, and similarly كُلُّ شَاةٍ سَوْدَاءٌ وَسَخْلَتِيهَا
[538], because the *pron.* becomes *det.* by its relating to
an *indet.* particularized by an *ep.* (R) : and this is prefer-
red by Dm (Sn). Inflectionists say that, when the *indet.*
is repeated *indet.*, the second is different from the first ;
but that, when the *indet.* is repeated *det.*, or the *det.* is

repeated *det.* or *indet.*, the second is identical with the first. They so explain the tradition [that the Apostle of God went out one day laughing, and saying (K)] كُنْ يَغْلِبُ عُسْرُ يَسْرَيْنِ *A difficulty shall not prevail over double ease*: for Zj says that الْعُسْرُ is mentioned [in XCIV. 5. (134) (DM)] with the *art.*, and then its mention [with the *art.* (DM)] is repeated [in XCIV. 6., while يَسْرٌ is mentioned twice *indet.*; so that there must be one عُسْرٌ and two يَسْرٌ (DM)], and therefore the sense becomes *Verily with the difficulty shall be double ease*. The first two cases are evidenced by your saying اشْتَرَيْتُ فَرَسًا ثُمَّ بَعْتُ فَرَسًا *I bought a horse; and afterwards I sold a horse*, the second being different from the first; whereas, if you said ثُمَّ بَعْتُ الْفَرَسَ *and afterwards I sold the horse*, the second would be identical with the first: [the third by what IHsh has transmitted from Zj (DM):] and the fourth by the saying of the Hāmasi [AlFind azZimmāni (T, Jsh)]

صَفَحْنَا عَنْ بَنِي دُهْلٍ * وَقُلْنَا الْقَوْمَ إِخْوَانُ

عَسَى الْآيَامُ أَنْ يَرْجِعَنَّ قَوْمًا كَأَلَدِي كَانُوا

[We forgave the Banū Dhuhl Ibn Shaibān, and said "The folk and we are brethren. May-be the days will bring back a folk to a state of friendship and brotherhood like that which they were in" (Jsh)]. But that involves three difficulties: (1) in the text the second *prop.* is apparently

اِنَّ لَزَيْدٍ دَارًا اِنَّ لَزَيْدٍ دَارًا
Verily Zaid has a mansion ! Verily Zaid has a mansion ! ; and, according to this, the second is identical with the first : (2) Ibn Mas'ūd says [(K) وَالَّذِي نَفْسِي بِيَدِهِ]
 لَوْ كَانَ الْعُسْرُ فِي جُحْرٍ لَطَلَبَهُ الْيُسْرُ حَتَّى يَدْخُلَ عَلَيْهِ اِنَّهُ لَنْ
 يَغْلِبَ عُسْرُ يُسْرَيْنِ [By Him in Whose hand is my soul (K),]
if difficulty were in a burrow, ease would pursue it, until it entered upon it ! Verily the ease is this, a difficulty etc., although the text in his reading, and in his Codex, occurs only once ; so that this proves what we have asserted about the corroboration, and shows that the doubling of يُسْرُ [in لَنْ يَغْلِبَ الْحُجْرُ (DM)] is not derived from the repetition of يُسْرًا [in the text (DM)], but from something else, as though he had caught the idea of it from the solemnity in the indeterminateness [of يُسْرًا in the text], and interpreted it by the ease of the two abodes, [i. e., The difficulty of the present abode shall not prevail over the ease of the present abode and the ease of the last abode, but over the ease of the present abode only (DM)] : (3) the Revelation contains texts that refute these four rules : for XLIII. 84. [177] is difficult to reconcile with the first, God being one : and XVI. 90. *We will add unto them a chastisement [for their perversion (B) of others] above the chastisement [due*

to their unbelief (B)] with the second, a thing not being above itself : and LV. 60. [581] with the third, the first [الأحسان] being the work, and the second the recompense ; and يَسْأَلُكَ أَهْلُ الْكِتَابِ أَنْ تُنَزِّلَ عَلَيْهِمْ كِتَابًا مِنْ

السَّمَاءِ IV. 152. *The people of Scripture will ask thee to bring down upon them a Scripture from heaven* with the fourth ; as also is the saying [of a man of 'Ād (Jsh)]

بِلَادٍ بِهَا كُنَّا وَنَحْنُ نُحِبُّهَا * إِذِ النَّاسُ نَاسٌ وَالزَّمَانُ زَمَانٌ
[*Countries that we were dwelling in, while we were loving them, when the men were perfect men, and the time was a perfect time (Jsh)*] ; for, if the second were equal to the first in its sense, there would be no use in predicating it of the first ; and this is only of the cat. of أَنَا أَبُو النَّجْمِ الْحَجِ [30], i. e., *and my poetry does not alter from its state*, [and so in the verse, *when the men were not altered, and the time was not altered (DM)*]. If, however, it be asserted that the rule holds good only in the absence of circumstantial evidence, and that circumstantial evidence, if present, is to be relied upon, then the matter is easy (ML).

CHAPTER IX.

THE MASCULINE NOUN AND THE FEMININE.

§ 263. The *n.* is *orig. masc.*, the *fem.* gender being a *deriv.* from the *masc.* (IA). The *masc.* is what is free from the three [or four (IY)] signs (M) of femininization (IY). The *fem.* is what contains a sign of femininization (M, IH), literally or constructively (IH), whether the femininization be proper, as in ضَارِبَةٌ [247], حُبْلَى [248, 272], and نَفْسَاء [248, 273], where the sign is expressed ; and in زَيْنَبُ *Zainab* and سَعَادُ *Su'ād* [18], where the sign is supplied : or improper, as in غُرْفَةٌ [238], بَشْرَى [272], and صَحْرَاء [248, 273], where the sign is expressed ; and in نَارٌ and دَارٌ [264], where the sign is supplied (R). The signs [of femininization (IY, IH, IM)] are (1) the § (M, IH, IM), either mobile, which is peculiar to *ns.*, as in قَائِمَةٌ ; or quiescent, which is peculiar to *vs.* [607], as in قَامَتْ (Aud, A) : (a) the § of femininization is original in the *n.*, and *deriv.* in the *v.*, because it is affixed to the *v.* on account of the femininization of the *n.*, i. e., its *ag.* [or *pro-ag.*], and the sign is *orig.* affixed to the word that contains what the sign denotes ; and therefore the nominal

س is more plastic [than the verbal], in its assumption of vowels and its conversion into س in pause [646] : (b) the س of feminization is sometimes affixed to the p. [402], like (a) رَبٌّ [505], when the gen. governed by it is fem., [in order to indicate from the very first that the gen. is fem., though the ت is generally held to be added to ps. for feminization of the word (AKB),] as

فَقُلْتُ لَهَا أَصَبْتَ حَصَاةَ قَلْبِي * وَرَبَّتَ زَمِيَّةٌ مِنْ غَيْرِ رَامٍ

[Then I said to her, Thou hast hit the kernel of my heart. And many a shot is from one not a shooter (AKB)] ; while

يَا صَاحِبَا رَبَّتَ إِنْسَانٍ حَسَنٌ * يَسْأَلُ عَنْكَ الْيَوْمَ أَوْ يَسْأَلُ عَنْ

[O my companion, many a goodly man will beg of thee to-day, or beg (of me), i. e., عَنِّي (AKB)] occurs, though the poet may mean the fem. by إِنْسَانٍ a human being : (b) ثُمَّ [540], when it couples a story to a story, not a single term to a single term : [this is the general opinion ; but I have seen in a poem of Ru'ba Ibn Al'Ajjaj

فِي السَّلَامِ ثُمَّ السَّلَامِ

Then in peace, and again peace ; and so IM uses it in the Alfiya on the Broken Plurals, saying

أَفْعَلَةٌ أَفْعَلُ ثُمَّ فِعْلَةٌ * ثُمَّ أَفْعَالٌ جُمُوعٌ قِلَّةٌ

أَفْعَلَةٌ, أَفْعَلُ, then فِعْلَةٌ, then أَفْعَالٌ are plurals of paucity

(AKB) : (c) لَا [109], because of its resemblance to لَيْسَ : (d)

كَلْبَتَا, هَنْتَا, أَخْتَا, بِنْتُ [277, 689], the ت of بِنْتُ [537] : (c)

ثَنَّتَانِ, and مَنَّتَانِ [183], does not merely denote *femininization*, but is a substitute for the J in the state of femininization, for which reason the letter before it is quiescent ; while in مَنَّتَانِ [183] it is a quasi-substitute for the J , because its *sing.*, vid. مَنَّة , is like شَفَّة [260] (R) : (2) the ة [497] (M, IH, IM), (a) single [272] (Aud, A), which is the (A) abbreviated (IH, IA, A), as in حَبْلِي (IY, Aud, A) ; (b) preceded by an ة [272], and therefore converted into Hamza [248, 683] (Aud, A), which is the (A) prolonged (IH, IA, A), as in حَبْرَاء (IY, Aud, A), the ة of femininization being the second, which is converted into Hamza, not the first (Sn) : (a) as for the saying of some GG “the two ة s [here meaning the double, i. e., prolonged, ة] of femininization”, it is an approximation and a trope ; for, since the two are associated, and the word is formed with both, these GG apply the term “ة of femininization” unrestrictedly to the ة of prolongation, and say “the two ة s of femininization” (IY) : (3) the ي, as in ذِي [171] (M, R), says Z (R), though it is not a sign of femininization, as he thinks ; but is only the ع of the word, the femininization being imported from the formation itself : (a) according to the KK, the *n.* is the ذ alone, the ي being added to denote *femininization* (IY) ; but it is better to say that this entire formation is applied to denote the *fem.*, like تَا , there being no *unil. dem.* (R) : (4) the Kasra in such as نَعَلْتِ [161 402], which is added

by some (IY). The *fem.* [gender (M)] is [of two kinds (M),] (1) proper, which is [the gender of (M)] what has a male corresponding to it, among animals, as ^{أَمْرَأَة} *a woman* [265], ^{نَاقَة} *a she-camel* (M, IH), and the like (M) ; but if [Z and] IH had said " The proper [*fem.*] is the possessor of the ^{فَرْج} [21] among animals", it would have been better, since it is conceivable that there may be a female animal that has no male (R) : (2) improper (M), *lit.* (IY, IH), which is the contrary thereof (IH), like [the gender of (M)] ^{ظُلْمَة} *darkness* [265] (M, IH), ^{نَعْل} *a sandal* (M), ^{عَيْن} *an eye* (IH), and the like, which depend upon application and convention (M) ; while the *lit. fem.* is sometimes an animal, as in ^{حَمَامَة ذَكَر} [54, 271], since there is no male corresponding to it (R). The proper, [*id.*, *fem.* gender (IY)] is stronger (M) than the *lit.*, because the proper *fem.* is *fem.* in form and sense, and the improper in form exclusively (IY). And therefore (1) ^{جَاءَ هِنْدُ} is disallowed in a case of choice [21, 271] ; while ^{طَلَعَ الشَّمْسُ} [below] is allowable, though ^{طَلَعَتْ} is preferable [21] : (2) if a separation occur, then such as the saying of Jarir [disparaging Taghlib, and satirizing AlAkhtal (MN),] ^{لَقَدْ وَلَدَ الْأَخْيَطُ أُمَّ سَوْهٍ * عَلَى بَابِ اسْتِهَا ضَلَبٍ وَشَامٍ}
[Assuredly a mother of evil, upon the door of whose anus are crosses and moles, has given birth to AlAkhtal the little (MN, N)] is deemed allowable (M), and similarly

أَمْرًا غَرَّهَ الْح [21] (IY) ; though this [elision of the sign of feminization from the *v.*, when the *ag.* is a proper *fem.* (IY),] is not extensively used, and is rejected by Mb (M), who argues that men and women sometimes share names in common, as

تَجَاوَزْتُ هِنْدًا رَغْبَةً عَنْ قِتَالِهِ * إِلَى مَالِكٍ أَعَشُو إِلَى صُوءِ نَارِهِ
[*I have passed on from Hind, through dislike to fighting with him, to Mālik, betaking myself to the light of his fire* (MN)], where هِنْدٌ is a man's name, and

يَا جَعْفَرُ يَا جَعْفَرُ يَا جَعْفَرُ * إِنْ أَلَّكَ دَحْدَاحًا فَأَنْتَ أَقْصَرُ
O Ja'far, O Ja'far, O Ja'far, if I be dwarfish, thou art shorter, where جَعْفَرُ is a woman's name (IY) : while مَنْنٌ II. 276. *Then to whomsoever an admonition cometh from his Lord*, [وَأَخَذَ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا الصَّيْحَةَ XI. 70. *And chastisement laid hold on them that had done wrong* (IY),] and وَلَوْ كَانَ بِهِمْ خَصَاصَةٌ LIX. 9. *Even though want be with them are deemed good* (M) ; though expression of the ت is better, as قَدْ جَاءَتْكُمْ مَوْعِظَةٌ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ X. 58. *An admonition hath come to you from your Lord* (IY). This is [the predicament (IY, R)] when the *v.* [or its like (R)] is attribute of the [*fem.* (IY)] explicit *n.* (M, R) in the *sing.* or *du.* (R). If, however, it be attribute of a [*fem.* (IY)] *pron.* [in the *sing.* or *du.* (R)], then, (1) [if the *pron.* be attached (R),] the sign must be affixed, [whether the feminization

be proper or improper (IY, R), except in poetic license (R),] the saying وَلَا أَرْضَ أَبْقَلُ الْحَم [below] being [rare and ugly, but (IY)] explained by a paraphrase (M, R) of أَرْضُ by مَكَانُ (IY, R), which is *masc.* [246]; and similarly الْحَدَثَانُ [613], because الْحَوَادِثُ is i. q. : (a) this is made permissible by two matters, that the feminization is improper, and that this involves a restoration to the *o. f.*, vid. the *masc.*; whereas إِنَّ زَيْنَبَ تَامَ would not be allowable, because the feminization is proper: (b) uglier is the saying of Ruwaishid [Ibn Kathīr at Ṭā'i (Jh)]

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّكِبُ الْمَرْجِي مَطِيئَتُهُ * سَأْتِلُ بَنِي أَسَدٍ مَا هَذِهِ الصَّوْتُ
O thou camel-rider, urging thy beast along, ask thou the Banū Asad "What is this cry?", as though he meant الصَّيْحَةُ *clamour* and الْأَسْتِعَاثَةُ *call for help*: and like it is the saying [of Jarīr, praising Hishām Ibn 'Abd Al Malik (Mb, AKB) Ibn Marwān (AKB)]

إِذَا بَعْضُ السِّنِينَ تَعَرَّقَتْنَا * كَفَى الْآيَتَامَ فَقْدَ أَبِي الْيَتِيمِ
[When one, or some, of the droughts gnaws, or gnaw, the flesh off our bones, i. e., destroys, or destroy, our goods and our beasts, he makes good to the orphans the loss of the orphan's father (AKB)], which, [says IJ (AKB),] is [a little (AKB)] easier than the preceding [feminization of صَوْتُ (AKB)], because بَعْضُ السِّنِينَ is سَنَةٌ *a drought* (IY) or, says Mb in the Kāmil (AKB), are سِنُونَ *droughts*

(Mb, AKB), as Al A'shà says [111], **وَتَشْرِقُ بِالْقَوْلِ الْحَمْدُ**, because **صَدْرُ الْقِنَاءِ** is **قِنَاءٌ** (Mb); though the best saying is that in sense the *enunc.* belongs to the *post.*, the *pre.* being interpolated for corroboration (Mb, AKB): (2) if the *pron.*, be detached, it is like the explicit *n.* [above] (R). Inflectionists say that the *masc.* or *fem.* is allowable with the tropical *fem.*; and this is a stock phrase among Jurists. But it ought properly to be restricted to the attribute of the tropical *fem.*, and to the case where the attribute is a *v.* or its like, and the *fem.* an explicit *n.*, as **طَلَعَ الشَّمْسُ** [above], **يَطْلُعُ الشَّمْسُ**, *The sun rises*, and **أَطْلَعَ الشَّمْسُ** *Is the sun rising?*: while **الشَّمْسُ هَذَا** or **هُوَ الشَّمْسُ** is not allowable, nor **الشَّمْسُ هَذَا** or **الشَّمْسُ هُوَ**, [but **هَذِهِ** or **هِيَ** is necessary (DM)]; nor is **الشَّمْسُ طَلَعَ**, except in poetic license, contrary to the opinion of IK, who cites as evidence **وَلَا أَرْضٌ أَبْقَدَ الْحَمْدُ** [21], saying that it is not a poetic license, because the poet might have said **أَبْقَلَتْ أَبْقَالَهَا** by transfer [of the vowel of the Hamza to the preceding quiescent (DM)], which is refuted by our not admitting that alleviation of the Hamza, by transfer or otherwise, is practised in the *dial.* of this poet (ML). As for the *pls.* [270] and the [generic *n.* and] *quasi-pl. n.* [271], their predicament will be explained hereafter (R).

§ 264. The **is** is (M, IM, R) (1) literally expressed (M), which is the general rule, to distinguish the *fem*

from the *masc.*, as ^{أَمْرٌ} and ^{أَمْرًا}, and ^{قَاتِمٌ} and ^{قَاتِمَةً} (IY) : (2) supplied, [meant (IY),] in some *ns.* (M, IM, R), like ^{كَتِفٌ} a shoulder (IM), (a) *tril.* (M, R), like ^{عَيْنٌ} an eye (M, IA, A), ^{أُذُنٌ} a ear (M), ^{يَدٌ} a hand (A), ^{هِنْدٌ} Hind, ^{قِدْرٌ} a cooking-pot, ^{شَنْسٌ} [262] (IY) ; (b) *quad.* (M), [or otherwise] exceeding three letters, by analogy to the *tril.*, which is the *o. f.* (R), like ^{عَنَاقٌ} [246] and ^{عَقْرَبٌ} a scorpion (M), ^{زَيْنَبٌ} and ^{سُعَادٌ} [263] : being elided from the expression because the peculiarity of the *n.* to the *fem.* makes the sign unnecessary (IY). The § is [the only sign (R, Sn)] supplied (R, IA, Sn), says R (Sn), (1) because, being constitutionally adventitious and separable [266], it may be elided and supplied (R, Sn), contrary to the † (R) ; (2) because it is more frequent [in usage (IA), and more plain in indication (Sn),] than the † (IA, Sn) : while the proof that the §, and not the †, is supplied is its restoration in the *dim.*, as ^{هُنَيْدَةٌ} and ^{قُدَيْرَةٌ} [274, 282] (R). But the source of this is hearsay (IY, IA). The gender of that [*fem. n.* (IA)] which has no sign expressed (R, IA), [in consequence of] the supply (IY, IM) of the § (IY, Sn), is made known by (1) [the restoration { of the § (IY, IA, Aud, Sn)} in (IY, IM)] the *dim.* (IY, IM, R) of the *tril.* [282] (IY, R, Dm), exclusively (Dm), says Dm (Sn), as ^{قُدَيْرَةٌ} (IY, R) and ^{هُنَيْدَةٌ} [above] (IY) ; and similarly of the *quad.*, when its *dim.* is formed by curtailment [282,

291], as عُنَيْقَةٌ *dim.* of عَنَاقُ , and ذُرَيْعَةٌ *dim.* of ذِرَاعُ (Sn) ; and sometimes, anomalously, in what exceeds three letters, [when its *dim.* is not so formed,] as قُدَيْدِيمَةٌ and وَرَيْئَةٌ [282] (R) : (2) the affixion of the sign of feminization to (R, A) the *v.* [or similar word (R)] attributed (a) to the *fem. n.* (IY, R, Aud, A), as وَلَمَّا فَصَلَتِ الْعِيرُ XII. 94. *And, when the caravan set out from Egypt* (Aud), whence وَالتَّغْيَتِ السَّانِ LXXV. 29. *And the leg is folded* ; or (b) to its *pron.*, whence كَطَى نَرَاعَةً LXX. 15, 16. *Hell-fire will be dragging,* بَكَاسٍ مِنْ مَعِينٍ بَيْضَاءَ لَذَّةٍ XXXVII. 45, 46. *With a cup of flowing wine, white, delicious, and* وَلُسْكَيْنَانَ الرِّيحِ XXI. 81. *And We subjected to Solomon the wind, when blowing hard* (R) : (3) the feminization of its [enunc. (IY, A), as الْعَقْرَبُ مُرْدِيَةٌ *The scorpion is noxious* (IY),] *ep.* (IY, IA, A), as أَكَلْتُ كَتِفًا مَشْوِيَّةً *I ate a roasted shoulder* (IA), or *d. s.*, [all included by R under 2 (b)] (A) : (4) the gender of (IA, Sn) the *pron.* (IM, R) relating to the *n.* (R, IA, Aud, A), as XCI. 1. [538] (R), whence حَتَّى تَضَعَ الْحَرْبُ XXII. 71. *(It is) the fire. God hath promised it to them that disbelieve,* وَأَوْرَاقَهَا XLVIII. 5. *Until the war lay down its burdens,* وَإِنْ جَنَحُوا لِلسَّلَامِ فَاجْنَحْ لَهَا VIII. 63. *And, if they incline to peace, incline thou to it* (Aud, Sn) : (5) the use

of the [*fem.* (Sn)] *dem.*, [as هَذِهِ جَهَنَّمُ XXXVI. 63. *This is Hell* (Aud)] : (6) the elision of the ة from its *num.* (R, Aud, A), from 3 to 10 (R), as

أَرْمِي عَلَيْهَا وَهِيَ فَرْعٌ آجِبٌ * وَهِيَ ثَلَاثُ أَذْرُعٍ وَإِصْبَعٌ

(Aud), by Ḥumaid alArkaṭ, describing a bow, *I shoot with it ; and it is a whole branch, and it is three cubits and a finger*, where the elision of the ة from ثَلَاثُ shows that ذِرَاعٌ is *fem.* (MN) : (7) its *pl.*'s being of a paradigm peculiar to the *fem.*, like فَوَاعِلُ in *eps.*, as طَوَالِقُ and حَوَائِضُ [247] : or prevalent in the *fem.*, like أَفْعُلُ, which is *pl.* of the *fem.* on the measure of عَنَاقُ, ذِرَاعُ, كُرَاعُ, and يَبِينُ ; seldom of the *masc.*, as مَكَانُ *pl.* آمَكُنُ [246, 255], طَحَالُ *pl.* أَطْحُلُ [246], and أَجْبُنُ *a forehead, brow, pl.* أَجْبُنُ (R).

§ 265. The ة is affixed [to *ns.* (A) for various reasons (M)], (1) to distinguish the *fem.* from the *masc.*, (a) in the *ep.* (M, R, IA, Aud, A), being regular in four sorts, (a) the *act. part.* (R), as صَارِبَةٌ [267, 343] (M, R) ; (b) the *pass. part.*, as مَنصُورَةٌ [347] ; (c) the *assimilate ep.*, other than the أَفْعُلُ of superiority and the *ep.* أَفْعُلُ, as حَسَنَةٌ [348] ; (d) the *rel. n.* with the ي [268], as بَصِيرَةٌ [295] : while such as رُبْعَةٌ [54, 266] and يَفْعَةٌ *adult*, in the *masc.* and *fem.*, are *orig. eps.* of نَفْسٌ, i. e., نَفْسٌ رُبْعَةٌ and يَفْعَةٌ *a middle-sized, and an adult, soul or person* [268] (R) : (b) in

the substantive, as ^{أَمْرَأَةٌ} *a woman* [or ^{مَرَأَةٌ} (IY), ^{شَيْخَةٌ} *an old woman* (M)], ^{إِنْسَانَةٌ} *a woman*, [^{غُلَامَةٌ} *a young woman* (M,R,A),] ^{رَجُلَةٌ} *a woman*, [^{فَتَاةٌ} *a damsel* (A), ^{حِمَارَةٌ} *a she-ass*, ^{أَسَدَةٌ} *a lioness*, and ^{بَرْدَوْنَةٌ} *a jade or hackney mare* (M),] which is rare (M, R, IA, A), irregular (Sn), confined to hearsay (R), because the *fem.* [generally] has a substantive to itself ; while the *opp.* of this is the affixion of the *ṣ* in the *num.*, as ^{ثَلَاثَةٌ} [314], to distinguish the *masc.* from the *fem.* in the generic *n.* [313] (IY) : (2) to distinguish (a) the *n. un.* from the generic *n.*, [ordinarily (IY) in things created (IY, R, A),] as ^{تَمْرَةٌ} [254, 267] (M, R, Aud, A), and [in *inf. ns.* (R),] as ^{ضَرْبَةٌ} [336] (M, R), being regular in both (R) ; seldom in things manufactured, as ^{سَفِينَةٌ} [254] : (b) the generic *n.* from the *n. un.*, as ^{كَمَاءٌ} [254, 267] (R, Aud, A), which is rare : (a) the *ṣ* mostly occurs in the two senses mentioned [in 1 and 2]; and in them it is adventitious, not inseparable [266] : (3) to indicate the *pl.*, in the *eps.* whose qualifieds are not used, and that are (a) on the measure of ^{فَاعِلٌ} or ^{فَعُولٌ}, as ^{خَرَجَتْ خَارِجَةٌ عَلَى الْإِمِيرِ} *Some rebels rebelled against the governor*, ^{شَارِبَةٌ} [267], and ^{رُكُوبَةٌ} [246, 267] ; (b) *rel. eps.* with the *ى* [294], or on the measure of ^{فَعَالٌ} [312], as ^{جَبَّالَةٌ} and ^{أَبْصَرِيَّةٌ} [267] : (4) to corroborate the *ep.*, being

used (R) to import *intensiveness* [in the *ep.* (M, R) on the measure of فَاعِلٌ (R)], as زَاوِيَةٌ a great reciter (M, R, Aud, A) of poetry (IY) ; and [to corroborate the *intensiveness* (Aud, A) in the *ep.* on the measure of فَعَّالٌ , مَفْعَالٌ or فَعُولٌ (R),] as نَسَابَةٌ a profound genealogist (M, R, Aud, A), مَطْرَابَةٌ highly emotional (R), and فَرُوقَةٌ very timid [246, 269] (M, R) : (a) the ة here denotes *femininization* [in the *ep.*] ; and the suppressed qualified is جَمَاعَةٌ a multitude, the single thing being treated as a multitude of its genus, as in أَنْتَ الرَّجُلُ كُلُّ الرَّجُلِ [142] (R) ; [or] they femininize the *masc.*, because they mean that he is a غَايَةٌ extreme in that [quality], غَايَةٌ being *fem.* (Sn) : and here the ة is separable : (b) the ة is often affixed to فَعَّلٌ i. q. فَاعِلٌ , and to فَعَّلٌ i. q. مَفْعُولٌ , as سَبَّهٌ great reviler and سَبَّهٌ much reviled, لَعَنَهُ great curser and لَعَنَهُ much cursed : and in these two measures it is inseparable (R) : (5) to corroborate the [sense of (R)] *femininization* [in a word peculiar to the *fem.* (A)], as نَعَجَةٌ a ewe (M, R, Aud, A) and نَاقَةٌ [263] (M, R, A), which is rare (IY) : (a) this ة is inseparable : (b) the ة is said to be sometimes put to corroborate the sense of *femininization* in the *ep.*, as عَجُوزَةٌ an old woman, عَجُوزٌ being applied to denote the *fem.* ; and here the ة is not inseparable (R) : (6) to corroborate [the sense of (M)] *femininization* in (IY, R, A)]

the *pl.* [270] (M, R, A), as حِجَارَةٌ [and ذِكَاةٌ (M)]; صُفُورَةٌ, عُمُومَةٌ, and خُورْلَةٌ (M, A); and صَيَاقِلَةٌ and قَشَاعِمَةٌ *vultures* [249] (M) : it is then affixed, (a) necessarily, in two formations, (a) أَفْعَلَةٌ, as أَغْرِبَةٌ [246]; (b) فَعْلَةٌ, as غِلْمَةٌ [246] : (b) allowably, in three formations, (a) فَعَالَةٌ, as جَمَالَةٌ *he-camels*, being sometimes inseparable here, as in حِجَارَةٌ and ذِكَاةٌ [237, 253]; (b) فُعُولَةٌ, as صُفُورَةٌ *hawks*, being sometimes inseparable, as in عُمُومَةٌ [237, 253] and خُورْلَةٌ; (c) the ultimate *pl.*, as مَلَايِكَةٌ and صَيَاقِلَةٌ [253], not being inseparable here : (7) in the ultimate *pl.* (R), as a compensation for a significant *aug.* [existing in the *sing.*] (Aud), [and] as an indication [that its *sing.* is a *n.* (R)] of relation (M, R, A), as أَشَاعِنَةٌ (M, R, Aud, A) and مَشَاهِدَةٌ [253] : (a) the ة is here inseparable, because it is a substitute for the ع : (b) it is affixed to the ultimate *pl.*, exclusively, in order that, by its means, the *n.* may return to its *o. f.* of triptote declension [18, 256] : (8) in the ultimate *pl.* (R), to indicate *arabicization* [of its *sing.* (R)], as مَوَازِجَةٌ (M, R, A), جَوَارِبَةٌ (M, R), and كَيْالِجَةٌ [253] (R, A) : (a) the ة here is said to be the sign of foreignness, because the foreign *n.* is transferred to Arabic, as the *fem.* gender is transferred from the *masc.* : (b) the ة in this kind is not inseparable; but, on the contrary, مَوَازِجُ

and جَوَابُ [253] are allowable (R) : (9) in the [ultimate (R)] *pl.* (IY, R) upon the measure of مَفَاعِيلُ (IY), as a compensation (M, R, Aud) for an unmeaning *aug.* (Aud), [i. e.] for the ي elided (IY, R) before the final (R), [or in fewer words] as an alternative to the ي of مَفَاعِيلُ (A), as جَعَايَعَةُ [253] (M, R, A), فَرَانَةٌ (M), *pl.* of فِرْزَانُ *a queen at chess* (IY), and زَنَادِقَةٌ (Aud, A), *pl.* of زَنْدِيقُ *a Dualist* (Aud) : for, when the ي is put, the ة is not put, but جَعَايِمُ and زَنَادِيقُ are said ; so that the ي and ة are alternatives (A) : (a) as for فَرَانَةٌ and زَنَادِقَةٌ [253], the ة in them may be a compensation for the elided ي, or a sign of the arabicization of the *sing.* : (b) the ة and the ي not being elided together, nor expressed together, the ة is inseparable with elision of the ي : (10) not to denote any meaning, but (R) for mere multiplication of the letters of the word (A), and (Sn) for *lit.* feminization (R, Sn) also (Sn), as غُرْفَةٌ (R, A) and ظُلُمَةٌ [238, 263, 266], عِمَامَةٌ *a turban* [246] (R) and سَقَايَةٌ [266] (A), and مَلَكْفَةٌ *a wrapper* ; and here it is inseparable (R) : (11) as a compensation for (a) the ف [of the *v.* (R)], as عِدَّةٌ [699] (R, Aud, A) ; (b) the ع, as إِقَامَةٌ [338] (A) ; (c) the ل (R, Aud, A), as سَنَةٌ [260] (Aud, A) : and here it is insepa-

rable (R) : (12) as a compensation for the letter of pro-
 longation in تَفْعِيلٌ, as تَنْزِيَةٌ [338] (A) : (13) as a com-
 pensation for the ى of prothesis, vid. in يَا أَبَتِ and يَا أُمَّتِ
 only [54] : (14) as a mark of transfer from the state of
ep. to that of substantive, and a sign that the *ep.* is pre-
 valent [149], not needing the qualified, as نَاطِيكَةً *a sheep*,
 or *goat, gored to death* and ذَبِيحَةً *a sheep, or goat, for*
slaughter [246, 267, 269] : (a) this ة is mostly inseparable :
 (b) the ة in حُلُوبَةٍ and رُكُوبَةٍ is most probably like this,
 because the qualified is not mentioned at all with them
 [267, 269] : (c) every *n.* that has this ة affixed to it is
 applied to the male and female alike : (15) as a compen-
 sation, says IAl, for the ة of femininization, as in حَبِيرَةٌ
dim. of حَبَارَى [282] (R) : (16) in such [transferred pro-
 per names] as طَلْحَةَ *Talḥa* and حَمْرَةَ *Ḥamza*, which
 are really of the *cat.* of تَمْرَةٍ [above], طَلْحَةُ being *a tree*
 [254], and حَمْرَةَ *a herb*, and both being afterwards used
 as names : Anas [Ibn Mālik (Nw)] who was surnamed
 Abū Ḥamza, says "The Apostle of God surnamed me from
 a *herb* that I used to gather" : so that, when any
 such [name] occurs, one looks at its *o. f.*, before the
 transfer [4] and use as a name, in order to know which
 of the kinds it is of (IY). And [Z says that (R)] these
 reasons may be combined by saying that the ة is affixed
 for femininization and quasi-femininization (M, R).

§ 266. The ة is (1) mostly separable, [because it is affixed to a complete *n.*, producing feminization in it, as قَائِمٌ and قَائِمَةٌ, and أَمْرٌ and أَمْرَةٌ; and therefore is equivalent to a *n.* joined on to a *n.* (IY)]: (2) seldom a fundamental part of the word, [inseparable, like the ة, as though the word were formed *fem.*, and had no share in the *masc.* gender, so that the ة is like one of the letters of the *n.* (IY),] whence عَبَايَةٌ *a woollen robe* [721], عَظَايَةٌ *a lizard*, [صَلَايَةٌ *a stone used to crack nuts*, نَهَايَةٌ *extremity*, سِقَايَةٌ *a cup, goblet, or tankard* (IY),] عَلَايَةٌ *something over and above*, شَقَايَةٌ *wretchedness* [229] (M), and غَبَايَةٌ *want of intelligence* (IY). The ة in these *ns.*, being for *lit.* feminization, is in this respect inseparable, as in غُرْفَةٌ and ظُلْمَةٌ [265]; and, even though in some of them it occurs separable, like شَقَايَةٌ and شَقَاءٌ [683, 721, 723], still in the *lit. fem.* it is constitutionally inseparable (R). The ة is sometimes inseparable in what is (1) of common gender, like رُبْعَةٌ *middle-sized* [54, 265], said of men and women; (2) peculiar to the *masc.*, as بَهِيْمَةٌ *valiant*, said of a man (A).

§ 267. Their saying جَمَالَةٌ [265] in the *pl.* of جَمَالٌ [312] is i. q. جَمَاعَةٌ جَمَالَةٌ, and similarly بَعَالَةٌ and حَبَايَةٌ, [meaning *a multitude owning camels and mules and asses, or working as servants, and attending, upon them, though not*

their owners (IY)] ; and [similarly (IY)] شَارِبَةٌ [265] and وَارِدَةٌ and سَابِلَةٌ , [meaning a multitude dwelling upon the side of the river, to whom its water belongs and arriving at water and travelling upon the road (IY)] : and hence أَلْبَصْرِيَّةُ [265] and الْكُوفِيَّةُ , [meaning the Basrī, and Kufī, multitude (IY),] and الزَّيْبَرِيَّةُ and الْمَرْوَانِيَّةُ , [meaning the multitude related to Marwān Ibn AlḤakam and to Az-Zubair (IY)] ; and حَلُوبَةٌ and قَتُوبَةٌ and رَكُوبَةٌ [246, 265], as فَمِنْهَا رَكُوبُهُمْ XXXVI. 72. And of them is their ridden one, where رَكُوبَتُهُمْ are their ridden ones is read (M) by ‘Ā’isha (Jh), and حَمْلَةٌ , meaning the multitude milked and saddled with a pack-saddle and ridden and laden (IY). The ة in all of these really denotes femininization, as in ضَارِبَةٌ [265], not being as in كَبَاةٌ [254, 265], because the n. containing the ة is constructively ep. of جَبَاعَةٌ , the qualified being necessarily suppressed, because known (R). As for حَلُوبَةٌ for the individual, and حَلُوبٌ for the genus, they are like تَمْرَةٌ and تَمَرٌ [254, 265] (M, R) ; and here the ة denotes unity, not femininization. And it is sometimes said that رَكُوبٌ and رَكُوبَةٌ are synonymous [246], and similarly حَلُوبٌ and حَلُوبَةٌ ; and, in that case, the ة denotes transfer to the state of substantive, as in ذَبِيحَةٌ [246, 265] and أَكُولَةٌ a sheep set apart, and fattened, to be eaten [269] (R).

§ 268. They say طَالِقٌ and طَامِتٌ and امْرَأَةٌ حَائِضٌ [247] and رِيحٌ عَاصِفٌ *despairing of menstruating*, and رِيحٌ عَاصِفٌ , whence جَاءَتْهَا رِيحٌ عَاصِفٌ X. 23. *A wind blowing hard shall come upon them*, not putting the § in the *ep.*, though the *ep.* belongs to the *fem.*, because it is not conformable to the *v.*, but is i. q. the *rel. n.* [below], i. e., ذَاتُ حَيْضٍ and طَلَاقٌ and طَبِثٌ , meaning that *divorce is permanent in her*, [and ذَاتُ عَصْفٍ (B)] ; and similarly مُرْضِعٌ [252], i. e., ذَاتُ رَضَاعٍ ; and hence LXXIII. 18. [below], i. e., ذَاتُ أَنْفِطَارٍ : not meaning حَاضَتْ and انْفَطَرَتْ , since, if that were meant, they would put the § , because it would be a thing not permanent, whence يَوْمَ تَرَوْنَهَا تَذْهَلُ كُلُّ مُرْضِعَةٍ عَمَّا أَرْضَعَتْ XXII. 2. *On the day that ye shall see it, every woman giving suck shall forget what she hath suckled* and XXI. 81. [264] (IY). The general rule in *eps.* is that their *fem.* is distinguished from their *masc.* by the § [265] : but (1) in *eps.* peculiar to the *fem.*, and being on the measure of فَاعِلٌ and مُفْعِلٌ , the § is (a) commonly not affixed, if the sense of *origination* be not intended in them, as حَائِضٌ and طَالِقٌ [247, 282], مُرْضِعٌ and مُنْفِلٌ [252] ; (b) inseparable, if the sense of *origination* be intended in them, as حَاضَتْ فَهِيَ حَائِضَةٌ *She menstruated, so that she was menstruating* ; (c) sometimes affixed, even if *origination* be not

intended, as مُرْضِعَةٌ and حَامِلَةٌ *pregnant* : (2) an *ep.* common to the *masc.* and *fem.* is sometimes denuded of the ة, when *origination* is not intended, as ضَامِرٌ *lank-bellied* said of a he-camel or she-camel, and عَانِسٌ *unmarried at mature age* said of a man or woman. And, as to the reason for denuding these *eps.* of the ة, when *origination* is not intended, there are three opinions :— (1) the KK say that the ة is put to distinguish between the *masc.* and the *fem.*, and that the distinction is needed only when homonymy exists : but this reason (a) does not extend to such as ضَامِرٌ and عَانِسٌ : (b) requires that the *eps.* peculiar to the *fem.* should be denuded of the ة even when *origination* is intended ; nay, that the *v.* also, when there is no homonymy, as in حَاضَتْ *she menstruated*, should be denuded [of the ت] : (c) requires that only مُرْضِعٌ should be said ; whereas مُرْضِعَةٌ is authorized even when *origination* is not intended : (2) S says that حَائِضٌ is to be paraphrased by إِنْسَانٌ حَائِضٌ [282] or شَيْءٌ *a menstruating human being or thing*, as رَبْعَةٌ is by نَفْسٌ رَبْعَةٌ [265] ; but the agreement of the GG that the ة is affixed, when *origination* is intended, proves that the reason is not this paraphrase : (3) Khl says that the *ep.* is denuded of the ة because it is renderable by the *rel. n.*, meaning, says IH, that, when *unrestrictedness* is intended, not

origination, the *ep.*, though in the form of the *act. part.*, is not in the sense of the *v.*, but of the *rel. n.* [above], like **ذُو لَبَنِ** and **تَامِرٌ** [312] ; so that, as these two mean **ذُو لَبَنِ** and **ذُو تَمَرٍ** *unrestrictedly*, not with the sense of *origination*, i. e., **لَبْنِي** and **تَمَرِي**, so **حَائِضٌ** and **طَالِقٌ** mean **ذَاتُ** **حَائِضٌ** and **طَالِقٌ** : but, even if it be granted that such as **طَامِثٌ** and **حَائِضٌ** [247] are formations of the *rel. n.*, how can it to be said that such as **مُنْفَطِرٌ** and **مُرْمَعٌ** in **السَّمَاءُ مُنْفَطِرٌ بِهِ** LXXIII. 18. *Whereby the heaven shall be rent in sunder* and **فُلَانَةٌ مُرْمَعٌ** *Such a woman is suckling* belong to the *cat. of the rel. n.*, when **مُنْفَعِلٌ** and **مُفْعِلٌ** are not among its authorized formations ? The most probable reason is that the distinction between the *masc.* and *fem.* by the **ت** prevails especially in the *v.* : then the *act.* and *pass. parts.* are made to accord with the *v.* because of their resemblance to it in form and sense ; so that the **ف** is affixed to them, as the **ت** is to the *v.* : then some *eps.* on the measure of the *act. part.* are so used that at one time *origination* is intended by them as by the *v.*, and at another *unrestrictedness* ; and therefore, designing to distinguish between the two senses, the Arabs femininize with the **ف** that in which they intend *origination*, because of its resemblance to the *v.* in sense, contrary to that in which they intend *unrestrictedness* ; while the assimilate *ep.* and the *rel. n.*

with the **ى**, which always denote *unrestrictedness*, have the **ة** affixed to them [265] not because they resemble the *v.*, but because they resemble the *act.* and *pass. parts.*, since they are *ns.* containing the sense of the *ep.*, like the *act.* and *pass. parts.* (R).

§ 269. The **ة** is not affixed to the following *eps.*, [which are of common gender (R)]:— (1) **فَعُولٌ** [246, 252] (IY, R, IA, Aud, A), when i. q. **فَاعِلٌ** (R, IA, Aud, A), as **رَجُلٌ صَبُورٌ** and **إِمْرَأَةٌ صَبُورٌ** *a very patient man and woman* (IY, IA, Aud, A), whence **وَمَا كَانَتْ أُمُّكَ بَغِيًّا** XIX. 29.

Nor hath thy mother been a harlot, orig. **بَغِيًّا** (Aud) :

(a) the **ة** in **مَلُولَةٌ** [and **فُرُوفَةٌ** (A)] is intensive [246, 265] (Aud, A) ; and is therefore affixed to the *fem.* and *masc.*

(A), as is proved by **رَجُلٌ مَلُولٌ** *a man much bored* (Aud) :

(b) they say **عَدُوَّةٌ** [234, 246] (R, IA, Aud, A), which is anomalous (IA, Aud, A), made to accord with **صَدِيقَةٌ**

(Aud) : (c) when **فَعُولٌ** is i. q. **مَفْعُولٌ**, the **ة** is affixed to it

(IA, Aud, A) in the *fem.* (IA), as **رَكُوبَةٌ** i. q. **مَرْكُوبَةٌ** [246]

(IA, A), **أَكُولَةٌ** i. q. **مَأْكُولَةٌ** [267], and **حَلُوبَةٌ** i. q. **مَحْلُوبَةٌ**

(A), whence **جَمَلٌ رَكُوبٌ** and **نَاقَةٌ رَكُوبَةٌ** *a he-camel, and a she-camel, ridden* (Aud) : or, as R says (Sn), **فَعُولٌ** i. q. **مَفْعُولٌ**

also is of common gender, as **جَزُورٌ** [256], **رَكُوبٌ**, and **قَتُوبٌ** ;

but (R) the **ة** is [often (R)] affixed to it as a sign of transfer to the state of substantive [265, 267] (R, Sn),

not for femininization ; so that, even after affixion of the ة , it is applicable to the *masc.* and *fem.* (R) : (2) مَفْعَالٌ [252] (IY, R, IA, Aud, A), as رَجُلٌ مَهْدَارٌ and اِمْرَأَةٌ مَهْدَارٌ a babbling man and woman (IA, A), like مِعْطَارٌ [a woman (IY)] using much perfume (IY, R), مَذْكَارٌ wont to give birth to males, and مِثْنَاتٌ wont to give birth to females (IY) : (a) مَيَقَانَةٌ knowing with certainty is anomalous (IA, Aud, A) : (3) مَفْعِيلٌ [252] (IY, R, IA, Aud, A), as مِعْطِيرٌ using much perfume (IY, IA, Aud, A), said of a [man and (A)] woman (IA, A), like مَنطِيقٌ eloquent (IY, R) : (a) they say مَسْكِينَةٌ [234] (R, IA, Aud, A), which is anomalous (IA, Aud, A) ; while اِمْرَأَةٌ مَسْكِينٌ a needy woman has been heard, according to analogy (Aud, A), being transmitted by S (A) : (4) مَفْعَلٌ [252] (R, IA, Aud, A), as مَغْشَمٌ dauntless (IA, Aud, A), said of a man and woman (A), and مَذْعَسٌ (Aud) : (5) فَعَالٌ [246, 252], as حَصَانٌ chaste ; though S transmits اِمْرَأَةٌ جَبَانٌ and جَبَانَةٌ : (6) فَعَالٌ [246, 252], as نَاقَةٌ دَلَاتٌ (R) : (7) فَعِيلٌ i. q. مَفْعُولٌ [246] (IY, R, IA, Aud, A), if it [is not used as a substantive, but (IA)] follows a qualified (R, IA, A), as جَرِيحٌ wounded [and قَتِيلٌ slain (A)], said of a [man and (Aud, A)] woman (IA, Aud, A), whence كَعِيلٌ

an eye anointed with collyrium (IY, IA); or rather, if its qualified be known, so that such as *رَأَيْتُ قَتِيلًا* *I saw a slain one of women* may be included, the § being elided here because its qualified is known, for which reason IM says in the CK "if qualificativity be intended, and the qualified be known, it is denuded of the §" (A): (a) the § is sometimes affixed to it (R, IA, A), notwithstanding the mention of the qualified (R), as *خَصْلَةٌ ذَمِيَّةٌ* *a blameworthy quality*, i. e., *مَذْمُومَةٌ* and *فِعْلَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ* *a praiseworthy kind of deed* (IA), because it is made to accord with *فَاعِلٌ* i. q. *فَاعِلٌ*, [on account of their resemblance in form (R)], as *فَاعِلٌ* i. q. *فَاعِلٌ* is made to accord with it in being denuded [of the § (R)], whence VII. 54. [111] (R, A), as is said (R), and XXXVI. 78 [below] (A): (b) if it [is used as a substantive, and (IA, A)] does not follow a qualified, [expressed, or meant to be understood from some indication (A),] the § is affixed to it (IA, Aud, A), as *هَذِهِ ذَبِيحَةٌ* and *نَظِيحَةٌ* [246, 265, 267] and *أَكَلَتْهُ أُكَيْلَةٌ* *eaten by a wild beast* (IA), from fear of ambiguity (IA, Aud, A): (c) IHsh says that this reasoning holds good in the remaining *eps.* [of common gender], when you say *رَأَيْتُ صَبُورًا* or the like: so that, if what the GG say be founded upon analogy, the whole are alike; but, if their authority be hearsay, which appears to be the case, there

is no difficulty (Sn) : [and IY says that] the ة is not put in these *ns.* when they follow their qualified ; but, when the qualified is not mentioned, the ة is expressed, from fear of ambiguity, as رَأَيْتُ صَبْرَةً and مِعْطَارَةً and قَتِيلَةً بَنَى فُلَانٍ (IY) : (d) if فَعِيلٌ be i. q. فَاعِلٌ (IY, IA, Aud, A), (a) the ة is affixed to it (IA, Aud, A) in the *fem.* (IA), as امْرَأَةٌ رَحِيمَةٌ and ظَرِيفَةٌ *a merciful, and witty, woman* (Aud, A) : (b) it is sometimes assimilated to فَعِيلٌ i. q. مَفْعُولٌ, so that (IY) the ة is elided from it, [which is rare (IA),] as VII. 54. [111] (IY, IA) and مَنْ يُخَيِّى الْعِظَامَ وَهِيَ رَمِيمٌ XXXVI. 78. *Who will quicken the bones, when they are decayed?* [above] (IA) ; or, as is said, the ة is elided in VII. 54. because رَحْمَةٌ and رَحْمٌ are one, which is corroborated by هَذَا رَحْمَةٌ مِنْ رَبِّى XVIII. 97. *This is a mercy from my Lord* (IY) : (e) جَدِيدٌ in their saying مِلْكَةٌ جَدِيدٌ *a new wrapper* is, (a) as the KK say, i. q. مَجْدُودَةٌ *cut off* (IY, R) from the web at the finish of its weaving (IY), from جَدَّ he cut it off (R) ; and [this seems to be the opinion of IHsh, who says that] مِلْكَةٌ جَدِيدَةٌ is anomalous (Aud) : (b) as the BB say, [i. q. فَاعِلَةٌ, i. e., جَدَّتْ *that has become new* (IY),] from جَدَّ *aor.* يَجِدُّ (IY, R), *inf. n.* جَدَّة (R) ; and, according to them, the elision of the ة is anomalous : (f)

hence رِيحٌ خَرِيقٌ *a violent wind*, as though it *tore up* the ground ; and شَاةٌ سَدِيسٌ *a six-year-old sheep* (IY) : (g) فَعِيلٌ i. q. مَفْعُولٌ , though frequent, is not regular : and فَعِيلٌ occurs i. q. (a) مَفْعَلٌ , seldom, as الذِّكْرُ الْحَكِيمُ *the unambiguous admonition*, i. e., الْمُبْحَكُمُ ; (b) مُفَاعَلٌ , often, as جَلِيسٌ *sat with* [246, 247] and حَلِيفٌ *confederate* : (8) فَعِيلٌ , occasionally, as نَاقَةٌ رِيضٌ [251] (R).

§ 270. The femininization of the *pl.* is not proper, [because it is a femininization of the *n.*, not of the thing meant (IY)] : and therefore the sign [of femininization] may be either affixed to the attribute of the *pl.*, [on the ground that جَمَاعَةٌ is meant (IY),] or omitted, [on the ground that جَمْعٌ is meant (IY),] as فَعَلَتِ الرِّجَالُ and فَعَلَتِ الْمُسْلِمَاتُ and الْآيَّامُ *The men*, and *The Muslim women*, and *The days*, have done, or فَعَلَ (M), no regard being paid to the gender of its *sing.*, as XLIX. 14. and XII. 30. [21] ; and no distinction being made between the rational and irrational, because the femininization [of the *pl.*] belongs to the *n.*, not to the thing named. The KK assert that the *masc.* belongs to multitude, and the *fem.* to paucity [235]. If the *pl.* be broken, you are allowed an option in the gender of its *v.*, as قَامَ الرِّجَالُ or قَامَتِ [21], neither being preferable, because the form of the *sing.* disappears in the broken *pl.* [234].

But, if the *pl.* be sound, then, if it belong to a *fem.*, the *fem.* gender is preferable in the *v.* ; and, if it belong to a *masc.*, the *masc.* is preferable : while some make the first *masc.*, which is rare, as قَبْلَ أَنْ يَنْفَدَ XVIII. 109. *Before the words of my Lord should fail*, read by Ḥamza, Ks, and Ibn 'Āmir with the *ي* ; and some make the second *fem.*, which is a poetic license, as

قَالَتْ بَنُو عَامِرٍ خَالُوا بَنِيَّ أَسَدٍ * يَا بُوسَ لِلْجَهْلِ ضَرَّارًا لِأَقْوَامٍ
[below] (IY), by AnNābigha adhDhubayānī, *The Banū 'Āmir said, Forsake ye the Banū Asad. O the calamity of ignorance, when very hurtful to peoples!* (AKB). As for the broken *pl.* and the sound *pl.* with the *ا* and *ت*, whether the *sing.* be a proper *masc.*, as in رَجَالٌ and الطَّلَحَاتُ, or a proper *fem.*, as in نِسْوَةٌ [257] and الرِّبَنَاتُ, or a tropical *masc.*, as in أَيَّامٌ and جَمِيلَاتٌ [234, 289], or a tropical *fem.*, as in دُورٌ [256] and غُرَفَاتٌ [240], the predicament of their attribute is the same as that of the attribute of the improper *fem.* [in the *sing.* or *du.*], except in one thing, that, without separation, the elision of the sign from the *op.* governing the *nom.* is better with the *pl.*, as قَالَ الرِّجَالُ or الرِّبَنَاتُ or النِّسَاءُ, than with the *sing.* or *du.* [263], because the feminization of the *pl.* is by reason of a paraphrase, vid. its being i. q. جَمَاعَةٌ [21]. They do not regard the proper feminization, which was in the *sing.*, because the

adventitious tropical [femininization] removes the predicament of the proper, as it removes the predicament of the proper masculinization in رَجَالٌ. But the proper masculinization in the *pl.* with the و and ن, as الرِّثْدُونَ, is not annulled, because the form of the *sing.*, remaining in it, is respected by them. And, by analogy to this, the proper femininization in the *pl.* with the ا and ت also, as الهِنْدَاتُ, should remain, because the form of the *sing.* remains in it : but, since that *sing.* containing the sign is altered either by elision of the sign, if it be a ة, as غُرَفَاتُ, or by conversion of it, if it be an ا, as صَحْرَاوَاتُ and حُبْلَيَاتُ [234, 248], that alteration makes the *pl.* like a sort of broken *pl.*; and it is as though the femininization of the *sing.* had disappeared with the disappearance of the sign : and then that [kind of proper *fem.*] in which the ة is supplied [264], so that the alteration is not apparent upon it, as الرِّثْبَاتُ and الهِنْدَاتُ, is made to accord with the former, because the supplied, according to them, is in the predicament of the expressed. And the proof that the femininization of such as الرِّثْبَاتُ is tropical is the saying of the Ḥamāsī [‘Ārik atṬā’ī (T, AKB), addressing ‘Amr Ibn Hind, king of AlḤīra, or, as is said, his brother AlMundhir Ibn AlMundhir Ibn Má asSamá (AKB),]

حَلَفْتُ بِهَدْيٍ مُشْعَرٍ بِكَرَاتِهِ * تَخْبُ بِصَحْرَاءِ الْغَبِيطِ دَرَادِقُهُ

(R) I swear by sacrificial victims whose young she-camels are marked by stabs on the humps, and whose young

camels amble in the plain of *AlGhabit*, where *مُشْعِرٌ*, the attribute of *بَكَرَات* pl. of *بَكْرَةٌ* a young she-camel is not made *fem.* [146] (AKB). The predicament of *بَنُونَ* is the same as that of *أَبْنَاءٌ*, though it is with the , and ن , because [the form of] its *sing.* *إِبْنٌ* does not remain [234], as [*لَوْ كُنْتُ مِنْ مَازِنِ آلِخِ* and *قَالَتْ بَنُو عَامِرِ آلِخِ*] [594] : and similarly the predicament of the *pl.* with the , and ن , whose *sing.* is *fem.*, like *سِنُونَ* , is the same as that of the *pl.* with the ا and ت , because it ought to be with the ا and ت , the , and ن in it being a compensation for the ا and ت [244, 260]. The ت of the 3rd *pers. sing. fem.* of the *aor.* [404], and the ن of feminization, when a *p.* [21, 161, 497], as in

وَلَكِنْ دِيَاْفَى أَبُوهُ وَأُمُّهُ * يَحْزَرَانِ يَعْصِرُونَ السَّلِيْطَ أَقَارِبَهُ

[by *AlFarazdaq*, But thou art a man whose father and mother are of *Diyāf* (a town in Syria), whose next of kin press out olive-oil in *Haurān* (a district of Damascus) (AKB)] are equal to the ت [of the 3rd *pers. sing. fem.* of the *pret.*] in separability and inseparability. As for the *pron.* of the *pl.*, (1) if the *pl.* belong to the rational *masc.*, its *pron.*, (a) when the *pl.* is formed with the , and ن , is the , alone, as *الزَّيْدُونَ* *قَالُوا* , not *قَالَتْ* , because the form of the proper *masc.* remains : (b) when the *pl.* is not formed with the , and ن , is either a , as *الرَّجَالُ ضَرَبُوا* and *الطَّلَحَاتُ ضَرَبُوا* , from

regard to the rationality ; or the *pron.* of the 3rd *pers. sing. fem.*, as الرَّجَالُ فَعَلَتْ and تَفَعَّلُ and فَاعِلَةٌ , and similarly الطَّلَحَاتُ , from regard to the invasion of the expression by the feminization of the sense الْجَمَاعَةُ : (2) if the *pl.* belong to something else than the rational *masc.*, which is of three kinds, irrational *masc.*, like أَيَّامٌ and جُمُيَاتٌ , rational *fem.*, like نِسْرَةٌ and الرِّئِيبَاتُ , and irrational *fem.*, like دُورٌ and ظُلُمَاتٌ , its *pron.* may be either the *pron.* of the 3rd *pers. sing. fem.*, because of the paraphrase جَمَاعَةٌ ; or the ن , because the ن is applied to denote *everything but the rational masc.* : so that you say فَعَلَتْ أَيَّامٌ or فَعَلْنَ , and similarly الْجُمُيَاتُ and النِّسَاءُ and الرِّئِيبَاتُ and الدُّورُ and الْغُرَفَاتُ : (a) what is added [to denote the attached *nom. pron.*] is one of the soft letters : but the ا is taken by the *du.*, the و is appropriated to the rational *masc.* in the *pl.*, and the ي is used to denote the *fem. sing.* in تَفَعَّلِينَ and اِفْعَلِي [161, 402] ; so that, none of the letters of prolongation being left for the *pl.* of everything but the rational *masc.*, the ن is put, because of its affinity to the و in nasality (R) : (b) the poet [Mutammim Ibn Nuwaira bewailing his brother Mālīk (Mb),] says

وَأِنْ تَكُنِ الْأَيَّامُ فَرَقْنَ بَيْنَنَا * فَقَدْ بَانَ مَحْمُودًا أَخِي يَوْمَ وَدَعَا

And, if the days have parted us, my brother has passed away praised, on the day he bade farewell : but the *pl.* in

دَنَنْتُ بِهَا الْح [161, 234], where the poet ought to say دَنَنْتُ
 or دَنَنْ , is treated like the rational ; and similar is قَالَتْ
 قَمَلَةٌ يَا أَيُّهَا الْح XXVII. 18. *An ant said, O ye etc* [161,
 271, 612] (IY) : (c) one says فَاعِلَةٌ [or فَاعِلَاتُ (K)]
 or فَوَاعِلُ , whence وَلَهُمْ فِيهَا أَزْوَاجٌ مُطَهَّرَةٌ II. 23. *And in*
them shall they have purified wives, where مُطَهَّرَاتُ is read
 (K, B) by Zaid Ibn 'Alī (K), both chaste *dials.* (B), the
pl. being according to the form, and the *sing.* according to
 the paraphrase جَمَاعَةٌ (N) : the poet [Sulmī Ibn Rabī'a
 (T, IY, AAz) ad Dabbī (IY)] says
 وَإِذَا الْعُذَارَى بِالْذُّخَانِ تَقَنَّعَتْ * وَاسْتَعْجَلَتْ نَضَبَ الْقَدَرِ فَبَلَّتْ
 (M, K, B) *And, when the maidens veil themselves in the*
smoke, and are in a hurry for the food notwith-
standing the setting on of the cooking-pots, so that they
bake some meat in hot ashes (AAz). According to Mz,
 the Arabs say الْأَجْدَاعُ أَنْكَسَرْنَ *The trunks broke of few,*
 and الْجُدُوعُ أَنْكَسَرَتْ [of many (IY)] : and hence [in dat-
 ing (IY)] لِحَمْسٍ خَلَوْنَ *After [504] five nights that*
have passed [and لَارْبَعٍ بَقِيْنَ *On the last night but four*
 (IY)], and لِحَمْسٍ عَشْرَةَ خَلَتْ *After fifteen nights that*
have passed [and لثَلَاثَ عَشْرَةَ بَقِيَتْ *On the last night but*
thirteen (IY)] are said (M). Various reasons have been
 assigned for that ; but, in my opinion, it is because, many
 predicaments of the *sing.* being applicable to the forma-

tion of paucity [235, 256], they speak of it in the *fem.* by the ن peculiar to the *pl.*, in order that it may not be fancied to be a *sing.* (IY). That [construction], however, is not a constant inflection (M) : but you are allowed the option of putting it, which is good ; or not putting it, which is excellent Arabic (IY).

§ 271. The generic *n.* (IY, R), such as تَمْرٌ (M), whose *n. un.* is distinguished [from it (M)] by the ة , is made *masc.* [by the Hījāzīs (R), according to the form (IY) ;] and *fem.* [by others (R), according to the sense جَمَاعَةٌ (IY) : and both genders occur in the Kur (R)], as LXIX. 7. and LIV. 20. [254] (M, R) : while its *ep.* may be a *pl.*, broken or sound, as XIII. 13. and L. 10. [254] (IY). It and its *pron.* may be treated like the *sing.*, *masc.* and *fem.*, and their *prons.* [263], while its *pron.* may be treated like the *pron.* of the broken *pl.* [270], as انْقَعَر الْنَّخْلُ or انْقَعَرَت , and انْقَعَرَت or $\text{الْنَّخْلُ انْقَعَر}$ or انْقَعَرْنَ (R). The *fem.* of this *cat.* has no *masc.* of its crude-form, in order that the *n. un.* may not be confounded with the collective, [because, if you said, حَمَامَةٌ for the *fem.*, and حَمَامٌ for the *masc.*, the latter would be confounded with the collective (IY)] ; and therefore, says Y, when they mean that [distinction of gender (IY)], they [content themselves with the *ep.*, and (IY)] say $\text{هَذِهِ شَاةٌ ذَكَرٌ}$ *This is a male sheep* and حَمَامَةٌ ذَكَرٌ *a male pigeon* [54, 263] (M), and similarly

أُنْثَى شَاةٌ *a female sheep* and أُنْثَى حَمَامَةٌ *a female pigeon* (IY). One may say غَرِدَتْ حَمَامَةٌ ذَكَرٌ *A male pigeon cooed* and عِنْدِي ثَلَاثٌ مِنَ الْبَطِّ ذُكُورٌ *I possess three male ducks*; so that نَبْلَةٌ in XXVII. 18. [270] may be a male, its form being regarded, and its attribute therefore made *fem.*: but the like of that [regard to the form] is not allowable in the proper name of the proper *masc.*, which contains the sign of feminization, like طَلْحَةٌ; so that قَامَتْ طَلْحَةٌ is not said, except according to some of the KK, against whom the lack of hearsay, notwithstanding investigation, is decisive. And, when the *lit. fem.* is a proper *masc.*, as in شَاةٌ ذَكَرٌ, and not a proper name, [like طَلْحَةٌ,] its *pron.* and its *dem.* may be *masc.* or *fem.*, as عِنْدِي مِنَ الذُّكُورِ حَمَامَةٌ حَسَنٌ *I possess a beautiful pigeon of the males* or حَسَنَةٌ, as says Tarafa, [describing the ears of his she-camel (AKB),]

مَوْلَتَانِ تَعْرِفُ الْغَتَقَ فِيهِمَا * كَسَامَعَتْنِي شَاةٌ بِحَوْمَلٍ مُفَرَدٍ
[Pointed, wherein thou wilt recognize high breeding, like the two ears of a solitary wild bull in *Haumal* (AKB)]: whereas such as غُرْفَةٌ حَسَنٌ is not allowable, in what is not a proper *masc.*; nor may you say صَاحَ دَجَاجَةٌ أُنْثَى by rejecting the feminization of دَجَاجَةٌ on the ground that the ة denotes *unity*, not *feminization*, because, even if you reject it, the proper feminization remains, so that

it is like قَامَ هِنْدٌ, which is extremely unusual [21, 263] (R). As for the *quasi-pl. n.*, some [specimens] of it are necessarily *fem.*, like إِبِلٌ [257], حَيْلٌ, and غَنَمٌ, in which case its state is like that of the broken *pl.* [270], in the explicit *n.* and the *pron.*; and some of it may be *masc.* or *fem.*, like رَكْبٌ, as مَعَ الصَّبْحِ رَكْبُ الْخَمْرِ [257], in which case it is like the generic *n.* [above], as مَضَى الرُّكْبُ or مَضَتْ, and مَضَى الرُّكْبُ or مَضَتْ or مَضُوا (R).

§ 272. As before remarked [263] (IA), the † of feminization is [of two kinds (IY, IA),] (1) abbreviated (IY; IM), as سَكْرَى [248] (IA), which is the *o. f.* (A); i. e., single, not accompanied by another †, so that it should be prolonged; but only one †, quiescent in continuity and pause [643], so that no inflection enters it [16] (IY): (2) prolonged (IY, IM), as حَبْرَاءُ [248] (IA), preceded by an † of prolongation [248, 683] (IY). The [*aug.* abbreviated (R)] † added to the termination [of the *n.* (R)] is of three kinds, (1) for feminization, [as in حَبْلَى and دُنْيَا (IY)]: (2) for co-ordination, as in أَرْطَى, [which is co-ordinated with جَعْفَرٌ (IY)]: (3) for multiplication [of the letters (R)] of the word, [and amplification of its form (IY),] as in قَبَعْنَرَى [401] (IY, R), this † not being for feminization, because it is pronounced with Tanwīn [below]; nor for co-ordination, because we have no *sex. o. f.* for it to be co-ordinated with (IY). The [abbreviated (R)] † of femi-

ninization is distinguished (1) [from the two others (IY)] by [the *n*.s (R)] not having the Tanwīn affixed to it [when *indet.* (IY)]; nor the ة (IY, R) of femininization, in order that two signs of femininization may not be combined : whereas the other two kinds have Tanwīn affixed to them, as *أَرَطِي* and *قَبَعَتَرِي* ; and the ة , as *أَرَطَاءُ* [below] (IY) and *قَبَعَتَرَاءُ* (Jh) : (2) from the † of co-ordination exclusively, by your putting a † in place of the † , whereupon, if no *n.* of that measure occurs, you know that the † is for femininization, as *أَجَلِي* and *بَرَدِي* [below] ; for no *n.* on the measure *فَعَلُّ* occurs, that the two *ns.* might be co-ordinated with (R). The formations [whose † is (R)] peculiar to the *fem.* are (1) *فُعَلَى* , (a) a substantive, (a) an *inf. n.*, like *بُشْرَى* *announcement of glad tidings*, *رُجْعَى* [248] (M, R), and *رُفَى* *nearness*, as XXXIV. 36. [539] (IY) ; (b) not an *inf. n.*, like *بُهْمَى* [258], *حُزْوَى* (M, R) a place in AdDahná, one of the countries of Tamīm (IY), *حُمَى* *fever*, *رُؤْيَا* *a dream* [248] (M), and *طُغْيَا* *a calf of a wild cow*, transmitted by As with Damm of the initial (IY) : but S transmits *بُهْمَاءُ* as anomalous [258] (IY, R) ; and some transmit *رُؤْيَاءُ* , which also is anomalous (R) : (b) an *ep.*, [(a) *fem.* of the *أَفْعَلُ* of superiority, like *الْفُضْلَى* , which is regular ; (b) not so (R),] like *حُبْلَى* [248], *حُنْتَى* (M, R), *رَبَى* (M), and *اُنْتَى* (R) : (2) *فُعَلَى* , (a) a substantive, like *دَقَرَى* [248, 375] and *أَجَلَى* (M, R), names of

places (IY, R), and بَرْدَى [below] (M) : (b) an *inf. n.* (R), [sometimes used as] an *ep.* (M), like جَمَزَى [below], بَشَكَى (M, R), and مَرَطَى [248] (M), as هُوَ يَعْدُو الْجَمَزَى and الْمَرَطَى and الْبَشَكَى *He runs quickly, i. e., with this kind of running* ; and as جِمَارُ جَمَزَى a quick he-ass and نَاقَةٌ بَشَكَى a quick she-camel, like رَجُلٌ عَدْلٌ [142, 143] (IY) : (c) an *ep.*, like فَرَسٌ وَثْبَى a mare leaping quickly and نَاقَةٌ رَلَجَى a swift she-camel (R) : (3) فُعَلَى, [which occurs only as a substantive (R),] like شُعْبَى [a place (IY, R), اُدْمَى a place (R,)] and اُرْبَى [below] (M, R) a name for *Calamity* (IY, R) : (4) اَفْعَلَى, like اَجْفَلَى [273, 381] : (5) فُعَالَى, like حُبَارَى [below] : (6) فُوعَالَى, like حَوْلَايَا a place [below] : (7) فُعَالَى, like شُقَارَى [below] : (8) فُعَلَلَى, like جَحْجَبَى a clan of the *Anṣār* [282, 397] : (9) فُعَيْلَى, like بُقْيَى a game [for boys (Jh)] : (10) فَعْلَوْتَى, like خَلِيفَى [below] : (11) فَعْلَوْتَى, like رَحْمَوْتَى *compassion* : (12) فَعْوَلَلَى, like حَبْوَكْرَى *Calamity* [398] : (13-14) فُوعَلَى and فُعَيْلَى, like خَوَزَلَى and خَيْرَزَلَى a kind of gait, wherein is looseness of the joints [273] : (15) يَفْعَلَى, like مَكْرَرَى naught [below] : (16) مَفْعَلَى, like مَرْعَرَى the down under, or amid, the hair of the she-goat : (17) فُعَلَلَى, like هَرَبْدَى a kind of walk, inclining to one side [397] : (18) فَعْلَلَايَا, like

ٲَرْدَرَايَا a place [below] : (20) فَعَلِيَّا [389], like ذَرَبِيَّا *Calamity* : (21) فَعَلِيَّا , like زَكْرِيَّا *Zachariah*, which appears to be foreign : (22) فَعَلَنِي , like عَرَضَنِي a *sidelong gait* [282, 385] : (23) فَعَلِي , like دَفَقِي a *sort of pace* : (24-25) فَعَلَنِي, like جُلْنَدِي a man's name [273, 378] : (26) فَعَلِي, like فَعَلِي [below] : (27) فَعَالِي , like مَصْحَارِي [248] : (28) فَعَلَلِي , like هِنْدَبِي [397] : (29) فَعَلِي, like سِبْطَرِي a *swaggering gait* [397] : (30) اِنْفَعِلِي , like اِهْجِيرِي *custom* [386] (R). The [formations (IY)] common [to the *masc.* and *fem.* (IY)] are (1) فَعَلِي , which, (a) when its *l* is for feminization, is of four kinds, (α) a substantive, either concrete, like سَلَمِي [a man's name, and one of the two mountains of Tayyi (IY)], رَضَوِي [a mountain at AlMadīna (IY)], and عَرَوِي [one of the Mansions of the Moon, namely five stars called the Haunch of the Lion (IY)]; or abstract, [vid. what is an *inf. n.* (IY),] like دَعَوِي [248], رَعَوِي *refraining*, نَجَوِي [secret communing, whence اِذْ هُمْ نَجَوِي XVII. 50. And when they are privily communing together, for which reason it is made sing. (IY)], and لَوَمِي *blame* : (b) an *ep.*, either *sing.*, [fem.. of فَعَلَن (IY),] like ظَمَائِي *thirsty*, عَطَشِي, and سَكْرِي [248, 250] ; or *pl.*, like جَرَحِي and اَسْرِي [246, 259] : (b) when its *l* is for co-ordination, is like اَرْطِي and اَلَقِي [248, 258, 375], because

[their Tanwin indicates that they are triptote ; whereas, if the † in them were for femininization, they would be diptote ; and because (IY)] the Arabs say ^{أَرْطَاءٌ} and ^{عَلَقَاءٌ} [258] (M) : [thus] when ^{فَعْلَى} is *fem.* of ^{فَعْلَانٌ}, [like ^{سَكْرَى},] or an *inf. n.*, like ^{دَعْوَى}, or a *pl.*, like ^{مَرْضَى} [259] and ^{جَرْحَى}, its † is for femininization : and, when it is a substantive not an *inf. n.*, the † is sometimes for co-ordination, as in ^{عَلَقَى}, according to those who pronounce it with Tanwin, and say ^{عَلَقَاءٌ} ; and sometimes for femininization, as in ^{شَرْوَى} like or match (R) : (2) ^{فَعْلَى}, which, (a) when its † is for femininization, is of two kinds, (a) a concrete substantive, either *sing.*, like ^{شِيرَى} [a black wood of which platters are made (IY)], ^{دِفْلَى} [a plant (IY)], and ^{ذِفْرَى} [248, 375] ; or *pl.*, like ^{حِجْلَى} and ^{ظِرْنَى} [237, 250] : (b) an *inf. n.*, like ^{ذِكْرَى} [248, 375] (M), as XXXIX. 22. [234] (IY) : (b) when its † is for co-ordination, is of two kinds, (a) a substantive, like ^{مِعْرَى} goats [375] and ^{ذِفْرَى} [248, 375] : (b) an *ep.*, like ^{رَجُلٌ كَيْصَى} a man that eats alone, and, according to Th, ^{مِرْهَى} ; while S does not authorize ^{فَعْلَى} as an *ep.* except with the ة, as ^{مِرْهَاءٌ} (M) too haughty, to be amused by play, said of a man, and ^{سِعْلَاءٌ} [248], which is the most wicked of the ghouls (IY) : [thus] when ^{فَعْلَى} is an *inf. n.*, like ^{ذِكْرَى}, or a *pl.*, like ^{حِجْلَى}, its †

is only for femininization : and, when it is an *ep.*, in which case, says S, it is only with the ة, its † is for co-ordination, as رَجُلٌ عِرْهَاءٌ and اِمْرَأَةٌ سَعْلَاءٌ ; while ضِيرَى and حِيَكَى , says he, are *orig.* with Damm of the ف [718] : and, when it is not an *ep.*, nor an *inf. n.*, nor a *pl.*, its † is sometimes for co-ordination, as مَعْرِى ; sometimes for femininization, as دِنَلَى ; and sometimes for either, as ذِنَرَى or ذِنَرَى (R). دِنَلَى has two *dial. vars.*, triptote, its † being regarded as for co-ordination with دِرْهَمٌ ; and diptote, it being regarded as *fem.* (IY). Each of the two †s of femininization has certain measures (IA, Aud), ordinary or extraordinary (Aud), by which it is known (IA). The ordinary measures of the abbreviated are [12 (Aud, Sn)], (1) فُعَلَى , like اُرْبَى [248, 375], اُدْمَى , and شُعْبَى [above] (IA, Aud, A), as اَعْبَدَا حَلَّ اَلْح [Note on p. 161, l. 16] (Aud) : (a) IKb asserts that these have no fourth ; but he is refuted by اُرْنَى *a grain whereby milk is curdled*, جُنْفَى *a place*, and جُعْبَى *big ants* (Aud, A) ; though IM's reckoning فُعَلَى among the ordinary measures is evidently dubious (Aud) : (b) IM in the Tashil makes this measure common to the abbreviated and prolonged, which is the truth ; and hence حُشَشَاء [273], and in the *ep.* عُشْرَاء and نَفْسَاء [248, 273] ; while it is frequent in the *pl.*, as كُرْمَاء [246, 273] and خُلَفَاء [246] (A) : (2) فُعَلَى

[above] : (3) **فَعْلَى** , (a) a substantive, like **بَرْدَى** a stream at Damascus [389] ; (b) an *inf. n.*, like **مَرَطَى** [above] ; (c) an *ep.*, like **حَيْدَى** (IA, Aud, A), as **حِمَارٌ حَيْدَى** a he-ass shying at his own shadow because of his liveliness : (a) Jh says that no *ep.* of the *masc.* occurs upon the measure of **فَعْلَى** except **حَيْدَى** ; but **جَبْرَى** [above] also occurs (IA) : (b) IM in the Tashil reckons this measure among the common [measures] ; and hence **قَرَمَاءَ** [273], **جَنْفَاءَ** , and **دَائِنَاءَ** , no other being remembered (A) : (4) **فَعْلَى** (IA, Aud, A), which is one of the common measures (Sn) : (a) if **فَعْلَى** be a substantive, its **!** is sometimes abbreviated, as **سَلْمَى** [above] ; and sometimes prolonged, as **الْعَرَاءَ** , one of the Mansions of the Moon, the **!** in which is abbreviated [above] and prolonged (A) ; and so too, if it be an *ep.*, as **سَكْرَى** and **حَمْرَاءَ** (Sn) : (5) **فَعْلَى** , [(a) a substantive (A),] like **حُبَارَى** [248, 378] (IA, Aud, A), which is applied to the *masc.* and *fem.* (IA, Sn), and **سُبَانَى** [248, 278] (Aud, A) ; (b) a *pl.*, like **سُكَارَى** [250] ; (c) an *ep.* in the *sing.*, as asserted by ABZ, who transmits **جَبَلٌ عَلَادَى** a sturdy he-camel (A) : (a) it is said [by Jh] in the *Ṣaḥṣḥ* that the **!** of **حُبَارَى** is not for femininization, [nor for co-ordination, being, as it were, a part of the word itself (Jh)] ; but this is a mistake, for he agrees that it is diptote (Aud), when *det.* and when *indet.*, i. e., is not

pronounced with Tanwīn (Jh) : (6) **فُعْلَى**, like **سُهَى** *a falsehood* [above] : (7) **فُعْلَى**, as **سَبَطَرَى** [and **دِفْقَى**, each meaning (Aud, A)] *a kind of gait* [397, 385] : (8) **فُعْلَى** [above] : (9) **فُعْلَى**, [which occurs only as an *inf. n.* (A),] like **حَثِيئَى** (IA, Aud, A), **خَلِيفَى** (Aud), and **هَجِيرَى** [335] : (a) IM in the Tashīl reckons this measure among the common ; and **هُوَ عَالِمٌ بِدُخْيَلَاتِهِ** *He is acquainted with his inward mind*, **خَصِيصَاءٌ** *particularizing*, **فَخِيرَاءٌ** *boasting*, and **مَكِيثَاءٌ** *tarrying, loitering*, have been heard, prolonged and abbreviated : (b) Ks makes this measure regular ; but the truth is that it is confined to hearsay (A) : (10) **فُعْلَى**, like **كُفْرَى** *a spathe of a palm-tree* (IA, Aud, A), which has Fath of the second also with all three vowels of the ك (A) ; and like **حُدْرَى** *naught* and **بُدْرَى** *naught* (Aud, A) : (a) IM in the Tashīl and IKtt transmit **سُلْحَفَاءٌ** *a tortoise or turtle*, [which A thus makes out to be with Damm of the ل (Sn)] ; and, according to this, **فُعْلَى** is one of the common measures : but Fr transmits **سُلْحَفَاءٌ**, which appears to show that the ل of **سُلْحَفَاءٌ** is not for feminization, unless it be treated as anomalous, like **بُهْمَاءٌ** [above] (A) : (11) **فُعْلَى**, like **خُلَيْطَى** *confusion* (IA, Aud, A), as **وَقَعُوا فِي خُلَيْطَى** *They fell into confusion* (IA) ; and like **قُبَيْطَى** *a sort of sweetmeat* (Aud, A) and **لُغَيْرَى** *a riddle* [253] : (a) **هُوَ عَالِمٌ بِدُخْيَلَاتِهِ** [above]

has been heard, and nothing else with the prolonged (A) : (12) *فُعَالَى*, like *شُقَارَى* a plant [above] (IA, Aud, A), *خُبَارَى* a plant, and *خُضَارَى* a bird (Aud, A), or, as the KF says (Sn), a plant (KF, Sn). The extraordinary measures of the abbreviated are (1) *فَيَعْلَى*, as *خَيْسَرَى* perdition : (2) *فَعْلَوَى*, like *هَرَنْوَى* a plant, [its, being *aug.* ; but said by some to be *فَعْلَى*, its, being *rad.* (Sn)] : (3) *فَيَعْلَوَى*, like *قَعْلَوَى* a kind of old man's gait : (4-5) *فَيَعْلَوَى* and *فَوَعْلَوَى*, like *فَيَضْرَضَى* and *فَوَضْرَضَى*, [as *أَمْوَالُهُمْ فَيَضْرَضَى* and *فَوَضْرَضَى* Their goods are held in common, or promiscuous, among them, with abbreviation and prolongation (Sn)] : (6) *فُعَلَايَا*, like *بُرَحَايَا* [a word of (Sn)] wonder ; [but no other word of this measure occurs (Sn)] : (7) *أُنْعَلَاوَى*, like *أُرْبَعَاوَى* [with Damm of the Hamza and ب, says Shm, and so in the KF, sitting cross-legged (Sn)] : (8) *فَعْلَوَتَى*, like *رَهْبَوَتَى* fear [and *رَغْبَوَتَى* supplicating, petitioning (Sn)] : (9) *فَعْلَلَوَتَى*, like *حَنْدَقَوَتَى* [with Fath or Kasr of the ح, Fath of the د, and Damm of the first ق, or with Kasr of the ح and د, or with Fath or Kasr of the ح, and Fath of the د and first ق (Sn),] a plant [its ن being *rad.* ; but said by some to be *فَنَعْلَوَتَى*, its ن being *aug.* (Sn)] : (10) *فَعْيَلَى*, like *هَبْيَطَى* a swaggering gait : (11) *يَفْعَلَى*, like *يَهْيَرَى* [above] : (12) *إِنْعَلَى*,

like *إِيحَلِي* a place [or, says As, a man : (a) IUK distinctly declares that the ج is pronounced with Kasr ; but Syt makes its measure *إِنْعَلِي* with Fath of the ع (Sn)] : (13) *مَفْعَلِي*, like *مَكْرَرِي* having a large tip to the nose ; [though in other senses its م has all three vowels, as *رَجُلٌ مَكْرَرِي* a profligate, or mean, or short and broad, man, according to the KF (Sn)] : (14) *مُفْعَلِي*, like *مُكْرَرِي* having a large end to the nose, said of beasts : (15) *مِنْعَلِي*, like *مِرْقَدِي* sleeping much, [but in the KF, a man quick in his affairs ; while IA on the Tashil says that the م is pronounced with Fath also (Sn)] : (16) *فَوْعَلِي*, like *دَوْدَرِي* large in the two testicles : (17) *فِعْلَلِي*, like *شِفْصَلِي* the fruit of a plant : (18) *فَعْلَلِيَا*, like *مَرَحِيَا* [389], denoting exultation, [and said to be a place (Sn)] : (19) *فَعْلَلَايَا*, like *بَرْدَرَايَا* [above] (A) ; though IKtt mentions that its measure is *فَعْلَعَايَا* (Sn) : (20) *فَوْعَالِي*, like *حَوْلَايَا* [above] (A) ; but AH, IUK, and Shm mention that its measure is *فَعْلَلَايَا* ; and this is in the Dm also, and is more probable than what [R followed by] A says (Sn). But that all these are extraordinary requires consideration (A).

§ 273. The prolonged *l* of feminization has [many (IA)] measures (IA, A), ordinary and extraordinary (A). The measures of the prolonged *l* of feminization are (1) *فَعْلَلَا*, [which is of two kinds, (a) a substantive,

which is of three kinds (M),] (a) a concrete substantive [in the *sing.* (M, R)], like **مَحَرَّاءَ** *a plain* [248, 263] (M, R, IA, Aud, A), **بَيْدَاءَ** *a desert* (M), and **هَيْبَاءَ** *war* (R) ; while they say **الْجُرَبَاءَ** *the sky*, as though they held the stars to be like **جَرَبَ** *mange* upon it, *orig.* an *ep.*, [meaning *mangy*,] but become a substantive by prevalence of application ; and **الْجَبَاءَ** from their saying **الْغَيْرُ** [78, 147], meaning the *multitude*, a simple substantive, not an *inf. n.* (IY) : (b) a [concrete substantive *sing.* in form (IY),] *pl.* [in sense (IY, Aud, A), a *quasi-pl. n.* (R), or rather a collective generic *n.*, not a *pl.*, because **فَعَلَاءَ** is not a formation of the broken *pl.* (Sn)], like **طَرَفَاءَ** [258] (M, R, Aud, A), **قَصَبَاءَ** (M, R), **حَلَفَاءَ** , and **أَشْيَاءَ** *things* (M) : this is the opinion of S ; while Mz transmits from As that the *n. un.* of **طَرَفَاءَ** , **قَصَبَاءَ** , and **حَلَفَاءَ** is **طَرَفَةٌ** [258], **قَصَبَةٌ** , and **حَلَفَةٌ** respectively, the last alone having the ع pronounced with Kasr : and the dispute is not as to whether these *ns.* are broken *pls.* or not, but as to whether they correspond to **قَرَمٌ** and **إِبِلٌ** , which have no *sing.* of their own crude-form ; or to **جَامِلٌ** and **بَاقِرٌ** , which have such a *sing.* vid. **جَمَلٌ** and **بَقَرَةٌ** [257] : and, as for **أَشْيَاءَ** , it is [diptote, says Khl, because (Jh)] *orig.* **شَيْئَاءَ** upon the measure of **فَعَلَاءَ** , like **قَصَبَاءَ** and **طَرَفَاءَ** ; but, disliking the proximity of the two Hamzas [at its end (Jh)], they shift the first

to the position of the **ف**, saying أَشْيَاء upon the measure of لَفَعَاء : and what proves it to be *sing.* is their giving it a broken *pl.* أَشَاوِي (IY) or أَشَايَا, and [a sound *pl.*] أَشْيَاوَات also (Jh) : (c) an *inf. n.* (M, R, Aud, A), like سَرَاء happiness, ضَرَاء distress (M, R), نَعَاء favor, [as أَذْقَنَاء وَلِئِن أَذْقَنَاءُ] XI. 13. And, if We make him taste favor after distress, that has afflicted him (IY),] and بَأْسَاء hardship (M), whence رَغْبَاء supplicating, petitioning (Aud, A) ; but the truth is that these are *quasi-inf. ns.*, not *inf. ns.* themselves (IY) : (b) an *ep.* (M, R, IA, Aud, A), which is of two kinds (M), (a) *fem.* of أَفْعَل (M, R, IA, A), where it is regular (R), in colors (IY), as سَوْدَاء black and بَيْضَاء white (M), [and] as حَمْرَاء red. [248] (R, IA, Aud, A) and زُرْقَاء blue ; and in defects, as عَمِيَاء blind, عَرَجَاء lame, and عَوْرَاء one-eyed (IY) : (b) not *fem.* of أَفْعَل (M, R, IA, A), as هَطَلَاء incessant still rain (M, R, IA, Aud, A), امْرَأَةٌ حَسَنَاء a handsome woman (M, R, A), حُلَّةٌ شَرَّكَاء a new dress, [because rough to the feel (IY),] الْعَرَبُ الْعَرَبَاء the pure Arabs (M, R), like الْعَرَبُ الْعَارِبَةُ (IY), دَاهِيَةٌ دَهِيَاء a severe calamity (IY, R), فَرَسٌ رَوَّحَاء or نَاقَةٌ a spirited mare or she-camel (IA), and امْرَأَةٌ عَجَزَاء [248] (IY) ; whereas مَطَرٌ أَهْطَل is not said (IY, IA, Sn), but هَطِلَ (IA, Sn) or هَطَل (Sn) ;

nor رَجُلٌ أَحْسَنُ , nor جَمَلٌ أَرْوَعُ (IA), nor رَجُلٌ أَعَجَزُ : and the Hamza at the end of فَعْلَاءَ , in its different kinds, is only for feminization, because there is no فَعْلَالٌ in the language for this to be co-ordinated with, except in what is reduplicated, like زَلْزَالٌ [332, 396] and فُلُلٌ [332] (IY) : (2-4) أَنْعَلَاءَ , like أَرْبَعَاءَ Wednesday (R, IA, Aud, A) : (a) أَنْعَلَاءَ is one of the common measures, as IM mentions in the Tashil, whence أَجَفَلِي said of a *general* invitation [272, 381] (A), as دَعَوْتُ الْقَوْمَ الْأَجَفَلِيَّ I invited the people generally to the food, or, as Dm mentions, الْأَجَفَلَاءَ (Sn) : (b) أَنْعَلَاءَ (M, R) is either *sing.*, like أَرْبَعَاءَ ; or *pl.* (R), like أَصْدِقَاءَ [246] (M), which is frequent (IY, R) in the *pl.* of [the *ep.*] فَعِيلٌ [unsound in the ل], as أَشَقِيَاءَ and أَتَقِيَاءَ (IY), like أَنْبِيَاءَ [278] (R) : (5) فَعْلَاءَ , like عَقْرَبَاءَ [399] (M, R, IA, Aud, A), denoting a *place* (Aud, A, MKh), and (Sn, MKh), as is said (Sn), a *female scorpion* (IY, IA, Sn) : (a) this is one of the common measures ; and hence فَرْتَنَى a woman's name (A) : (6) فَعْلَاءَ [with Kasr of the ف (Aud, Sn, MKh)], like قَصَاصَاءَ *retaliation* (IA, Aud, A), as transmitted by ID, no other instance being remembered (A) : (7) فَعْلَاءَ , [which occurs only as a substantive (A),] like قَرْفَصَاءَ [40] (R, IA, Aud, A) : (a) IKtt transmits قَعْدَ الْقَرْفَصَى ; and, according to this,

فَعْلَاءَ is a common measure: (b) the 3rd [letter] of قُرْنَصَاءَ may be pronounced with Fath or Damm (A); (8) فَاعُولَاءَ, like عَاشُورَاءَ (M, R, IA, Aud, A), the *tenth day of the Muharram* exclusively, from عَشْرَةٌ ^{ten} (IY): (a) this is a common measure, whence بَادُولَى the name of a place (A): (9) فَاعِلَاءَ (M, R, IA, Aud, A), like سَائِيَاءَ [247] (M), whence فَاصِعَاءَ [247, 390] (R, IA, Aud, A): (10) فَعْلِيَاءَ, like كَبِيرِيَاءَ [389] (M, R, IA, Aud, A), an *inf. n.* (IY), meaning *greatness* (IY, IA): (11) مَفْعُولَاءَ (R, IA, Aud, A), like مَعْيُورَاءَ [257] (R), whence مَشْيُورَحَاءَ [257] (IA, Aud, A): (12) فَعَالَاءَ (M, R, IA, Aud, A), (a) an *inf. n.* (R), like بَرَاكَاءَ [246, 248, 390] (M, R, Aud, A); (b) a simple substantive, like قُلْتَاءَ [390] (R), whence بَرَأْسَاءَ (IA, Aud, A), a *dial. var.* of بَرَنَسَاءَ [399] (IA); (c) an *ep.*, like طَبَاقَاءَ [390] (R): (a) IKtt authorizes فَعَالَى abbreviated in some words, among them خَرَزَى [like حَبَالَى (KF, Sn)], the name of a mountain [whereon the Arabs used to kindle fire on the morning of a foray (Jh, KF, Sn)]; and, according to this, فَعَالَاءَ is a common measure (A): (13) فَعِيلَاءَ (R, IA, Aud, A) as قَرِيبَتَاءَ [246] (R, Aud, A): (a) IM in the Tashil reckons it among the common [measures], whence كَثِيرَى *gum-tragacanth* (A) and قَرِيبَتَى [282] (Jh): (14) فَعُولَاءَ (M, R, IA, Aud, A), like بَرُولَاءَ (M, R)

i. q. بَرَاكَا [above] (IY, R), whence دُبْرَقَاء *human dung* (IA, Aud, A), عَشُرَاء *a dial. var. of* عَاشُرَاء [above], and حُرُورَاء *a place, in relation to which the حُرُورِيَّة [a sect of schismatics (Sn)] are named* [311]: (a) IM in the Tashil reckons this measure among those peculiar to the prolonged: but IKtt authorizes فَعُولِي, whence حَضْرَوِي *a place, دُبْرَقِي a dial. var. of* دُبْرَقَاء [above], دُقْرَوِي *a town in AlBahrain, قَطْرَوِي a clan in Jurhum, and* عِقَاب تَنْوَوِي [545] in the poem of Imra alKais; and, according to this, it is common, which is the truth (A); (15) فَعَلَاء, like جَنْفَاء *a place* [272] (R, IA, Aud, A), قَرْمَاء *a place, [with ق according to S, and ف according to Jh (R),]* دَأْنَاء [385] (R, Aud), and شَحْنَاء *spite* (R), the only [four (R)] words of this measure (R, Aud), so that IM's reckoning it among the ordinary [measures] is dubious (Aud): (a) as already remarked [272], this measure is one of the common [measures] (A): (16) فَعَلَاء, like سِيْرَاء (M, R, IA, Aud, A) *a garment [made of silk (A)] containing [yellow (IA)] stripes* (IY, IA, A), *like thongs, and also said to mean gold* (IY), the only word of this measure (R): (17) فَعَلَاء (M, R, IA, Aud, A), like خِيْلَاء *pride* (IA, Aud), (a) sing. (R), like حَفْصَاء *sweat of fever* (M, R), whence نَفْسَاء (M, A) and عَشْرَاء [248] (R, A); (b) pl., like نُفَهَاء (R), كُرْمَاء [246] (M), and عَلْبَاء [247] (R): these seventeen are

the ordinary measures (Aud, A), as here mentioned by IM : (18) فِعْلَاءٌ , like دِيْكَسَاءٌ a [large herd or (Sn)] flock [below] : (19) يِفَاعِلَاءٌ , like يِنَابِعَاءٌ a place : (20) تَفْعَلَاءٌ , like تَرَكُضَاءٌ a swaggering gait ; [while AH, IUK, and Shm say “and تَرَكُضَاءٌ is said” (Sn)] : (21) فَعْنَلَاءٌ , like بَرَنَسَاءٌ [below], i. q. بَرَأْسَاءٌ [above] (A) : (22) فَعْلَلَاءٌ , like بَرَنَسَاءٌ [400] (R) : (23) فِعْلَلَاءٌ (R, A), like هِنْدَبَاءٌ endive [399] (R), whence طَرْمَسَاءٌ a dark night (A) ; or فَعْلَلَاءٌ , like هِنْدَبَاءٌ (R) : (24) فَعْنَلَاءٌ , like خُنْفَسَاءٌ [247, 248, 390] (M, A) and عُنْصَلَاءٌ the squill (A) : (25) فَعْلَلَاءٌ , like خُنْفَسَاءٌ (R) : (26) فَعْلُولَاءٌ , like مَعْكُوكَاءٌ or بَعْكُوكَاءٌ evil and tumult : (27) مَفْعَلَاءٌ , like مَشِيحَاءٌ earnest endeavour [and مَرْعَرَاءٌ the down beneath the hair of the she-goat (Sn)] : (28) فُعَيْلِيَاءٌ , like مَرْيَقِيَاءٌ meaning ‘Amr Ibn ‘Āmir, king of AlYaman (A) : (29) فِعْلَلَاءٌ , like رِمَكَاءٌ (M, R) a bird's tail ; but here the usual form is abbreviation [below] (IY) : (30) فَعْلِيلِيَاءٌ , like زَكْرِيَاءٌ Zachariah [18] : (31) فُعَالِلَاءٌ , like جَعَادِبَاءٌ [below] (R). The measures common to the two 1 s of feminization are (1) فَعْلَى ; (2) فُعْلَى : (3) فَعْلَلَى [or فُعْلَلَى , like هِنْدَبَى with abbreviation or prolongation (Sn)] : (4) فَعِيلَى : (5) فُعِيلَى : (6) فُعِيلَى : (7) فُعِيلَى : (8) فَعْلَوَى : (9) فَعْلَى (Sn) :] these have been

already noticed: (10) *إِنْعِيْلِي*, like *إِنْعَجِرِي* [272] and *إِنْعَجِرَاء* [above]: (11) *فَرْعَلِي*, like *خَرْزَلِي* [272] and *حَرْصَلَاء* a bird's crop: (12) *فَيْعَلِي*, like *خَيْرَلِي* [272] and *دَيْكَسَاء* i. q. *دَيْكَسَاء* [above]: (13) *فَعْلِي*, like *رَمَكِي* and *رَمَكَاء* the place of growth of a bird's tail [above]: (14) *فُعْنَلِي*, like *جُلْنَدِي* [272] and *جُلْنَدَاء* [a king's name; but, in the KF, Damm of the J is approved when the | is abbreviated, and Fath when it is prolonged (Sn)]: (15) *فُعَالِي*, like *جُغَادِي* and *جُغَادِيَاء* a kind of [green (Sn)] locust (A), long in the two hind legs [400]: (16) *فَعْلِيَاء*: (17) *يَفَاعَلِي*, like *يَنَابَعِي* or *يَنَابَعَاء*, as in the Dm (Sn). As for [the two measures (Sn),] (1) *فَعْلَاء*, like *عِلْبَاء* and *حَرْبَاء* [248, 385, 683], and *سَيْسَاء* [the row of vertebræ of (A) a back (IY, A) and *شَيْشَاء* dates that do not form hard stones (A), whence *قَيْقَاء* and *زَيْرَاء* both meaning rough ground (IY)], and (2) *فَعْلَاء* [250], like *حَوَاء* [a plant {whose color reminds that of the wolf (IY)}, n. un. *حَوَاء* (IY, A)], *مَرَاء* [a kind of (A) wine (IY, A)], and *قُوبَاء* ringworm [below] (M, A), and [similarly (IY)] *خُشَاء*, [orig. *خُشَاء* (Sn),] the bone projecting behind the ear [272] (IY, A), they are not measures of the prolonged [| of feminization], because (Sn) their | is for co-ordination (M, A) with

قَرَطَاس [253] and قَرْنَسٌ *a crag jutting out from a mountain* (A), not for feminization (IY, Sn), since it is pronounced with Tanwin (A), they being triptote, because co-ordinated with سِرْدَاغ [253, 396, 673] and قَرَطَاس (IY) i. q. قَرَطَاس (Jh, KF). But قُرْبَاء [385] has two *dial. vars.*, (1) قُرْبَاء, of the *cat.* of رَحَضَاء [above], diptote, because, there being no فَعَلَال among the formations, that it might be co-ordinated with, its Hamza is for feminization ; (2) قُرْبَاء, co-ordinated with قَرَطَاس, and therefore triptote (IY). Some of the prolonged are sometimes abbreviated by poetic license, the elided † being then the first, not the last, because the latter has a meaning ; and because, if it were elided, the *n.* would become triptote, on account of the removal of the † of feminization [18]: and, when the first is elided, the last returns to its *o. f.* of †, since the cause of its conversion into Hamza was the combination of the two [248] (R)

CHAPTER X.

THE DIMINUTIVE NOUN.

§ 274. The *dim.* is the [expression (Jrb)] augmented [by something (R, Jrb)] in order that it may indicate *diminution* (SH). We say the “expression,” and not the “*n.*,” as in some of the Commentaries, in order to include مَا أُحْسِنَتْ [288] ; and we say “something”, not “أى,” as some of the Commentators say, because the augment is not confined to the أى, as you will learn [293] (Jrb). IM mentions this *cat.* immediately after the *cat.* of the broken *pl.*, because, as S says (A), the *dim.* and [broken (M, AArb, A)] *pl.* follow one course [247, 686] (S, M, AArb, A), which means that their treatment is one (IY), because they have many questions in common, as will be mentioned (A), each of them being altered in form and sense (AArb, Sn). For, when you say رَجُلٌ in the *dim.* of رَجُلٌ, you alter the form of the latter by pronouncing its initial with Damm, and its second with Fath, and by adding a quiescent أى third ; while you alter its sense, because you transfer it from *greatness* to *smallness* : just as, when you say رَجَالٌ in its broken *pl.*, you alter its form by adding the ة, and pronouncing the preceding letter with Fath ; while you alter its sense, because you

transfer it from the *individual* to the *collection* (A Arb). According to the BB (A), the *dim.* formation imports [four (A)] meanings (IY, Jrb, A), (1) the *smallness* of what may be fancied to be big (IY, A) in substance (Sn), as جَنِيلٌ *a small man* and جَنِيلٌ *a small he-camel* (IY): (2) the *contemptibleness* of what may be fancied to be great (Jrb, A) in degree (Sn): (a) that is either vague, as جَنِيلٌ [above] and عَمِيْرٌ *Little 'Amr*, where you pronounce him to be *contemptible* without explaining what necessitates contempt for him; or definite, as غَوِيْلٌ *possessed of little learning* and زَوِيْهٌ *little given to asceticism*, where you pronounced him to be contemptible in respect of the *smallness* of his *learning* and his *asceticism*; and similarly أَصْيَفُرٌ and أَحْمَرٌ [287], where you mean the *faintness* of his *redness* and his *yellowness* (Jrb): (3) the *fewness* of what may be fancied to be many [in number (Sn)], as دُرَاهِمَاتٌ *a few dirhams* (IY, Jrb, A) and دِنِيْرَاتٌ *a few dinars* (IY, Jrb); and this is peculiar to *pls.* [285]: these are the meanings common, and frequent, in the *cat.* (Jrb): (4) the *nearness* of what may be fancied to be far [287] (IY, Jrb, A) in (a) time, as بَعِيْدَ الْمَغْرِبِ *a little before the afternoon* and قَبِيْلَ الْعَصْرِ *a little after sunset*; (b) place, as فَوْقَ هَذَا *a little above this* and دُوْنِ ذَاكَ *a little below that* [286]; (c) degree, as أَصْيَفُرٌ مِنْكَ [287] (A): this meaning is anomalous, rare;

and occurs in the *adv.* more often than in anything else (Jrb). The KK add another meaning, vid. *magnification*, as in وَكُلُّ أَنْاسٍ سَوَفَ الْخَمِّ [117, 177] (IY, A), because there is no *calamity* greater than death (IY) ; the saying [of Aus Ibn Hajar (Jsh)]

فَوَيْقَ جَبَلٍ شَاهِقِ الرَّاسِ لَمْ تَكُنْ * لَتَبْلُغَهُ حَتَّى تَكِلَ وَتَعْمَلَا (IY, A) *A little above a huge mountain, lofty in summit, that thou art not one to reach until thou tire thyself and walk hard* (Jsh), because he says *lofty in summit* (IY) ; and the saying of 'Umar on Ibn Mas'ūd كُنَيْفٌ مَلِيٌّ

عَلِيًّا *a great wallet filled with learning* and the saying of an Arab [AlḤubāb Ibn AlMundhir (Jh, Md, IAth, Is) Ibn alJamūh alAnṣārī (Md, IAth, Is)]

أَنَا جَدِيلُهَا أَلْبَحَكُّكَ وَعَدَيْقُهَا أَلْجَرَّبُ *I am their great stump much rubbed against, and their big palm-tree propped up* [282] (A), because the occasion is one of eulogy (Sn).

But, according to the BB, [all of (IY)] that is reducible [by interpretation (A)] to [the meaning of (IY)] *contemptibleness* (IY, A), دَوِيْهِيَّةٌ being meant to intimate

that the death of living beings is sometimes brought about by *small calamities* (Sn) ; and to the like (A), such

as the *smallness* of what is fancied to be big in substance (Sn), جَبَلٌ being meant to intimate that the *mountain*

is *small in breadth*, [though high (Sn),] difficult of ascent (IY, Sn) because of its tallness and height (IY), and

كُنَيْفٌ and جُدَيْلٌ and عُدَيْقٌ that abundance of sense sometimes goes with smallness of substance (Sn). And [other] instances of tropical *diminution of substances* are the *dims.* importing (1) *affection and kindness*, as in يَا بُنَيَّ *O my darling son*, يَا أَخِي *O my darling brother*, and أَنْتَ صَدِيقِي *Thou art my dear friend*, because the small are treated with affection and kindness ; (2) *prettiness*, whence يَا مَا أَمِيلِحَ الْحَمْدُ [171, 288], because the small are mostly graceful, *pretty* (R). The *dim.* formation in a *n.*, being an indication of the *smallness* of its named, is an embellishment and qualification of the *n.*, because by رَجُلٌ جَدِيلٌ you mean *a small man* [25, 282] (IY). The expression that the *dim.* is formed from has certain conditions, that it be (1) a *n.* ; so that the *v.* and *p.* have no *dim.*, because the *dim.* formation is a qualification in sense ; while the *dim.* of the *v.* of wonder is anomalous [288] : (2) *decl.* [293] ; so that the *prons.* have no *dim.* [292] ; nor have مَنْ [292], كَيْفَ, and the like ; while the *dim.* of some *dems.* and conjuncts is anomalous [293] : (3) susceptible of diminution ; so that such as كَبِيرٌ *great* and جَسِيمٌ *corpulent* have no *dim.*, [because, if they had, a contradiction would result (Sn)] ; nor have the magnified names, [like the names of God, of His Prophets, Angels, and Scriptures, of the Codex, and of the Mosque (Sn)] : (4) devoid of *dim.* forms, [original or

actual (Sn),] and of their like, [i. e., forms having the same vowels and quiescences as the *dim.* (Sn)]; so that such as كُنَيْت [289] and كُعَيْت, [in which the *dim.* form is original, but forgotten, and رَجِيلٌ *a little man* and رَبِيْدٌ *Little Zaid*, in which the *dim.* form is adventitious without being forgotten (Sn),] have no *dim.*; nor have such as مُبَيِّطٌ *a farrier, or veterinary surgeon* [289] and مُهَيِّبٌ *a guardian, watcher* (A), which are not *dims.*, but have the same conformation as the *dim.* (Sn). The *dim.* [of the *decl. n.* (M)] has [only (M, R)] three paradigms (M, R, Aud, A), as S distinctly declares (IY), (1) فُعَيْلٌ, as فُلَيْسٌ; (2) فُعَيْعِلٌ, as دُرَيْهَمٌ; (3) فُعَيْعَيْلٌ, as دُنَيْنِيرٌ (M, Aud, A). For, (1) if the *n.* be *tril.*, whichever of the ten measures [237, 368] it be upon, then its *dim.* is فُعَيْلٌ: (2) if it be *quad.*, then, (a) if its four [letters] be not accompanied by a letter of prolongation fourth, its *dim.* is فُعَيْعِلٌ; and, (b) if they be accompanied by such a letter, its *dim.* is فُعَيْعَيْلٌ (R). As for فُعَيْعَيْلٌ, it is for every *n.* of five letters, whose fourth is ا, or ا, or ي, as مَضْبَاحٌ *dim.* مُضَيِّعٌ [283], قَنَدِيلٌ *dim.* قُنَيْدِيلٌ [below], كَرْدُوسٌ *dim.* كَرَيْدِيْسٌ [283], قَرَبُوسٌ *a pommel of a saddle* [396], *dim.* قَرَبِيْسٌ, and حَمِيصٌ, *a sour vegetable growing in sandy places* [285], *dim.* حَمِيصِيصٌ, the multitude or paucity of the vowels not being heeded, nor their

variation (S). What is meant by these formations is the measure, not the actual paradigm, which is sometimes *أَفْعِلْ*, as *أَحْيِدْ*; and *مُفْعِلْ*, as *مُكَيِّرْ*; and *فُعْلِيلِنْ*, as *سُرَيْحِينَ* [below] (IY). But the use of these three paradigms [alone] to denote the measures of the *dim.* is a conventional notation peculiar to this *cat.*, the mere form being here considered, [without regard to correspondence of *rad.* to *rad.*, and of *aug.* to *aug.* (Sn),] in order that the number of formations may be minimized; and is not conformable to the conventional notation of etymology: for in the *dim.* the measure of *أَحْيِدْ* and *مُكَيِّرْ* and *سُفَيْرِجْ* is *فُعْلِيلْ*; whereas their etymological measures are *أَفْعِلْ* and *مُفْعِلْ* and *فُعْلِيلْ* (A). Four [*rad.* letters (R)] are not exceeded (SH) in the *dim.* [293] (R). Only the *tril.* and *quad.* [*ns.* (IY, R)] have a *dim.* (M, R, Jrb), not the *quin.* (R), according to the chastest *dial.* (Jrb), the *dim.* of the *quin.* being disapproved, like its broken *pl.* [245], because of the elision of its 5th [*rad.*] (M). If, however, a *dim.* be formed from the *quin.* (M, SH), notwithstanding its weak authority (SH), a letter (IY), [vid.] the 5th or some other (R), is elided (IY, R), in order that the *quin.* may be reduced to four [letters]; and the *dim.* is then formed on the paradigm of the *quad.*, vid. *فُعْلِيلْ*, as *سُفَيْرِجْ*: so that (IY) *فُرَيْرِدْ* is said from *فَرَزْدَقْ*, and *جُحَيْرِجْ* from

جَحَيْشٌ ; while some of them say فَرَيْقٌ and جَحَيْشٌ [below], eliding the م because it is one of the *aug.* [671], and the د because it resembles one of them, vid. the ت [732] (M). They elide (1) the 5th [275] (IY, SH), as in the broken *pl.* [245] (Jrb), which is the best way (SH), because the heaviness results from it (IY) : (2) as is said, the *quasi-aug.* (SH), (a) one of the letters of augmentation [671] (IY, R, Jrb), although it is a *rad.* (R), as خَدَيْقٌ from خَدَرَقٌ, where the ن is elided, although it is not *aug.* (IY); [and, according to Z and Jrb,] as جَحَيْشٌ [below] by elision of the م (Jrb) : but, [according to IY and R,] the *quasi-aug. rad.* is elided only when it is near the end, being 4th ; so that جَحَيْشٌ [below] is not said, because the م is far from the end, [being 3rd (IY)] ; while Z says that some of the Arabs (IY, R) elide the *quasi-aug.* wherever it be (R), [so that they] say جَحَيْشٌ [above] (IY), which is a mistake (IY, R), as I think (IY), [and] as Sf and An distinctly declare (R) : (b) like one of the letters of augmentation [in source (R), and near the end (IY, R)], as فَرَيْقٌ from فَرَدَقٌ (IY, R, Jrb), where the د is elided because it resembles one of the letters of augmentation, vid. the ت [671] (IY, Jrb), since the د proceeds from the same source as the ت [732] (R). But that [elision of the *quasi-aug.*] is anomalous, rare, for

which reason Z says that (IY) the best way is the first (M). Akh [says that he (M, Jrb)] heard **سَفِيرَجْدٌ** (M, SH) with the **ج** (IY) mobile (M), the five letters being retained, from dislike to elision of a *rad.* letter ; and the Fathā of the **ج** being preserved (R), [or] the **ج** being pronounced with Kasr (Jrb) : and S transmits from some of the GG [in the *dim.* and broken *pl.* such as (R)] **سَفِيرَجْدٌ** and **سَفَارَجْدٌ** [with Fath of the **ج** in both (R)] ; while Khl says “ If I were forming a *dim.* to the “*quin.* without eliding anything from it, [as some of the “GG say (IY),] I should make the penultimate letter “quiescent, saying **سَفِيرَجْدُ**, by analogy to [what is “authentic in their language, vid. (R)] **دُنْيَيْنِ**, because “the **ي** is quiescent” (IY, R). In forming the *dim.* [of the *decl. n.* (M) three processes are necessary (Aud),] (1) the initial is pronounced with Damm ; (2) the second is pronounced with Fath ; (3) a quiescent **ي** [497] is inserted third (M, Aud). Then, if the *n.* be *tril.*, one restricts oneself to that formation, which is **فُعَيْدٌ**, like **فُلَيْسٌ** [from **فَلَسٌ**] and **رُجَيْدٌ** [from **رَجْدٌ**] : but, if it exceed three [letters], a fourth process is needed, i. e., the letter after the **ي** of the *dim.* must be pronounced with Kasr ; and then, if this letter pronounced with Kasr be not followed by a soft letter in the penultimate, the formation is **فُعَيْعِلٌ**, like **جُعَيْفٌ** from **جَعْفَرٌ** ; while, if it be followed by a soft

letter in the penultimate, the formation is **فُعَيْعِيلٌ**, like **قُنْدِيلٌ** from **قُنْدِيلٌ** [283] (Aud). When the second [letter] of the *n.* is a **ي** [retained in the *dim.*, as in **شَيْخٌ**, **بَيْتٌ**, and **سَيْدٌ**, it is best to say **شَيْيِخٌ** and **سَيْيْدٌ**, with Damm; but (S)] some of the Arabs say **بَيْيْتٌ**, **شَيْيِخٌ**, [and **سَيْيْدٌ** (S), with Kasr, from fear that the **ي** may be converted into **يَ**, because of the Damma on the letter before it, and (R)] from dislike to [the heaviness of (R)] the **ي** after the Damma [242, 247] (S, R) if they were to remain like that. When the **ي** of the *dim.* is followed by two homogeneous letters, one of them is incorporated into the other; so that the Kasr is removed by the incorporation, as **أَصِيْمٌ** [281] and **مُدَيِّقٌ** [663] (R). The **ي** of the *dim.* is sometimes changed into **ا** for the sake of lightness, when immediately followed by a double letter, as **دَوَابَّةٌ** and **شَوَابَّةٌ** for **دَوِيْبَةٌ** and **شَوِيْبَةٌ**, *dims.* of **دَابَّةٌ** and **شَابَّةٌ** [639] (Sn). The rule that the letter after the **ي** of the *dim.* should be pronounced with Kasr in [the *dim.* of] the *n.* exceeding three letters is subject to exception in four cases, vid. when the letter is before (1) the sign of feminization [below], i. e., (a) the **ة**, as in **شَجَرَةٌ**; (b) the **ا**, as in **حُبْلَى**: (2) the *aug.* letter of prolongation preceding the **ا** of feminization, as in **حَمْرَاءَ** [263, 683]: (3) the **ا** of feminization [below], as in **أَجْمَالٌ**: (4) the **ا** of the **فَعْلَانُ** that does

not form the *pl.* فَعَالِينَ [below], as in سَكَرَانُ [250] and عُثْمَانُ [250, 285] : for in these four cases the letter after the *ى* of the *dim.* must remain pronounced with Fath, as it was before the formation of the *dim.* : you say (1) أُجَيَّمَالُ and حَبِيلَى [282] ; (2) حَمِيرَاءُ [282, 283] ; (3) عُثَيَّمَانُ [283, 285] ; (4) سَكَيْرَانُ [283] and عُثَيَّمَانُ [285] ; whereas you say سُرَيْحِينَ [above] and سُلَيْطِينَ from سَرَحَانُ and سُلْطَانُ, because their *pl.* is سَرَاحِينَ [280, 282] and سَلَاطِينَ [250] (Aud). The expression “before the sign of femininization” [above] means “immediately before [the sign of femininization (Sn)]”, as exemplified ; for, if the letter be separated [from the sign], it is pronounced with Kasr, according to the general rule, as دَحِيرَجَةٌ (A). The *ى* of femininization being a word compounded with the first [266], and the final [letter] of the first of two words compounded together being pronounced with Fath [211], the predicament of the *ى*, in having the letter before it pronounced with Fath, is the same in the *dim.* and *non-dim.* (R). The last member of a *comp.*, being treated like the *ى* of femininization, as IM says in the Tashil, is governed by the same rule as the *ى* ; and therefore you say بُعَيْكَبُكُ with Fath of the J [290] (A) : but, when the first member ends in *ى*, as in مَعْدِيكَرُبُ, the letter [immediately] before the last member is not pronounced with Fath, because it does not follow immediately after the

ی of the *dim.*, but it remains quiescent ; while the letter following immediately after [the ی of the *dim.*] remains pronounced with Kasr, [because it is not immediately before the last member of the *comp.*] ; so that you say مُعَيِّدِيكَرْبُ [290] {Sn}. The letter before the abbreviated and prolonged ة of femininization is not pronounced with Kasr, in order that they may be preserved from being converted into ی , since they are signs of femininization, and the sign, so far as possible, is not altered. As for the conversion of the sign of femininization into ی , that would obviously be entailed in the case of the abbreviated ; while in the case of the prolonged, although the sign is the Hamza converted from the ة of femininization, the ة before it being a letter of prolongation, as in حَمَارٌ , still, since the conversion of the ة of femininization into Hamza, not into , or ی , is on account of the ة before it [248, 683], conversion of the first into ی would necessarily entail conversion of the second also into ی , as in لَقَدْ أَفْذُوْا أَحْمَ [248]. The ة of أَنْعَالٌ is not altered, in order that the sign of what is deemed strange in the *dim.*, vid. the *pl.* [285], may be preserved, because, if they did not preserve its sign, the hearer would not refer the *dim.* to the *pl.*, on account of the apparent incongruity between them ; and, even when you use أَجْمَالٌ as a name, you say أَجْيَمَالٌ [below]. In such as إِخْرَاجٌ and إِدْخَالٌ , however, the ة , though the sign of the

inf. n., is converted into *ى* in the *dim.*, since the *dim.* of the *inf. n.* is not deemed so strange as the *dim.* of the *pl.* (R). IM [followed by IHsh in the Aud] mentions أَفْعَالٌ [above] without restricting it to the *pl.*, so that it includes the *sing.*; and some MSS of the Tashil have “the *ا* of أَفْعَالٌ whether a *pl.* or a *sing.*”: and therefore, if we follow those who authorize أَفْعَالٌ among the *sings.* [146, 256, 257], then the unrestrictedness of IM’s language here and his saying “whether a *pl.* or a *sing.*” in the Tashil necessarily imply that its *dim.* is أَفْعَالٌ, [which is the preferable opinion (Sn)]; while the language of those GG who say “the *ا* of أَفْعَالٌ when a *pl.*”, like Jz and IH, necessarily implies that its *dim.* is أَفْعِيلٌ with Kasr; and [Jrb,] one of the Commentators on the SH of IH, says that (A) he adds the restriction “when a *pl.*” [below] in order to exclude what is not *pl.*, as أَعْشَارٌ [146, 257], the *dim.* of which is أَعْشِيرٌ (Jrb, A). BD, however, says “the *ا* of أَفْعَالٌ when a *pl.*,” adding the restriction, in which he follows Jz and those who agree with him: but Shl, referring to the dictum of Jz, says “This is a mistake, because S states that, when you form the *dim.* of أَفْعَالٌ a man’s name, you say أَفْعَالٌ, as when you form its *dim.* before it is a name”; and IM speaks without restriction in other books than this; nay, in some MSS of the Tashil, he expressly declares the generality; so that his language [here] is to be interpreted according

to that (A). The | before the *aug.* ن is not converted into ي, because it is assimilated to the | of حَرَآء [above]. The *aug.* | and ن, however, at the end of the *n.* do not always resemble the prolonged | of feminization, so that the conversion of its | into ي in the *dim.* should be disallowed. They resemble it when they are in (1) a coined proper name, like عُثْبَان [4, 250], عِمْرَان [4], سَعْدَان, غَطَفَان [4, 282], and سَلْمَان, because the ة of feminization is not affixed to it, since the quality of proper name is a preventive; and, according to this, you say عُثْيَان [above], عُيْرَان, سُعَيْدَان, غُطَيْفَان, and سُلَيْمَان [below]: (a) as for عُثْبَان a young bustard and سَعْدَان a plant, their *dims.* are عُثْيِين [below] and سُعَيْدِين: (2) an *ep.* that refuses the ة, like جَوْعَان hungry and سَكْرَان [250], because of the absence of the ة, so that you say جَوَيْعَان and سَكَيْرَان [above]. And, if they be in an *ep.* that does not refuse the ة, like عُرْيَان [250], نَدْمَان, صَبِيَان, and قَطْرَان slow [in walking (MAR)], they resemble the | and ن in the *cat.* of سَكْرَان, because they are *eps.* like it, although the ة is affixed to them; so that عُرْيَان, نُدَيْمَان, and صُصْيَان are said. If, however, they be in a substantive not a proper name, they do not resemble the | and ن in the *cat.* of سَكْرَان unrestrictedly, since qualification does not unite them, as it unites عُرْيَان and سَكْرَان; but you

consider whether the **l** be fourth or upwards. If it be fourth, then, (1) if the substantive be equal in number of vowels and quiescences to a substantive whose final is a **l** preceded by an *aug.* **l**, even if not equal to it in actual measure, its **l** is converted in the *dim.* into **ى**, by assimilation to that **l** which precedes the **l**; but that occurs in only three measures, **فَعْلَانُ**, **فُعْلَانُ**, and **فِعْلَانُ**, as **حَوْمَانُ** a plant growing in the desert, **سُلْطَانُ**, and **زَرْحَانُ**, the **ن** of which occupies the place of the **l** in **زَرْحَالُ** [332], **قُرْطَاسُ**, and **مِفْتَاحُ** respectively; so that you say **قُرَيْطِيسُ**, **زَيْرِيدُ**, like **سُرَيْحِينُ**, **سَلِيطِينُ**, **حَوَيْيِينُ** [283], and **مُفَيْتِيحُ**: (2) if the substantive be not equal to what we have mentioned, like **طَرِبَانُ** and **سَبْعَانُ**, and like **فُعْلَانُ**, **فَعْلَانُ**, **فِعْلَانُ**, **فُعْلَانُ**, if these occur in their language, its **l** does not resemble the **l** preceding the **ل**, since an *aug.* **l** followed by a **ل** does not occupy [in any other substantive] the place of the **l** and **ن** in these substantives; but the **l** and **ن** in them resemble the **l** and **ن** in the *cat.* of **سَكْرَانُ**, [since both are *aug.*]; so that the **l** is not converted into **ى**, as **طَرِبَانُ** and **سَبْعَانُ**: and by analogy such [substantives] as **دَرَّشَانُ** and **كَرَّوَانُ** [250] ought to be like **طَرِبَانُ** [and **سَبْعَانُ**], since a **ل** does not occupy the place of their **ن**, as it does not occupy the place of the **ن** of **طَرِبَانُ** and **سَبْعَانُ**; but, since *eps.*

also occur on this measure, like صَيَانٌ and قَطْرَانٌ, and their | resembles the | of سَكَرَانٌ, which is not converted, as before shown, the Arabs intend to make a distinction between substantive and *ep.*, and therefore convert the | in the substantive, saying وَرَيْشِيْنٌ and كُرَيْرِيْنٌ, because assimilation of *ep.* to *ep.* is more meet and proper than assimilation of substantive to *ep.* If, however, the | be after the fourth, then, (1) if it be fifth, as in زَعْفَرَانٌ saffron, عُقْرَبَانٌ a male scorpion and أَنْعَوَانٌ a male viper, and صَلِيَانٌ a plant, it may not be assimilated to the | preceding the |, and be converted into ي, since that | is not converted into ي in the *dim.*, except when fourth, as in مِفْتَاحٌ and مِصْبَاحٌ [283]; so that the only alternative remaining is to assimilate it to the | of feminization, saying زُعْفِرَانٌ [282, 283], [and أَفْيَعِيَانٌ], and صَلِيلِيَانٌ (R) : (a) in forming the *dim.* of أَتْخَوَانَةٌ and عَنْظَرَانَةٌ you say أَتَيْخِيَانَةٌ and عُنَيْظِيَانَةٌ, as though you were forming the *dim.* of أَتْخَوَانٌ camomile [390] and عَنْظَرَانٌ [389] (S) : and by analogy the *dim.* of أُسْطُرَانَةٌ a column, portico, cylinder ought to be أُسَيْطِيَانَةٌ; but, the , in it being anomalously elided, the | becomes fourth, so that أُسَيْطِيَانَةٌ is said, like عُثْيِيْنٌ [above] : (b) the *dim.* of إِنْسَانٌ [on the measure of فِعْلَانٌ (Jh, HH)] ought by analogy

to be **أُنَيْسِيْن** [286], like **سُرَيْحِيْن**; but, since a **ي** is anomalously added before the **ا** [of **إِنْسَان**], according to the soundest [opinion], the **ا** becomes [fifth,] as in **أَنْعُرَان** and **عُقْرَبَان**, [so that **أُنَيْسِيَان** is said (HH)]: (2) if the **ا** be after the fifth, then, (a) if the aggregate of the letters preceding it contain one that must be elided, so as to make the **ا** after the elision fifth, the **ا** remains unaltered because it then becomes [fifth,] as in **عُقْرَبَان**; so that you say **عَبْيَثْرَان** *dim.* **عَبْيَثْرَان** [283], because the **و** is *aug.*: (b) if the case be not so, the **ا** and **ن** are elided, as **قَرْعَبْلَانَّة** [286, 401], *dim.* **قَرْعَبْنَة** [283], because you elide the *rad.* before them, and therefore cannot leave them. As for the proper name transferred from something, you say (1) **سِرْحَان** *Sirḥān* (Wolf), **وَرَشَان** *Warashān* (Pigeon) and **سُلْطَان** *Sultān* (King), when proper names, *dims.* **سُرَيْحِيْن** [below], **وَرَيْشِيْن**, and **سُلَيْطِيْن** [below], diptote in the *non-dim.* because of the quality of proper name and [augmentation by] the **ا** and **ن** [18], and triptote in the *dim.* because of the removal of the **ا** by its conversion into **ي**: (a) this is as you make **مِعْرَى** *Goats*, when a proper name, diptote [in the *non-dim.*], because of the resemblance of its **ا** to the **ا** of feminization [18]; and triptote in the *dim.*, because of the conversion of its **ا** into **ي**, as **مُعَيَّر**: (2)

نَدْمَانُ , سَكْرَانُ , عُقْرَبَانُ , طَرَبَانُ , when proper names,
dims. نَدِيمَانُ , سَكِيرَانُ , عُقِيرَبَانُ , طَرِيْبَانُ , [diptote,]
 as they were before their transfer to the state of proper
 name : (a) this is as you say أَجْمَالُ , when a proper name,
dim. أَجْيَالُ [above], with the | , as S mentions. The GG
 say, in describing [the *dim.* of the *n.* ending in] the | and
 ن assimilated to the | of feminization, " Whenever the
 " | is converted into ي in the [broken] *pl.*, convert it
 " into ي in the *dim.* also ; and, whenever it is not converted
 " in the broken *pl.*, do not convert it in the *dim.*": but
 that does not hold good in such as طَرَبَانُ , because they
 say طَرِيْبَانُ and طَرَابِيْنُ [248, 250] (R). As for طَرَبَانُ , its
dim. is طَرِيْبَانُ , as though you formed its broken *pl.* from
 طَرِبَاءُ , not from طَرَبَانُ , since you say طَرَابِيْ , as they say
 صَلَاتِيْ [248] (S). If the *pl.* فَعَالِيْنُ be anomalous, it is not
 regarded, but the *dim.* is فُعَيْلَانُ , as غُرْتَانُ [250] and
 إِنْسَانُ [above], *pls.* غُرَاتِيْنُ and أَنَاسِيْنُ [248] anomalously,
dims. غُرَيْثَانُ and أُنَيْسَانُ [286] (A). And, when it is
 not known of any *n.* [ending in an *aug.* | and ن (A)]
 whether its | be converted [by the Arabs into ي (A)]
 in the broken *pl.* (R), i. e., whether it take the *pl.*
 فَعَالِيْنُ (Sn),] or not, then [Sf and F say that (R)] its | is
 not converted, because it is made to conform to the *cat.*
 of سَكْرَانُ , since this is the most numerous (R, A) : while

An⁷ says that the rule may be said to be either absence of alteration ; or conformity with the most numerous [*cat.*], and consequent alteration (R). Except in these cases, only **فُعَيْلٌ** [above], **فُعَيْعِلٌ**, and **فُعَيْعِيلٌ** occur (SH) ; whereas in the excepted cases other paradigms are found. The three paradigms, however, occur before (1) the ة of feminization [277, 282, 283], as **قُدَيْرَةٌ** [264], **سَلِيْهَةٌ** [*dim.* of **سَلْهَةٌ** *big-bodied mare* (MAR)], and **زَنْبِيرَةٌ** *dim.* of **زَنْبُورٌ** *a hornet* ; (2) the prolonged ا of feminization, as **حَبِيْرَاءُ** [above], **خُنَيْفَسَاءُ** [282], and **مُعَيَّرَاءُ** [282] ; and (3) the ا and ن, as **سَلِيْمَانٌ** [above], **زُعَيْفِرَانٌ** [above], and **عَبِيْثِرَانٌ** with the ي as a compensation for the elided و [283 284] : but only **فُعَيْلٌ** before (1) the ا of the *pl.*, as **أَجْبِيَالٌ** ; and (2) the abbreviated ا of feminization, [as **حَبِيْلَى**], because, when fifth [or upwards in the *non-dim.*], it is elided in the *dim.* [282]. IH ought to mention the ي of relation also, as **مَشْهَدِيٌّ** *dim.* of **مَشْهَدِيٌّ** [248, 294], **مُشِيْهَدِيٌّ** *dim.* of **مُشِيْهَدِيٌّ** [265], and **مُنْطَلِقِيٌّ** *dim.* of **مُنْطَلِقِيٌّ** [284], saying "Except in these cases, and the case of the *rel. n.* formed with the ي, only such and such [paradigms] occur" : for, if he say that **فُعَيْلَى** is **فُعَيْلٌ**, the ي being additional, we say that, though the ي is no doubt additional, still it becomes, as it were, part of the word, like the ة of feminization, as is proved by the fact that the inflection of the word rests

upon it, as upon the ة; and the objection holds equally good of such as حَمِيرَةٌ [below], حَبِيلَى, and حَمِيرَاءَ, which are فَعِيل, the ة and the two اs of feminization being additional [282]. And why does he not mention the *du.* and *pl.*, as اَلْعَمِيرَانِ and اَلْعَمِيرُونَ, saying that (R) the letter after the ي of the *dim.* is pronounced with Kasr in the case of the [n. containing (Jrb)] four [or more (R) letters, as جَعْفِرٌ (R, Jrb) and سَفِيرٌ (R), for the sake of affinity between the ي and the letter after it (Jrb)], except before (1) the ة of feminization, (2) its two [abbreviated and prolonged (R, Jrb)] اs, (3) the ا and ن assimilated to the prolonged ا of feminization, (4) the ا of اَفْعَالٌ when a *pl.* [above] (SH), (5) the ي of relation, [which ought to be omitted, because the letter before it is pronounced with Kasr, as in بُرَيْدِي], (6) the ا and ي of the *du.*, (7) the و of the *pl.*, (8) the ا of the [sound] *pl. fem.*, and (9) [the last member of] the *comp.* ? (R). Every *dim.*, when its formation does not take away one of its two causes [of diptote declension], is diptote; and otherwise is triptote (Dm). The *dim.* formation spoils the following causes of diptote declension:—(1) deviation from one measure to another, as رُبَاعٌ [18], *dim.* رُبَيْعٌ, because the measure deviated to is removed by the *dim.* formation, and that measure is observed in deviation, since deviation is a *lit. matter*: (2) the ultimate *pl.*, as

مَسَاجِدُ mosques [18], *dim.* مَسَاجِدَاتُ [or rather مَسَاجِدَاتُ],
 because it must be restored to its *sing.* [285] : (a) even
 if used as a name for a *masc.*, and then formed into a *dim.*
 [283, 285], it is triptote, because, [though it is not restored
 to the *sing.*, still] the sign of the *pl.* and its regarded
 measure are removed ; [contrary to the *fem.*, where
 the quality of proper name and feminization are found
 (MAR)] : (b) when سَرَائِلُ [18, 285] is a proper name,
 its *dim.* is diptote, because the *dim.* formation does not
 take away the *id.* feminization in it, so that it is like
 عَنَاقُ [194] when formed into a *dim.* after being used as
 a name : (3) verbal measure, if its initial be not an aug-
 ment like the verbal augment [404], as خَضِيفٌ *dim.* خَضِيفٌ
 and دُخِرَجٌ *dim.* دُخِرَجٌ ; but not if its initial be such an
 augment, as أَشْكُرُ *dim.* أَشْكُرُ, نَرَجِسُ *dim.* نَرَجِسُ, أَحْيِدُ *dim.* أَحْيِدُ,
 أَشْيِكُرُ *dim.* أَشْيِكُرُ, and تَغْلِبُ *dim.* تَغْلِبُ, because the *dim.* is
 on the measure of the *aor.* of فَعَلُ, as يَبْطِرُ *aor.* يَبْطِرُ
 [482] (R on the diptote) : (a) [the diptote declension
 of the *dim. ep.* أَفْعِلُ is similarly explained by A, who
 says that] the best way is to make the predicament [of
 diptote declension in the *ep.*] depend upon [the *ep.*'s
 being on] the verbal measure more appropriate to the
v., not the measure of أَفْعَلُ [18], nor merely [the measure]
 of the *v.*, in order to include such *dims.* as أَحْيِمُ and

أَفِيضٌ [281, 287], which are diptote because of their being on the measure mentioned, [vid. that which is more appropriate to the *v.* (Sn),] like أَبْيَطُرُ *I practise farriery* or *veterinary surgery*, [aor. of بَيَطُرَ (Sn)] : nor may such [eps.] as بَطَلٌ *valiant, heroic*, جَدِلٌ *hard and strong*, and نَدُسٌ *intelligent* be cited as instances to the contrary ; for, though each of them is *orig.* epithetic, and is on a verbal measure, still the measure, being common, not more appropriate to the *v.* than to the *n.*, is not taken into account (A on the diptote) : (b) if the measure supervene in the *dim.*, not being found in the *non-dim.*, as تَضَارِبٌ when a proper name, *dim.* تُضَيِّرُ, and تَغْلِي [372], *dim.* تُحِيلِي [below], some do not regard it, because it is accidental ; but others regard it, because the *dim.* is a fresh measure : (c) one Grammarian says that the qualification supervening in the *dim.* is regarded, because the *dim.* is a fresh formation, as the qualification supervening in such as مَثْنَى and ثَلَاثُ [18] is taken into account, because it is a fresh application ; and that أَدِيرُ *dim.* of أَدِيرُ [242] is diptote because of the [verbal] measure and of the qualification supervening in the *dim.* : (d) he also says that analogy requires the proper name to be triptote in such as حَمِيرَةٌ [above] *dim.* of حَمْرَةٌ *Hamza*, because of the supervision of

qualification, which is incompatible with the quality of proper name ; but that, since the qualification is not obvious in the *dim.*, they do not take it into account : (e) what he says, however, requires consideration, because, if the qualification were not obvious, it would not be taken into account in *أَدِيرُ* ; and it is best to say that there is no incompatibility between qualification and the quality of proper name : (4) [augmentation by] the ا and ن , if the ا be converted into ي in the *dim.*, as *سُلْطَانُ* when a proper name, *dim.* *سُلَيْطَانُ* [above] ; but not if it remain unaltered, as *سَكْرَانُ* and *عُثْمَانُ*, *dims.* *سُكْرَانُ* and *عُثْمَانُ* [above]. According to this, then, the *dim.* formation spoils deviation from a measure and the [ultimate] *pl.*, unrestrictedly ; and [verbal] measure and [augmentation by] the ا ن , in one case, not in another : but does not spoil qualification, the quality of proper name, femininization, composition, and foreignness (R). When, however, the foreign [proper name] is *quad.*, but one of its [four] letters is the ي of the *dim.*, it is triptote, [as *بَرِيَّةٌ* and *سَمِيْعٌ* (283, 291),] the ي not being taken into account. IM says in the CK that what is diptote with reference to its being *non-dim.* or *dim.* is of four kinds, (1) diptote in the *non-dim.* and *dim.*, as *بَعْلَبَكْ*, *طَلْحَة*, *رَيْتَبْ*, *حَمْرَاء*, *يَرِيدُ*, because they do not lack the cause of diptote declension in the *non-dim.* or *dim.* : (2) diptote in the *non-dim.*, triptote in the *dim.*,

as *عَمْرٌ*, *شَرٌّ*, *سِرْحَانٌ*, *عَلْقَى*, and *جَنَادِلٌ*, when proper names, because the cause of diptote declension is removed in their *dims.*, which are *عَمِيرٌ*, *شَمِيرٌ*, *سَرِيحِينَ* [above], *عَلِيقَى*, and *جَنِيدِلٌ*, by removal of the paradigm of deviation, the verbal measure, the *ا* of *سِرْحَانٌ*, the *ا* of *عَلْقَى*, and the form of the ultimate broken *pl.* : (3) diptote in the *dim.*, triptote in the *non-dim.*, as *تَحَلَّى* [above], *تَوَسَّطَ*, *تَرْتَبُ* [372, 678], and *تَهَيَّأَ* [379], when proper names, because the cause of diptote declension becomes complete in their *dims.*, which are *تَحَلَّى* [above], *تَوَسَّطَ*, *تَرْتَبُ*, and *تَهَيَّأَ*, upon the measure of the *aor.* of *يَنْتَبِهُ*; whereas, if a *ي* were put in the *dim.* as a compensation [284] for what is elided, [vid. one of the two double letters in *تَوَسَّطَ* and *تَهَيَّأَ* (Sn),] triptote declension would be necessary, [as *تَوَسَّيْطَ* and *تَهَيَّيْطَ* (Sn),] from the want of verbal measure : (4) either diptote or triptote in the *non-dim.*, and only diptote in the *dim.*, as *هَنْدٌ* [18], *dim.* *هَنْدَةٌ* [264, 282] (A).

§ 275. The *n.* either contains a cause of conversion or elision, before the formation of the *dim.*, or does not. If it does, then the formation of the *dim.* (1) removes the cause of (a) conversion [278], as in *بَابٌ* and *نَابٌ* [684, 703,

[685] لِي and طِي [686] مُوقِطٌ [247, 685] مِيزَانٌ [711];
 مَاءٌ [246] ذَوَائِبُ [683, 721, 723] كِسَاءٌ and عَطَاءٌ [747];
 [below] and, according to Mb, شَاءٌ [278] فَمٌ [below];
 مُتَلِجٌ and نُورٌ and أَدْوَرٌ [683, 708] بَاقِعٌ and قَائِمٌ
 and مُتَعَدٌ [689]: (b) elision, as in عَصَا [16, 278, 719], فَتَى
 [278, 293], and عَم, the cause being the combination of
 two quiescents: and approximate to this sort is that in
 which the formation of the *dim.* does not remove the
 cause of elision, but in the *dim.* something supervenes,
 which prevents that cause from being regarded, like the
tril. curtailed of a letter, either (a) because an irregular
 alleviation is intended, as in سَهٌ [below] and غَدٌ [153, 231,
 292], اِبْنٌ and اِسْمٌ [277], اُخْتُ and بِنْتُ [277], and فَمٌ
 [below], where, if alleviation be intended by the elision, it
 cannot be regarded in the *dim.*, since the measure is not
 complete without the elided; or (b) because of a regular
 alteration, as in عِدَّةٌ and رَنَّةٌ [below]: (2) does not remove
 the cause of (a) conversion, as in تُرَاثٌ [689] and أُدُدٌ [278]:
 (b) elision, as in مَيْتٌ [276], هَارٌ, and نَاسٌ; يَضَعُ and
 تَضَعُ; تَرَى and نَرَى, and أَرَى [276], يَرَى [276];
 خَيْرٌ and شَرٌّ [276]. And, if it does not contain a cause of conver-
 sion or elision, before the formation of the *dim.*, then
 that [cause] (1) supervenes in the formation of the *dim.*,
 like the cause of (a) the conversion [279] of (a) the *l* of

ضَارِبٌ [278] and حِمَارٌ [281]: (b) the و of عَرُوضٌ [279]; of جَدُولٌ [279], أَسَدٌ, and مِرْوَدٌ *a bodkin*; of عُرْوَةٌ [279, 280]; and of عُصْفُورٌ [283]: (b) the elision [281] of (a) the 5th, as in سَفَرَجُلٌ [274]; (b) the 3rd of [three] سى s, as in أَحْوَى [281], مُعَاوِيَةُ, and عَطَاءٌ; (c) the ا of such as مَسَاجِدُ [283], and what is elided from such as مُسْتَخْرَجٌ and اسْتِخْرَاجٌ [283], مُنْطَلِقٌ and اِنْطِلَاقٌ, and the like: (2) does not supervene in the formation of the *dim.*, as in رَجُلٌ and جَعْفَرٌ [274] (R). A *n.* of less than three letters may not form a *dim.*, because the least of the *dim.* formations is فَعِيلٌ, which is not producible except from *trils.* [274, 292] (IY). Supplement the defective [*n.* (IA, Sn)] in forming the *dim.*, [in order that the formation فَعِيلٌ may be attainable (A),] so long as [after the elision (Sn)] it does not contain an [*aug.* (Sn)] third [letter (Sn)] other than the ة [below] (IM) and the *conj.* Hamza [277] (Sn). The "defective" here means "deficient in a letter" (IA, Sn): our saying "*aug.*" is deducible from a subsequent observation by A [276]: and the *neg.* proviso means that the defective should not contain a third at all, like يَدٌ [below]; or should contain a third such as is mentioned, like سَنَةٌ [below] and اِبْنٌ [277] (Sn). The ة of feminization [above] is not reckoned (IY, A), because it is [accounted (IY) virtually (Sn)] separable (IY, Sn),

equivalent to a *n.* joined on to a *n.* [266]; so that, as you form the *dim.* from the first member of two *ns.* [compounded together], saying *حَضِيرَمَوْتُ* [290], and not from the second, so the formation of the *dim.* falls upon what precedes the ة of femininization [274, 282, 283] (IY). Every [*decl.* (IY)] *n.*, when *bil.*, [which happens only by elision of a letter from it, since *decl. ns.* contain at least three letters (IY),] is restored in the *dim.* to its *o. f.*, in order that it may arrive at the paradigm *فَعِيلٌ* (M), restoration to its *o. f.* being better than importation of an extraneous letter (IY). It is of three kinds, what is elided being (1) its ف, as *عَدَّةٌ*, [*رَنَّةٌ* (IY),] and *شَيْءٌ* [699], *dims.* *وَعِيدَةٌ*, [*وَرِينَةٌ* (IY),] and *وَشْيَةٌ* (M); or *أَعِيدَةٌ* [683], *أَزِينَةٌ*, and *أُشْيَةٌ* (IY): and as *كُلٌّ* and *خُذْ* [428, 659], when names [of a man (IY)], *dims.* *أُكَيْلٌ* and *أُحَيْدٌ*: (2) its ع, as *مُدٌّ* [203, 292] and *سَلٌّ* [from *اسْأَلْ* *Ask thou* by elision of the Hamza (IY)], when names [of a man (IY)], *dims.* *مُنَيْدٌ* and *سُؤَيْلٌ*; and as *سَةٌ* [667], *dim.* *سُتَيْهَةٌ* [277]: (3) its ل, as *دَمٌ*, [*يَدٌ* (IY),] *شَفَةٌ* [260], *حِرٌّ* a *vulva*, [*orig.* *حَرْجٌ* (IY),] *فُلٌ* [56. A], and *نَمٌ* [16, 687], *dims.* *دُمِيٌّ*, [*يُدِيَّةٌ* (282) (IY),] *شَغِينَةٌ*, *حَرِيمٌ*, *فَلِينٌ* [by restoration of the ل, which is the ن, but not of the ل, because it is *aug.*, and the object is attained by restoration of the ل alone (IY),] and *فُورِيَّةٌ* (M). And so you do in every defective *tril.*, like the contracted *أَنْ* [525] and *بَحٌّ* [200], when

used as names, *dims.* ^{أُنَيْن} and ^{بُخَيْم} ; and like ^{رَب} [306, 505] in the saying [of Abū Kabīr alHudhalī (AKB)]

أُزْهِيرُ إِنْ يَشِبَّ الْقَدَالُ فَإِنَّهُ * رَبِّ هَيْضَلٍ لِّجَبِّ لَفَّتْ بِهَيْضَلٍ

[O Zuhaira (his daughter), if the back of the head be hoary, verily the case is this, many a noisy host have I joined with a host in fighting (AKB)], when used as a

name, *dim.* ^{رَبِّب} (IY). IM says in the CK that sometimes the elided is one letter in one *dial.*, and another letter in another *dial.* ; so that the *dim.* is formed now by restoring this, and now by restoring that :

as ^{سَنَة}, [*orig.* ^{سَنَوَة} or ^{سَنَهَة} (Jh),] *dims.* ^{سَنِية} and ^{سُنِيَهَة} [277] ; and ^{عَضَة}, *dims.* ^{عَضِيَة} and ^{عُضْبِيَهَة} [306] (A).

He that says ^{سَنَوَات} years [234, 244] says ^{سَنِية} ; while he that says ^{سَانَهَتْه} I contracted with him by the year [234] says ^{سُنِيَهَة} (IY) : and the letter deficient in ^{عَضَة} is the *s*, because it forms the *pl.* ^{عَضَاه}, like ^{شَفَاه} [260] ; or, as some say, the *y*, because it forms the *pl.* ^{عَضَوَات} [234, 244] (Jh). The original *bil.* also is supplemented in the *dim.*, like the defective, in order that it may arrive at the formation ^{فُعَيْل}, except that for this sort no third [letter] is known, that may be restored to it, contrary to the defective (A). If the word be *orig. bil.*, or you do not know what letter is gone from it, you add a *y* at its end in the *dim.*, by analogy to the most frequent

case, because the letter most often elided from the *tril.* is the ل, as in دَم and يَد [260, 719], جَر and فَم [above], not the ف or غ; while the letter most often elided from the *n.* is the unsound letter, either a, or ا ي; and, if you added a, , it would necessarily be converted into ي [280]; so that you put the ي from the very first, as مَن [277, 293] and مِّن, the subjunctival اَن and the *cond.* اِنْ, when used as proper names, *dims.* اُنِي and اُنِي (R). IM in the Kāfiya and the Tashīl allows two methods, (1) that the word should be supplemented by an unsound letter, [a ي (Sn),] as هَل and عَن, when used as names, *dims.* هَلِي and عَنِي; and (2) that it should be treated as belonging to the class of the reduplicated, as هَلِي and عَنِي: but in the Tashīl he expressly declares that the first is better, and so some decide [below]. (A). And [the full explanation of this matter is that (A)], when what is *orig. bil.* is used as a name, then, (1) if its second [letter] be sound [306], as in هَل and بَل, nothing is added to it until its *dim.* is formed, when it must be reduplicated, or a ي must be added to it, as هَلِي or هَلِي: (2) if its second be unsound, reduplication is necessary before formation of the *dim.*, [to obviate the existence of an *infl. n.* consisting of two letters, the last of which is a mobile soft letter, this being unprecedented (Sn)]; so that for لَو, كَي, and مَا, when proper names, you say

لُر [191, 200], كَي, and مَاء changing the second ى into Hamza, [as in حَمَاء (263, 683) (Sn)] : and therefore, when their *dims.* are formed, they are treated like دُو, حَي, and مَاء, as لُوِي, like دُوِي, *orig.* لُوِيُو and دُوِيُو [280]; كَيِي with three ى s, like حَيِي; and مُوِي, like مُوِيَة *dim.* of مَاء *water* [278], except that the ى of this, being a ى [683], is reconverted into it (Aud, A). And [similarly (S)] you say دُوِيَة as *dim.* of دُو (S, R) quiescent in the ى (R), if it be [a name for] a woman (S), because the ى is a substitute for the ى (S, R), as the م in فَم is for the و (S), the *o. f.* being دُوِي [171, 263] (R).

§ 276. That [n. (IY)] which, after the elision, has enough [letters (IY)] remaining, [vid. three (IY),] to form the paradigm of the *dim.*, is not restored to its *o. f.*, [because the elision does not proceed from a cause removable in the *dim.*, but is made in the *non-dim.* merely for a kind of alleviation, which is more needed in the *dim.*, because of the augmentation of its letters (IY),] as مَيْت [251, 703], هَار [in the text عَلَى شَفَا جُرْفٍ هَارٍ IX. 110. *On the edge of a crumbling bank, orig.* هَارِ, the ع being elided for alleviation (IY),] and نَاس [52], *dims.* مَيْت, هَوِيَر, and نَوِيَس; where, if it were restored, مَيْت, هَوِيَر, and نَوِيَس would be said (M). And

هُوَئِرٌ [below] by restoration of the elided, [vid. the , (Sn) of هَاثِرٌ orig. هَاوِرٌ ,] is anomalous [as *dim.* of هَارٌ] (A). This is the rule in S's opinion ; and, accordingly, if he named a man يَضَعُ or يَدْعُ , he would say in the *dim.* يَضِيعُ and يَدِيعُ , without restoring the elided, vid. the , [482, 699, 700] (IY). Y, however, asserts that some say هَوَيْثِرٌ [upon the measure of هَوَيْعِرٌ (S)] ; and he relates that IAl used to say مَرِيءٌ , like مَرِيعٌ , as *dim.* of مَرٌ showing (S, IY, R), *act. part.* of أَرَى (IY), and يَرِيءٌ as *dim.* of يَرِي he shows [658] (S), putting the Hamza, and pronouncing [it] with Kasr (S, R), like مُعْطِ *dim.* of مُعْطٍ giving (R), because [the ي in] it is treated like the ي of قَاضٍ [16] (S) ; and [Mb, as also (IY)] Mz, used to restore [such as يَضَعُ and هَارٌ to its o. f. (R)], saying يُوَضِعُ and هَوَيْثِرٌ (IY, R) : but [S says that (IY, R)] هَوَيْثِرٌ is *dim.* of هَاثِرٌ [below], not of هَارٌ (S, IY, R) ; and [Sf adds (R)] that he who says يُوَضِعُ and هَوَيْثِرٌ ought to say مَيِّتٌ and أُنَيْسٌ , and (IY)] أَخِيرٌ and أَشِيرٌ (IY, R) as *dims.* of خَيْرٌ better and شَرٌّ worse, because their o. f. is أَخِيرٌ and أَشَرٌ ; whereas the GG are agreed upon مَيِّتٌ and نَوَيْسٌ without restoration, and similarly they say خَيْرٌ and شَرٌّ without restoration ; and there is no difference between the two

(IY). IM means by his saying "third" [275] what exceeds two letters, even though it be (1) an initial, as in *يَرَى* *he sees* [658], when used as a name, *dim.* *يَرَى* without restoration [of its ع, vid. the Hamza (Sn)], because the aoristic letter [404] is reckoned : but IAI and Mz allow restoration, saying *يَرَى* [with a Hamza after the ي of the *dim.*, and a Tanwīn of compensation for the ع elided because of the concurrence of two quiescents (Sn)] ; while Y restores [the Hamza], but does not pronounce [it] with Tanwīn, [saying *يَرِي*], according to the principle of his opinion on *يَعْلَى* written in some MSS with the ع, according to his opinion, and in some (Sn)] *يَعْلَى* [without a ع, according to the preferable opinion of others (Sn),] *dim.* of *يَعْلَى* [Note on p. 43, ll. 14-20], and the like : (2) a medial, as exemplified (A) in *مَيْت* [above], *هَار*, and *شَاك* [below]. The *dim.* of *هَار* and *شَاك* [708] is, in the *nom.* and *gen.*, *هَوَيْر* and *شَوَيْك*, with Kasr of the ر, and ن [278] ; and in the *acc.*, [*شَوَيْكِيَا* and *هَوَيْرِيَا*] : the *dim.* of *هَاتِر* and *شَاك* is *هَوَيْر* [above] and *شَوَيْك* with the double ع, [according to Jr's opinion given in § 278] : and the *dim.* of *هَار* and *شَاك* is *هَوَيْر* [above] and *شَوَيْك* with a single ع (Sn).

§ 277. Every *n.* beginning with a *conj.* Hamza drops its Hamza in the *dim.*, whether the *n.* be complete,

as *اِنْطَلَقَ* and *اِقْتَدَارَ*, *dims.* *نُطِيلِيقُ* and *قُتَيْدِيرُ* [283]; or defective, as *اِبْنُ* [667], *اِسْمُ*, and *اِسْتُ*, *dims.* *بُنَى*, *سَمَى*, and *سُتَيْهَةٌ* [275]. The *conj.* Hamza is elided, because the mobilization of what follows it enables it to be dispensed with, since it is prefixed only as a means to pronouncing the quiescent; while, in the *dim.*, the initial is always mobilized, so that the Hamza is not needed. And [in the defective], when the Hamza is dropped, the elided [ل] is restored, because the remainder does not suffice for the formation of the *dim.*, since it consists of [only] two letters (IY). The *ت* [of *بِنْتُ* and *أُخْتُ* (A)] is not reckoned (R, A) in the formation, because of the tinge of feminization in it [295], since this substitute [263, 689] belongs exclusively to the *fem.*, not to the *masc.* (R); but *بُنِيَّةٌ* and *أُخِيَّةٌ* are said, by restoring the elided (A), converted in the *dim.* into *ى* [279, 280], eliding the *ت*, and putting the *ة* of feminization (Sn). There are only seven words for whose ل is substituted a *ت* preceded by a quiescent, and pronounced as a *ت* in pause [307, 646], vid. (1-2) *بِنْتُ* and *أُخْتُ* [689]; (3) *هَنْتُ* [Note on p. 18, l. 9]; (4-5) *كَيْتٌ* and *ذَيْتٌ* [227]; (6) *فَتْنَانٌ* [313]; and, according to S, (7) *كَلْنَا* [117, 307]: while *مَنْتٌ* with quiescence of the ن [183] is like them; but [the *ت* in] it is not a substitute for the ل, since *مَنْ* has no ل by constitution. You

say, in their *dim.*, (1) بُنْيَة and أُخْيَة [307]: (2) هُنْيَة and هُنْيَه, because the *ل* of هُنْتُ is biform, like [that] of سَنَة, *dims.* سُنْيَة and سُنْيَه [275]: (3) مُنْيَة, as you form the *dim.* of مَنْ [275]: (4) ذِيَّيَة and كِيَّيَة, because the Arabs also say كِيَّيَة and ذِيَّيَة in the *non-dim.* [227]; but he who says that their *o. f.* is كَوْيَة and ذَوْيَة [685, 747], because the *conjug.* of طَوَّى is more numerous than that of حَى, says كَوْيَة and ذَوْيَة; while, in the *dim.*, you pronounce the letter before the *z* with Fath, and change the *z* into *z* in pause, because, when you restore the *ل*, the *z* is not a substitute for it (R). And, when you use ضَرَبَتْ as a name [for a woman (S)], you [say ضَرَبَة, and (R)] make its *dim.* ضَرِيبَة (S, R), eliding the *ت*, and putting the *z* in its place (S), because the word is transferred to the *cat.* of *ns.* (R upon IH on the proper name): and so says Khl (S).

§ 278. The substitute [682] is of two kinds, (1) permanent, i. e., substituted for a kind of alleviation, not for a necessitating cause; (2) not permanent, i. e., substituted for a necessitating cause, either a vowel necessitating, or a consonant in a state necessitating, the conversion of what follows it. And, in the *dim.* and broken *pl.*, the necessitating cause being removed by the removal either of the vowel, or of the state of that consonant, the substitute is restored to its *c. f.* (IY). The substitute,

(1) when not permanent, is restored to its *o. f.*, as in the broken *pl.*: you say (a) مُوَبِّزِينَ [and مُوَاِزِينَ (IY)], *dim.* [and broken *pl.* (IY)] of مِيزَان [247, 685]; and [hence (IY)] قُرَيْلٌ, *dim.* of قَيْل [when a man's name (IY)] or قَيْل (M); and رَوَيْحَةٌ [282] and أَرْوَاحٌ, *dim.* and *pl.* of رَيْحٌ [685]; because in the *dim.* and broken *pl.* the *و* is mobilized, and the Kasra removed: and similarly مُيَيْقِنٌ and مُيَيْسِرٌ, *dims.* of مُوقِنٌ and مُوسِرٌ [686], because the quiescence of the *ي* is removed by the formation of the *dim.* (IY): (b) مُوَبِّعِدٌ and مُيَيْسِرٌ, *dims.* of مُتَعِدٌ and مُتَسِرٌ [689] (M), because the *ت* of الْإِنْتَعَالُ is elided in the *dim.* [283]: this is the opinion of Zj [below] (IY): (c) نُيَيْبٌ and بُوَيْبٌ, *dims.* of نَابٌ and بَابٌ [684, 703, 711] (M), because the *ب* does not co-exist with Damm of the preceding letter (IY): (2) when permanent, is not restored to its *o. f.*, you say (a) قَوَيْلٌ *dim.* of قَائِلٌ (M), and بَوَيْعٌ *dim.* of بَائِعٌ [683, 708], with Hamza, which none of our school dispute, except Jr [below] (IY): (b) نُخَيْبَةٌ *dim.* of نُخْبَةٌ [689] (M), by common consent of our school, because the substitution is only for a kind of alleviation, which is as desirable in the *dim.* as in the *non-dim.*; nay, is more suitable in the *dim.*, because the *dim.* is increased in heaviness by the augment in it (IY): and similarly with the *ت* of قُرَيْتٌ [689] (M), *dim.* قُرَيْتٌ (IY); and the Hamza of أَدَدٌ

[below] (M), *dim.* أُدَيْدٌ , because it is pronounced with *Damm* in the *dim.* also (IY) ; (c) عَيْدٌ *dim.* of عِيدٌ a *festival*, [where the substitution is considered permanent (IY),] because you say أَعْيَادٌ (M) in the broken *pl.* [below] (IY). Restore the second [letter (A) of the *dim.* (IA, Aud, A) *n.* (IA, A)] to its *o. f.*, when it is soft, converted (IM) from a soft letter (Aud, A), as IM says in the CK ; but properly from anything but a Hamza immediately following a Hamza: so that this includes six things, (1) a , converted into (a) ى (A), as قَيْمَةٌ *price* [685], *dim.* قَوَيْمَةٌ (IM) ; (b) ا , as بُرَيْبٌ *dim.* بَابٌ [above] : (2) a ى converted into (a) و , as مُيَيْقِنٌ *dim.* مُوقِنٌ [above] ; (b) ا , as نَيْبٌ *dim.* نَابٌ [above] : (3) a Hamza converted into ى , as ذَيْبٌ [658, 685], *dim.* ذَوَيْبٌ [below] : (4) a sound letter other than Hamza, as دِينَارٌ and قِرَاطٌ [685], *dims.* دُنَيْنِيرٌ and قُرَيْبٌ [below] (A). IM means by "conversion" unrestricted substitution, as he phrases it in the Tashīl, because conversion, in the conventional language of the Etymologists, is not applied to the substitution of a soft for a sound letter, [as in دِينَارٌ and قِرَاطٌ , and as in ذَيْبٌ upon the ground that the Hamza is a sound letter (Sn)] ; nor to the converse, [as in مُتَعَدٌ (Sn)] : but to substitution of one unsound letter for another. The soft letter substituted for a Hamza immediately following a Hamza is

to be excepted from his language, as he excepts it in the Tashīl, like the **ا** of **أَدَمُ** and the **ي** of **أَيِّمَةٌ** [661], which are not restored to their *o. f.*, the **ا** of **أَدَمُ** being converted into **و**, [below]; and **أَيِّمَةٌ** having a homomorphous *dim.* (A), **أَيِّمَةٌ** (Jh, Sn), says Mz, who does not convert; while Akh says **أَوَيِّمَةٌ**, converting the Hamza into **و**, (Jh). And the same [rule (Aud A), as to restoration of the second to its *o. f.* (A),] is prescribed for the [broken (IA, Aud, A)] *pl.* (IM), in which [the vocalization of] the initial is altered (Aud, A), as [**بَابُ** *pl.* (IA, A)] **أَبْوَابُ**; [**نَابُ** *pl.* (IA, A)] **أَنْبَابُ** (IA, Aud, A), and [**مِرَانُ** *pl.* (A)] **مَوَارِينُ** (Aud, A), except what is anomalous, like **أَعْيَادُ** [below], and

حَتَّى لَا يُحَلَّ الدَّهْرُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِنَا * وَلَا نَسْأَلُ الْأَقْوَامَ عَقْدَ الْمِيثَاقِ
 [by 'Iyād Ibn Umm Durra at-Tā'i, a heathen poet, Our preserve is a preserve that is never made free, save by our leave; nor do we ask of the peoples the contracting of engagements (MN), cited by IAr (Jh)], meaning **الْمِيثَاقِ** (A), which I have seen in the Nawādir of AZ (MN); contrary to such as [**قِيمَةٌ** *pl.* (A)] **قِيمٌ** and [**دِيمَةٌ** *pl.* (A)] **دِيمٌ** [238] (Aud, A), in which, [the vocalization of] the initial not being altered, the second remains as it was (A). Syt, however, in the Ham', does not make restoration peculiar to the soft second, since he says that the

substitute is restored to its *o. f.*, (1) if it be a final, unrestrictedly, whether soft, as in مَنَهَى [229, 727], or not soft, as in مَاءٌ and سِقَاءٌ [683], *dims.* مَنِيَّةٌ, [*orig.* مَلِيَّهُو], the 1 being reconverted into و, which is then converted into ي, because of its finality after a Kasra, مَوْنِيَّةٌ [below], and سَقَى; as one says in the broken *pl.* مَلَاةٌ [248], مِيَاءٌ [below] and أَمَوَاءٌ, and أَسْقِيَّةٌ; because the formations of the *dim.* and broken *pl.* restore things to their *o. fs.* [282]: (2) if it be not a final, then on two conditions, that it be soft, and that it be a substitute for something other than a Hamza immediately following a Hamza, as مَالٌ *wealthy* [703], قَيْدٌ [above], رَيَّانٌ [below], مِيرَانٌ [above], and مُرُونٌ [above], *dims.* مُوَيْلٌ, قُوَيْلٌ, رُوَيَّانٌ, مُوَيَّرِينٌ, and مُيَيَّقِينٌ, because the cause of the substitution is removed; and as قَيْرَاطٌ and ذَيْبٌ [above], *dims.* قُرَيْرِيطٌ and دُرَيْرِيبٌ: whereas, if it be a sound letter substituted for a sound or soft letter, it is not restored to its *o. f.*, but the word forms its *dim.* as it stands, as تَحْمَمَةٌ *dim.* تَحْمِيْمَةٌ and تَرَاثٌ *dim.* تَرِيْثٌ [above], أَيْبٌ *dim.* أَيْبٌ [683], and قَائِمٌ *dim.* قُوَيْمٌ [below]; and so, if it be [a soft letter] substituted for a Hamza immediately following a Hamza, as أَوْدِمٌ *dim.* أَوْدِمٌ [below], without restoration of the 1 to its *o. f.*, the Hamza (Sn). When the formation of the *dim.* removes the cause of

conversion [275], then in some cases the GG dispute whether the effect is removed by the removal of the cause, or is not; while in others they agree that it is. They agree upon the reversion of the converted letter to its *o. f.* in the case of (1) the ^ا converted from the ^و, or ^ي, when second, because mobile, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, as ^{بَابُ} and ^{نَابُ} [above], *dims.* ^{بُوَيْبُ} and ^{نُيَيْبُ}, because the Fatha of the preceding letter is removed (R): (a) the KK allow ^{نُوَيْبُ} with the ^و, in the *dim.* of such as ^{نَابُ}, the ^ا of which is a ^ي; and they also allow the ^ي in such as ^{شَيْمُ} to be changed into ^و, [as ^{شُوَيْمُ} (Sn)]: while IM agrees with them in the Tashil that the substitution [in both ^{نَابُ} and ^{شَيْمُ}, as distinctly stated in the Tashil (Sn),] is allowable, though inferior; and he is corroborated by the fact that ^{بُوَيْضَةُ} has been heard as *dim.* of ^{بَيْضَةُ}, which, according to the BB, is anomalous (A): (b) the ^ا [in such as ^{بَابُ} (R)], when its *o. f.* is unknown, is converted into ^و, [according to S (R), because the class of the ^و is more numerous in this *cat.* than the class of the ^ي (IY),] as [^{صَابُ} and ^{آءُ}, which are two *trees*, *dims.* ^{صَرِيْبُ} and ^{أَوْيَاةُ}; while Akh makes it a ^ي, because of the lightness of the latter, saying ^{صَيَيْبُ} and ^{أَيْيَاةُ}: but he says (R)] ^{خَوَيْفُ} [and ^{صَرِيْفُ}, with the ^و, only (R),] in the *dim.* of ^{خَافُ} *timid* [and ^{صَافُ} *woolly*,

the *o. f.* of whose **ا** is unknown, because they are (R)] *orig.* either خَائِفٌ (IY, R) and صَائِفٌ [708], the ع being elided, in which case the **ا**, being *aug.*, must be converted into و, as in صَوِيرٌ [below] (R); or خَوْفٌ [and صَوْفٌ (R)], like مَالٌ [above] (IY, R), in which case the **ا** is restored to its *o. f.*, as in بُوبٌ: (c) similarly he says that the **ا** in فَتَى [275, 293] is restored to its *o. f.*, because the Fatha of the preceding letter is removed; and so in عَصَا [275], though the و is then converted into ى [279, 280]: (2) the ى converted from the و, because quiescent, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, as مِيقَاتٌ [685] and رِيحٌ [above], *dims.* مَوْيِقَاتٌ and رَوَيْحَةٌ, as you say in the *pl.* مَوَاقِيتُ [and أَرْوَاحٌ (Jh, KF)]: (a) some of the KK relate that there are Arabs who do not reconvert it into و in the *pl.*, as حَتَّى لَا يُحَدِّثَ أَلَمٌ [above] (R) and أَرْيَاحٌ (Jh, KF): (b) they say عَيْدٌ *dim.* of عِيدٌ [above] (IM, R), anomalously (IM), by analogy عَوِيدٌ (IA, A), in order to distinguish it from the *dim.* of عُرْدٌ (R, Aud, A); and so they say أَعْيَادٌ [686] *pl.* of عِيدٌ [above] (R, A), and أَعْوَادٌ *pl.* of عُرْدٌ *a piece of wood* (R): (3) تَرْيِيطٌ and دَنْيِيرٌ [above], because the Kasr necessitating conversion of the first of the double letters into ى is removed, as in [the *pls.*] قَرَارِيطٌ and دَنَانِيرٌ [685]: (4) the

ى substituted for the و because of its combination with the ى , and the quiescence of the first, as طَى and كَى [685, 747], *dims.* طَوَى and كَوَى , because the first is mobile in the *dim.* ; and similarly طَيَّانُ *lank-bellied* and رَيَّانُ *satisfied with drinking* [above], *dims.* طَوِيَّانُ and رَوِيَّانُ , as you say in the *pl.* طَوَاةَ and رَوَاةَ [685, 713] ; and similarly قَى *a desert, orig.* قَوَى , [*dim.* قَوَى (S)] : (5) the Hamza substituted for the و or ى because of its finality after the *aug.* ا [683, 721, 723], as عَطَا *dim.* عَطَى [279, 281], and قَضَا [*dim.* قَضَى (S)] : (a) similarly you convert the Hamza of coordination in such as حَرْبَاءَ [273, 385, 683] into ى , saying حَرْبَى [282], because its *o. f.* is ى : (b) if the Hamza be original, you leave it alone, as أَلَيْتَهُ *dim.* of أَلَيْتَهُ *a bitter tree* ; and, if you do not know whether the Hamza be original, or a substitute for the و or ى , you leave it in the *dim.* as it was, and do not convert it, unless there exists some indication of necessity for its conversion, because the Hamza is present, and there is no indication that it was *orig.* anything else : (c) similarly you restore the *o. f.* of the second ى in بَرِيَّةَ *creation, mankind* [658], *vid.* the Hamza, according to those who say that it is from بَرَأَ *He created*, because the Hamza is converted into ى only on account of the quiescence of the ى before it, in order that the ى may be incorporated into it ; while

those who say that بَرِيَّةٌ is from اَلْبَرِيَّةِ *dust* do not pronounce it with Hamza in the *dim.* : (d) similarly نَبِيٌّ a prophet [658], according to S, is *orig.* with Hamza, which is alleviated by incorporation [of the ي into it], as in بَرِيَّةٌ ; so that the *dim.* ought by analogy to be نَبِيِّيٌّ : but, says S, when you form its *dim.* or its *pl.* اَنْبِيَاءُ , you discard the Hamza, because alleviation of the Hamza is prevalent in نَبِيٌّ , saying in the *dim.* نَبِيٌّ with two ي s, by elision of the third, as in اَحْيَ [281]; and in the *pl.* اَنْبِيَاءُ [273]: (6) the ا of اَدَمُ [661, 684] in the *dim.* and *pl.* [247, 661, 686]; though, in both of them, something happens to the Hamza, which necessitates its conversion into و [below] : (7) ذَوَاتِبُ when a man's name, *dim.* ذَوَيْتِبُ with two Hamzas inclosing the ي , because ذَوَاتِبُ is *orig.* ذَاَاتِبُ with two Hamzas, since it is *pl.* of ذَوَابَةٌ [246] : (8) شَاءُ and مَاءُ [683] : S says that the *dim.* of شَاءُ is شَوِيٌّ , [while that of شَاءُ is شَوْبَهَةٌ (S)]: for شَاءُ , says he, is *orig.* شَوِيٌّ or شَوْرٌ , the ع being converted into ا , and the ج into Hamza ; though this is anomalous, involving a combination of two alterations, while analogy requires only conversion of the ج into ا [728] : and, says he, شَاءُ is not from شَاءُ , because the *o. f.* of the latter is شَوْبَهَةٌ [260, 683], as is proved by [its *dim.* (Jh)] شَوْبَهَةٌ [above]; but شَاءُ in relation to شَاءُ is like

نِسْوَةٌ [in relation] to امْرَأَةٌ [21, 255, 257]: and he cites the pl. شَرَى, like كَلِيبٌ [237, 255, 257], as a proof that its ل is an unsound letter: but Mb says that شَرَى is a heteromorphous pl. of شَاء, which is orig. شَرَى; so that شَاء is from شَاء [orig. شَوَهَاء], like تَمْرٌ from تَمْرَةٌ [254]; the ع being converted into ا, according to analogy, as in بَابٌ [684, 703, 711]; and then the ا into Hamza, because of its faintness after the ا, which also is faint; and that, this being like مَاء orig. مَوء, you say شَوِيَّة dim. of شَاء, like مَوِيَّة dim. of مَاء [275], because, the faint ا being removed in the dim., the ل is restored to its o. f., as you say in the pl. شِيَاء [260] and مِيَاء [above]: (9) the م of فَمٌ [275], because the و was made a م lest it should be elided, in consequence of the combination of the two quiescents, in which case the n. would remain *unil.* [687]. They dispute about the reversion of the converted letter to its o. f. in the case of (1) the cat. of قَاتِمٌ [and بَاتِعٌ (S)]; (2) the cat. of مُتَعِدٌ [and مُتَسَرٌ]; (3) [the cat. of] اُدُورٌ and نُورٌ indigo, wood, lamp-black [683]. S says that, in the whole [of these cats.], the converted letters are not restored to their o. fs. in the dim.: but you say قَوِيَّتُمْ [and بَوِيَّتُمْ (S)] and اُدَيْتُمْ with Hamza after, and نُتَيْتُمْ with Hamza before, the ي; and مُتَيْتُمْ

[below] and مُتَيِّنٌ with the ت, by elision of the ت of الْإِنْتَعَالُ [283] (R). Jr, however, [differing from him on the first (R),] says قَوَّيْتُ and بَوَّعْتُ without Hamza (IY, R), because the condition of the alteration is gone (R), since the Hamza, says he, was only on account of the transformation of the ع by reason of its occurrence after an *aug.* !, and its vicinity to the end [683, 708], whereas in the *dim.* the ! is removed ; while S and his school rely upon the strength of the Hamza here, by reason of its retention in the broken *pl.*, as قَوَّاتٌ and بَوَّاتٌ [247], which all the Arabs pronounce with Hamza, for which reason the Hamza in قَائِلٌ and بَاتِعٌ is considered permanent (IY). And Zj, differing from him on such as مُتَعِدٌ [and مُتَسِّرٌ], says مُوَيْعِدٌ [and مُيَيْسِرٌ], because the cause [of conversion], vid. the occurrence of the و, [or ي] before the ت, is gone, since the ت is elided in the *dim.* [283] (R) : while S says مُتَيَّعِدٌ [above], مُتَيِّنٌ, and مُتَيَّسِرٌ, because the rule, in his opinion, is that, when substitution is necessary in the case of the ف or ع on account of a cause, which is afterwards removed by the formation of the *dim.*, the substitute is not altered, as though the formation of the *dim.* supplied the place of the cause ; so that, when the ت of الْإِنْتَعَالُ is elided in the *dim.*, the first ت remains as it was. The first [opinion, that of Zj,] is

approved by Z and IY as being] more conformable to analogy (IY) : but IM's rule [for restoration of the converted second] excludes what is not soft, [which is therefore not restored to its *o. f.* (A)] ; so that you say ^{مُتَعِدُّ} [and ^{مُتَيْسِّرٌ}] in the *dim.* of ^{مُتَعِدُّ} [and ^{مُتَيْسِّرٌ}], contrary to the opinion of Zj (Aud, A) and F (Aud); the opinion of S being correct, because ^{مُؤَيَّعٌ} [and ^{مُؤَيَّسِرٌ}] would be fancied to be *dim.* of ^{مُؤَعَّدٌ} or ^{مُؤَعَّدٌ} [and of ^{مُؤَسَّرٌ} or ^{مُؤَسَّرٌ}] (A). As for such as ^{أَدَوْرٌ} and ^{أَدَوْرٌ}, the fact that the cause of the conversion of the , into Hamza, vid. its being pronounced with Damm, disappears in the *dim.* is not heeded by S, because such conversion, though universally allowable in every , permanently pronounced with Damm, is still only approvable, not necessary, the use of the pure , pronounced with Damm being also allowable, as ^{وَجُوءٌ} [683] ; so that this cause also is like no cause : but Mb, differing from him, says ^{أَدِيرٌ} with the double ي [279], and ^{أَدِيرٌ} with the pure , [658]. There is no dispute about such as ^{تُفَخَّهٌ} and ^{تُفَاثٌ} [above], because the conversion of the , into ت is on account of its being pronounced with Damm at the beginning of the word, since they dislike to begin [a word] with a heavy letter vocalized with the heaviest of the vowels, while the Damma exists in the *dim.* also ; and because this conversion is not universal, contrary to the conversion in such

as اَتَعَدَّ [689] (R). اُدَدُ *Udad*, [a name (S),] i.e., Udad Ibn Zaid Ibn Kahlān Ibn Saba, father of a clan of AlYaman, [triptote, like نَقَبٌ *holes, perforations, bores*, not made to deviate (IY), like عَمَرُ (S, Jh), and not used with the art. (S),] is [said to be (R)] orig. وُدَدُ [from الرُّودُ (IY)], its , being converted into Hamza because [deemed heavy to begin with, when (R)] pronounced with Damm, as in [أَجْرُهُ and (R)] اُقْتَتَتْ [683] (IY, R); but I do not know what induces them to assert that the Hamza of اُدَدُ is converted from the , , and what prevents اُدَدُ from being composed of ادد , whence اَلْدُّ meaning *the great matter* and other words (R). The *aug.* † (IM), [or rather] every *aug.* letter of prolongation other than the , (R), is [necessarily (IA)] converted [in the *dim.* (R, IA)] into , , when it is second (IM, R), because the letter before it is pronounced with Damm (R), as صَارِبٌ [275, 281, 373] (R, IA, Aud, A), صَيْرَابٌ [332, 685], and طَوْمَارٌ [377] (R), *dims.* ضَوْرِبٌ [287, 293, 686] (R, IA, A), ضَوْرِبِيرٌ, and طَوْنَبِيرٌ; whereas, if not *aug.*, as قَيْرٌ *tar* and نَابٌ *a canine tooth*, it is not converted, but you say قَيْرٌ and نَيْبٌ [above] (R). Similarly the † whose origin is unknown (IM), as صَابٌ (Aud, A), *dim.* ضَوْنِبٌ [above] (A), whence عَاجٌ *ivory*, *dim.* عَوْنِبٌ

(IA, A); and the **ا** substituted for a Hamza immediately following a Hamza, as **أَوَيْدِمُ** *dim.* **آدِمُ**, as above intimated (A); and the **ا** converted from a **و**, as **بَابُ** above. Thus the **ا**, when second, is converted, in the *dim.*, into **و**, in four cases; as it is converted into **ي** in one case, vid. when it is converted from a **ي**, [as **نَابُ** above] (Sn). And [the predicament of (A)] the broken *pl.* [in conversion of the **ا**, when second (A),] is like [that of (A)] the *dim.*, as **صَوَارِبُ** [247, 686] (IA, A) *pl.* of **صَارِبَةٌ** (IA), and **أَوَامُ** [247, 661, 686] (A). When you form the *dim.* of a word containing a transposition, you do not restore the letters to their places, as **شَاكٍ** and **لَاثٍ**, *orig.* **فُئْسِي** when a proper name, *orig.* **شَاكٌ** and **لَاثٌ** [708]; **فُئْسِي** when a proper name, *orig.* **فُئْسِي** [243]; and **أَيْنُقُ** [238], *orig.* **أَنُوقُ** [256]; *dims.* **لَوَيْثُ** and **قُوسٍ** with Kasr of the **ث** and **ك** [276], **قُوسِي** by elision of the third **ي** as forgotten [281], and **أَيْنُقُ**; because the inducement to transposition is convenience of speech, which is not removed by the *dim.* formation (R). A transposed *n.* [then] makes its *dim.* according to its [present] form, not according to its *o. f.*, as **جَاءُ** *rank*, from **الْوَجَاعَةُ**, [being *orig.* **وَجَعٌ** (Sn)]; but transposed, [the **ع** being put before the **ف**, and the **ف** then converted into **ا**, because mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath (Sn)]; *dim.* **جَوَيْعَةٌ**, without

reversion to the *o. f.*, because there is no need of that (A).

§ 279. [Z followed by] IH here [279-281] sets forth the predicament of the *ns.* in which the letter after the *ى* of the *dim.* must be converted into *ى*, and have the *ى* of the *dim.* incorporated into it. They are of two kinds, (1) those in which two *ى* s are combined at the formation of the *dim.* [279, 280]; (2) those in which three *ى* s are combined [281] (Jrb). When the *ى* of the *dim.* is immediately followed by a , , [as in عَرَّةٌ (Jrb),] or by an *l* converted, [as in عَصَا (Jrb),] or *aug.*, [as in رِسَالَةٌ (Jrb),] this letter is converted into *ى*, [and has the *ى* of the *dim.* incorporated into it (Jrb),] as عَرِيَّةٌ [280], عَصِيَّةٌ [280, 282], and رَسِيْلَةٌ; and is seldom sounded true in the *cat.* of أُسَيْدٌ [287] and جَدِيْلٌ (SH), *dims.* of أُسَوْدٌ and جَدَوْلٌ, where أُسَيْرِدٌ [287] and جَدِيْرِلٌ occur, which is not a chaste *dial. var.* (Jrb). Such *ns.* belong to the *cat.* in which the cause of conversion supervenes in the formation of the *dim.* [275]. The , or *l* is not converted unrestrictedly, but upon condition that it be not followed by two letters occurring in the position of the [second] ع and the *l* of فُعَيْلٌ in the *dim.*; for, if followed by two such letters, it must be elided, as likewise must every *ى* in such a position, as مُقَيِّلٌ *dim.* of

مَقَاتِلٌ by elision of the ا, since مُفَيِّعٌ with double ي is not one of the formations of the *dim.*; and similarly تُقَاتِلُ *dim.* of تُقَوِّلُ, when a proper name, by elision of the و; and similarly حَبِيرٌ *dim.* of أَحَبِيرٌ, by elision of the ي together with the *conj.* Hamza [283]. The ا and و are converted into ي only when they occur in the position of (1) the ل of فَعِيلٌ, as أُذَى *dim.* of إِذَا when a proper name [292], and عَرِيَّةٌ *dim.* of عُرَّةٌ [280]; (2) the [second] ع of فَعِيلٌ, as رُسَيْلَةٌ *dim.* of رِسَالَةٌ [above], and عَجَبٌ *dim.* of عَجُوزٌ [below]. They are converted into ي only because, in that case, they must be mobilized; and, when the و is mobilized, while preceded by a quiescent ي, it must be converted into ي [685]; and, when you intend to mobilize the ا, then to make it a ي is better, because, if made a و, it must be converted into ي for the reason mentioned; while to make it a Hamza would be strange, though it is from the same source as the Hamza [732], because approximation in quality is more frequently regarded in the unsound letters than approximation in source. The و occurring [immediately] after the ي of the *dim.*—I mean the و that is not elided—is either a ل [280], or not a ل (R). The و, when it occurs as a medial, is second, [as جَوْرَةٌ]; or third, [as آسَرْدٌ]; or fourth, [as مَعَارِيَةٌ] (IY). When the و is second, it is not

altered in the *dim.*, because it is mobilized [with Fath in the *dim.* (IY)]; so that its being followed by the *ى* of the *dim.* does not change it into *ى* (S)], as *جَوْرَةٌ* *dim.* *جَوِيَّةٌ* (S, IY). When the *و* is (S, M, R) third, [a medial (M), either an *ع* or an augment (S),] as in *أَسْوَدٌ* and *جَدَوَلٌ* [369, 675] (S, M), not a *ل* (R), then, (1) if it be quiescent [in the *non-dim.* (R)], as in *عَجُوزٌ* [and *جَزُورٌ* (R)], it is always converted into *ى* [in the *dim.*, and has the *ى* of the *dim.* incorporated into it (IY)], as *عُجَيْرٌ* (IY, R) and *جُرَيْرٌ* (R): (2) if it be mobile [in the *non-dim.* (R)], then, whether it be [*rad.* (R), an *ع* (IY),] as in *أَسْوَدٌ* [and *مَرُودٌ* (R)], or *aug.*, [for co-ordination (IY),] as in *جَدَوَلٌ*, [you have two ways of forming the *dim.*; for (IY)] conversion [with incorporation (IY)] is [more (R)] frequent (IY, R) and excellent (IY), but may be omitted (R): (a) the [more (M)] excellent way is to say *أُسَيْدٌ* (S, M), *مُرَيْدٌ* (S), and *جُدَيْلٌ* (M), because the quiescent *ى* changes the *و*, after it into *ى* (S); but some of the Arabs display (S, M) the *و*, (S, IY) in the whole of what we have mentioned (S), as *أُسَيْرِدٌ*, [*مُرَيْرِدٌ*,] and *جُدَيْرِلٌ* (S, M, R), which is the stranger of the two ways, leaving the *و*, as it was before the formation of the *dim.* (S): (b) the latter way (a) is [said by some to be (R)] allowable for conformity with the broken *pl.* *أَسَاوِدُ*

serpents, [مَرَادُ (S).] and جَدَاوِلُ [253] (IY, R), since the *dim.* and broken *pl.* follow one course [274] (IY); whereas, if that were so, مُقَيَّرٌ and مُقَيَّرٌ would be allowable as *dims.* of مَقَامٌ and مَقَالٌ, like [the broken *pls.*] مَقَاوِمُ and مَقَاوِلُ [below] (R): but (b) is [correctly (R)] said to be because the , is strong by reason of its mobility (IY, R) in the *sing.*, since they convert the , into ى in the broken *pl.* ثِيَابٌ [242], where it is quiescent in the *sing.* [ثَوْبٌ], but do not convert it in طَوَالٌ [246, 713], where it is mobile in the *sing.* طَوِيلٌ (IY); and because it is not at the end, which is the seat of alteration; and because the ى of the *dim.* is adventitious, not permanent (R): (c) the former way is preferable, because conformity with the broken *pl.* is weak, not universal; since they say مَقَاوِمُ and مَقَاوِلُ [714, 717], displaying the , in the [broken] *pl.* of مَقَالٌ and مَقَامٌ; and still say مُقَيَّرٌ and مُقَيَّرٌ in the *dim.* (IY). As for مُعَاوِنَةٌ [281], the same treatment is allowable in it as in آسَدٌ, because the , is part of the word itself, is *orig.* mobile, and is retained in the *pl.* مَعَاوِي (S). And similarly the Hamza converted [from the 1 converted from a , or ى (R)] after the [aug. (R)] 1 (SH), which immediately follows the ى of the *dim.* (R), is converted into ى (R, Jrb), which is afterwards elided [281] (R),

as in [عَطَى and قَضَى, *dims.* of] عَطَاء [and قَضَاء], *orig.* عَطَا [and قَضَا] (Jrb).

§ 280. The [و, when it occurs as a (M)] ل [279] (M, R), whether it be sounded true or altered (M), is always converted into ي, as [عَزَوْ raiding and (R)] عَزَا a loop or handle, *dim.* [غَزَى and (R)] غَزَا [279] (M, R); رَضَى [272] and (M) عَشَوَاء weak-sighted, blind by night, *dim.* [رَضِيَا and (M)] عَشِيَاء (M, R); غَزَوَان raiding, *dim.* غَزِيَان; غَزَوِيَّة; غَزَوِيَّة rel. n. of غَزَوْ [281], *dim.* غَزِيِيَّة with two double ي s (R); عَصَا [and قَفَا (IY)], *dim.* عَصِيَّة [279, 282] (M) and قَفَى [281]: and may not be sounded true, as in أُسَيِّدُ [279], because the ل is weak by reason of its finality [281], while the ع is strong by reason of its mediality (IY).

§ 281. When three ي s are combined (Jh, IY, SH), [i. e.,] when two ي s are combined with the ي of the *dim.* (M), at the end of the word (IY, Jrb), then, if the first be the ي of the *dim.* (Jh), the last being final, literally, as in أُحْيِي, or constructively, as in مَعْيِيَّة [266], and the second being pronounced with Kasr, [and having the first] incorporated into [it] (R), the last (M, SH) one of them (Jh) is elided (Jh, M, SH) as forgotten, according to the chastest [usage] (SH), the *dim.* becoming of the paradigm فَعِيلٌ (M). The elision is

(IY, R, Jrb) necessary for the sake of alleviation (R) on account of the heaviness of the [combination of (IY)] ى s; and the last is peculiarly distinguished by it, because of the frequency with which alteration makes its way to the final [280, 306] (IY, Jrb). That [elision of the last ى] does not take place in the *v.*, as حَيًّا *preserved alive, saluted, aor.* يَحْيِي; nor in the *part.*, as اَلْبَحْيِي [below] (R). For every *n.* wherein three ى s are combined must be examined: and then, if it be not a *part.*, the ى is elided from it, as عَطَى *dim.* of عَطَاء and اَحْيَ *dim.* of اَحْرَى [below]; but, if it be a *part.*, the ى is retained, as مَحْيَى *fem.* مَحْيِيَّة, from حَيًّا *aor.* يَحْيِي [301] (Jh). You say (1) عَطَا *[orig. عَطَا (Jh), dim. عَطَى [above] (Jh, M, SH), the ى being converted into ى [279] (IY, R, Jrb), as in حَبَار [275] (R), dim. حَبِير [282, 293], (ID, Jh, KF); so that the Hamza reverts to its o. f., vid. the و (IY, R, Jrb), as عَطِير (Jrb), because of the removal of the ى before it (R); and is then converted into ى [279], because it is [final and (R, Jrb)] preceded by a Kasra [685] (IY, R, Jrb), as عَطِي (Jrb); and, three ى s being then combined, the third is elided (IY, R, Jrb) as forgotten (R, Jrb), the *dim.* becoming like the *dim.* of *trils.*, as فَنَى [280] (IY); so that عَطَى remains, the inflection being placed upon the second (R, Jrb), as هَذَا عَطَى *This is a little gift*; whereas, if*

the third were reckoned, عَطِي [below] would be said in the *nom.*, like قَاصِي [16, 720] (Jrb) : (2) إِدَاوَةٌ *a small water-bag* [721, 726], *dim.* أُدِيَّة (M, SH), like عَطَاء (IY, R, Jrb), there being no difference between them, except that the ل of إِدَاوَةٌ is not converted into ا, and then into Hamza, because it is not final, as the ل of عَطَاء is (R) : (3) غَاوِيَّة *erring*, [فَاعِلَةٌ from غَيَّ *error* (IY), and i. q. رَاوِيَّة *a camel carrying water* (KF),] *dim.* غَوِيَّة (M, SH), on the model of فَعِيكَةٌ, but really upon the measure of فَوْبَعَةٌ (IY), being *orig.* غَوْبَوِيَّة (Jrb), because the ا is converted into و (IY, R, Jrb) in the *dim.* (Jrb), as in ضَارِبٌ [278]; and the [second (Jrb)] و [of غَوْبَوِيَّة (Jrb), which is the ع of the word (IY, R),] into ي (IY, R, Jrb); and the ي of the *dim.* incorporated into it [279] (IY, Jrb), as غَوِيَّة (Jrb); so that three ي s are combined (IY, R, Jrb); and the last is then elided, as above (IY) : (4) مُعَاوِيَّة *a bitch in heat and a fox-cub*, *dim.* مُعِيَّة (KF), [and] مُعَاوِيَّة *Mu'āwīya*, [the son of Abū Sufyān (KF), from تَعَاوَى الْقَوْمُ *The people hallooed one another on*, i. e., *called one another*, to a fight or some thing else (ID),] *dim.* مُعِيَّة (Jh, M, SH), *orig.* مُعِيرِيَّة (Jrb), because its ا is elided (IY, R, Jrb), as in [مُضَارِبٌ and] مُقَاتِلٌ [283] (R); and the و, [which is the ع (IY,

R) of the word (IY),] is converted into **ى** (IY, R, Jrb); and the **ى** of the *dim.* incorporated into it (Jrb), according to those who say **أَسِيدُ** [279] (IY); and, [it being followed by the **ى**, which is the **ل** of the word (IY),] three **ى** s are combined; so that the last is elided (IY, Jrb) as forgotten (Jrb); and **مُعِيَّةٌ** remains, upon the measure of **مُفِيْعَةٌ** (IY), as

وَقَاءَ يَا مُعِيَّةٌ مِنْ أَبِيهِ * لِمَنْ أَوْفَى بِعَهْدٍ أَوْ بَعْدٍ

Keeping a promise, O little Mu'āwiya, on behalf of his father, is proper for him that keeps a covenant or a compact (IY, R): (5) **أَحْوَى** *having dark-red lips* [300] (Jh, M, SH), **أَفْعَلٌ** from **أَحْوَةٌ**, its **ع** and its **ل** being **ا** , , and the **ا** that is fourth being converted into **ى** [685, 727] (IY), *dim.* **أَحَى** (Jh, M, SH), *orig.* **أَحْيَوُ**, the last **ا** being converted into **ى** because preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, as **أَحْيَوِي**; and (Jrb) the [first (Jrb)],, [which is an **ع** (IY, R),] being [then (Jrb)] converted into **ى** [279] (IY, R, Jrb); and the **ى** of the *dim.* incorporated into it, as **أَحْيَى** (Jrb); so that three **ى** s are combined (IY, R, Jrb); and therefore the last is elided (IY, Jrb), as **أَحَى** [above]. The GG differ as to whether the elision in **أَحَى** is euphonic or arbitrary: IIU, S, and many GG holding that the elision is arbitrary; while IAL holds that it is euphonic. Moreover those who say that it is arbitrary differ as to whether

أَحَى is triptote or not (Jrb). After the elision of the third *ى* (R), أَحَى is (1) [still (R)] diptote (S, Jh, M, SH), according to Y, who says أَحَى (S, Jh), which is the regular [and correct (S, Jh)] form (S, Jh, SH), in the opinion of S, Jh, IY, R, Jrb) and many GG, on account of the qualification and verbal measure [18], regard to which is not prevented by the formation of the *dim.*, as is proved by their saying هُوَ أَفْضَلُ مِنْكَ [274, 287] (Jrb), because the [quasi-aoristic] augment is extant in its beginning (S); and [similarly] in the *dim.* of يَحْيَى John you say يُحَى, [orig. يُحَى] (Jh): for, although the verbal measure [يُفَعِّلُ or أَفْعِلُ] is removed [in أَحَى and يُحَى], literally and also constructively, by the elision of the *ل* as forgotten, still the Hamza [or *ى*] in the beginning directs attention to, and gives notice of, it; just as such [proper names] as يَعْدُ and يَرَى are diptote by common consent, although they are deficient in verbal measure by reason of the necessary elision of the *ف* and *ع* respectively (R): (2) triptote, according to IIU (S, Jh, M, SH), who says أَحَى (S, Jh, IY): but, [says S (Jh),] this is a mistake; and, if it were allowable, أَصَم would be triptote (S, Jh), because it is lighter than أَحْمَر; and so would أَرْس heads [below], when used as a name, and pronounced أَرْس without Hamza (S); and so

- would أَصِيمُ [274] (Jh). Here IIU [apparently (IY)] regards the fact that أَحَيُّ is [permanently (R)] deficient in, [and excluded from (IY),] the verbal measure (IY, R), contrary to such as أَرَسُ, a contraction of أَرَسْتُ [above], where the deficiency caused by elision of the Hamza is not permanent; but this is of no account, because the necessary [deficiency] and the allowable [deficiency], as we have mentioned, are alike in such cases when the [quasi-aoristic] letter exists (R). And IAl says أَحَيِّ (S, Jh, M, SH), like أَحْيِرُ [below] (Jh), as though he made it defective (IY), not eliding the third as forgotten; but only eliding it with Tanwīn, as the ي in قَائِلٍ is elided; and restoring it with the ج and prothesis, as الْأَحْيَى (R): but [S says that (Jh)], if this were allowable, you would say عَطِي [below] as *dim.* of عَطَاءُ (S, Jh), because the elided is a ي like this ي, and follows a ي pronounced with Kasr; and سُقْيِيَّةُ as *dim.* of سَقَايَةً [below] (S). F, however, says that IAl does this only because of its resemblance in form to the *v.*, as though it were a *part.*, like الْمَحْيَى [above]; and that so he would say يَحْيَى as *dim.* of يَحْيَى *John*, [because it has no Tanwīn] (R). Those who say أُسَيِّدُ [279] say [only (IY)] أَحْيِرُ [above] (Jh, M, SH), making it defective (IY); and غُوبِيَّةُ (R) and مُعْيِرِيَّةُ (IY, R), without

converting or eliding anything [except the **ا**] (IY); because three **ي** s are not combined (IY, R) at the end (IY), so that the third should be elided as forgotten (R). If, however, the first **ي** be not the **ي** of the *dim.*, you elide nothing, saying **حَيَّة** *a serpent*, *dim.* **حَيَّيَّة** [297]; **مَيَّة** *Mayya*, *dim.* **مَيَّيَّة**; and **أَيُّوب** *Job*, *dim.* **أَيَّيُّوب** with four **ي** s, which you tolerate because they are in the middle of the *n.*; whereas, if they were at the end, you would not combine them (Jh). Jh says that (MAR) [all of] this is the saying of the BB; and, as for the KK, they elide nothing, saying **مُعَيَّيَّة** according to those who say **أُسَيِّدُ**, and **مُعَيَّوِيَّة** according to those who say **أُسَيِّرُ** [279] (Jh). IH's saying "the last is elided as forgotten, according to the chastest [usage]" suggests that it is not elided according to the less chaste [usage]: whereas this is not so; but, subject to the restrictions mentioned, elision of the **ي** is necessary, by common consent, [as regards] both the fact and the character of the elision,] except where the initial is a quasi-aoristic letter, as in **أَحْيَ**, where IAl, as above shown, [elides the **ي** euphonically, but] does not elide it as forgotten. Sf says "You say **عَطَاء** *dim.* **عُطِيَ** and **قَضَاء** *dim.* **قُضِيَ** [278], **إِدَارَة** *dim.* **أُدِيَّة** and **سَقَايَة** *dim.* **سُقِيَّة**; and nothing else is allowable in this": and IKh says "Analogy requires

alteration like that of قَامٍ [16], but the [usage] heard is elision of the third as forgotten." Jh and An, indeed, say that the elision is omitted by the KK ; but I believe what they attribute to the KK to be a mistake of theirs. Similarly you elide the final double ى following a double ى, when the second [double ى] does not denote *relation*, as مَرَوِيَّةٌ *pass. part.* of رَوَى, *dim.* مَرِيَّةٌ, *orig.* مَرِيَّةٌ : and similarly the *dim.* of أَرَوِيَّةٌ a female mountain-goat [is أَرِيَّةٌ (S)], according to those who say that أَرَوِيَّةٌ is أَنْعَوْلَةٌ ; whereas those who say that it is فَعْلِيَّةٌ, the ى denoting *relation*, say أَرِيَّةٌ with two double ى s, like غَزَبِيَّةٌ *dim.* of غَزَوِيَّةٌ *rel. n.* of غَزَوْ [280]. Similarly the *dim.* of عَكَرِيَّةٌ and عَدَوِيَّةٌ is عَلَيَّةٌ and عَدَيَّةٌ with two double ى s [299]. The reason why you do not elide anything when the *dim.* formation invades the *rel. n.*, as in the *exs.* mentioned, while you elide the ى of the *dim.* when the *rel.* formation invades the *dim.*, as in أَمَوِيَّةٌ and تَصَوِيَّةٌ [299], is only that, in the *dim.* of the *rel. n.*, the *rel. n.* is the principal [part of the formation], since it is the qualified, the sense of عَلَيَّةٌ being مُصَغَّرَةٌ عَكَرِيَّةٌ a diminutive 'Alawī, so that its sign may not be discarded ; nor is the sign of the *dim.* discarded, since the *dim.* is the invader, and, when the invader is prevented from annulling the predicament of the invaded, the least that can happen is that its own

predicament should not be annulled by the invaded : whereas, in the *rel. n.* of the *dim.*, the *dim.* is not a principal, since it is not qualified ; but it is subordinate to the *rel. n.*, the sense of ^{تُصَرِّفُ} being related to *Kuṣayy*, so that its sign may be discarded in compliance with the inducement of dislike to heaviness ; whereas, the *rel. n.* being an invader, its sign is not discarded. And, according to this rule, the *rel. n.* of [the *dim.*] ^{جُهَيْنَةُ} *Juhaina* is ^{جُهْنَى} [297], by elision of the *ي* ; and then the *dim.* of [the *rel. n.*] ^{جُهْنَى} is ^{جُهَيْنَى} (R).

§ 282. The ة [of femininization (M)], (1) when expressed [in the *n.* (IY)], is always retained (M, Jrb) in the *dim.*, whether its letters be few or many (IY), as ^{ضَارِبَةٌ} *dim.* ^{ضَرَبَةٌ}, to distinguish between the *dims.* of the *masc.* and the *fem.* (Jrb), because, the ة being equivalent to a *n.* joined on to a *n.* [266], as in ^{حَضْرَمَوْتُ} [4, 215], the process is to form the *dim.* of the *n.*, of whichever *cat.* it be, and then put the ة, as you do with the *comp.* [290], as ^{تَمْرَةٌ} a date, *dim.* ^{تَمِيرَةٌ} ; ^{قَرَقَرَةٌ} a rumb-ling, *cooing*, *dim.* ^{قَرِيقَرَةٌ} ; and ^{سَفْرَجَلَةٌ} a quince, *dim.* ^{سُفْرِجَجَةٌ} (IY) : (2) when supplied [264], is expressed in [the *dim.* of (IY)] every [*fem.* (IY)] *tril.* (M, Jrb) *n.*, as ^{قَدَمٌ} a foot, *dim.* ^{قَدِيمَةٌ} [below], ^{يَدٌ} a hand, *dim.* ^{يَدِيَّةٌ} [275], and ^{هِنْدٌ} *Hind*, *dim.* ^{هِنْدَةٌ} [264, 274] (IY), except

in such anomalies as عَرِيسٌ and عَرِيبٌ [below]; but not in the *quad.*, [because it is deemed heavy (Jrb),] except in such anomalies as قُدَيْدِيَّةٌ and وَرِيَّةٌ [below] (M, Jrb). The ة [of feminization (IM)] is added to [the *dim.* of (IM)] the *fem.* bare [of the ة (SH, Aud, A)], when *tril.* (SH, IM), (1) *orig.* and (Aud) actually (Aud, A), like سِنٌ *a tooth* (IM), نَارٌ *fire* (Jh), and دَارٌ *a house* (Aud, A) *dims.* سَنِينَةٌ, [نَوِيرَةٌ (Jh),] and دَوِيرَةٌ (A); (2) *orig.*, [but not actually (Aud),] like يَدٌ (Aud, A), *dim.* يَدِيَّةٌ: (3) ultimately (A), if its trilateralness supervenes because of the formation of the *dim.* (Aud), which [*tril.*] is of two sorts, (a) what is *quad.* by reason of a letter of prolongation before an unsound ل (A), like سَمَاءٌ *sky* (Aud, A), unrestrictedly (Aud), *dim.* سَمِيَّةٌ [below] (A); and (b) [the *n.* of three *rad.*s. (A),] like حَبْلِيٌّ [and حَبْرَاءٌ (Aud)], when the *dim.* is formed by curtailment [264, 291] (Aud, A). Then IM excepts from the rule mentioned two sorts [of *tril. fem. n.*], to [the *dim.* of] which the ة is not affixed, indicating the first by his saying (A) “so long as it is not seen to be ambiguous by reason of the ة, like شَجَرٌ and بَقَرٌ [254]” (IM), according to the *dial.* of those who make them *fem.* [271] (A), *dim.* شُجَيْرٌ and بُقَيْرٌ, because شَجِيرَةٌ [274] and بُقِيرَةٌ would be confounded with the *dim.* of شَجَرَةٌ and بَقَرَةٌ [254] (IA, A); “and [like (Aud)] خَمْسٌ (IM), *dim.* خَمِيسٌ (IA, A),

and سِتّ [dim. سُدَيْسٌ] (Aud, Sn), because خَيْسَةٌ [and سُدَيْسَةٌ (Jh)] would be confounded with the *dim.* of [the *masc. num.* (IA)] خَمْسَةٌ (IA, A) and سِتَّةٌ [314, 758] (Jh); and similarly بَضْعٌ and عَشْرٌ, *dims.* بُضَيْعٌ and عَشِيرٌ, because بُضَيْعَةٌ and عَشِيرَةٌ would be confounded with [the *dim.* of] the *masc. num.* [بَضْعَةٌ and عَشْرَةٌ (Jh, KF)]: and the second by his saying (A) “and omission [of the ة (Aud, A)] without ambiguity is anomalous” (IM). The ة is affixed to the *dim.* of the *fem.*, when it is *tril.*, because of two matters, that the *fem.* gender is generally accompanied by a sign, and that the *tril.* is light; and, since these two matters are combined, and the formation of the *dim.* restores things to their *o. fs.* [278], they express the sign supplied for that gender (IY). The *dim.* formation produces in the substantive the sense of the *ep.*, since رَجُلٌ means رَجُلٌ صَغِيرٌ [25, 274]; so that the *dim. n.* is equivalent to the qualified [*non-dim.*] together with its *ep.*; and therefore, as you say قَدَمٌ صَغِيرَةٌ a small foot by affixing the ة to the end of the *ep.*, so you say قَدِيمَةٌ [above], by affixing the ة to the end of this *n.*, which is like the end of the *ep.* Some GG, seeing that the *dim.* formation produces in the substantive the sense of the *ep.*, and that there is no sense of qualification in the proper name [147], say that the *dim.* of proper names [287]

is not correct : but what they imagine is of no account, because by forming the *dim.* you do not make the *non-dim.* itself an *ep.*, so that their objection should apply ; but you qualify the *non-dim.*, except that you make the single expression, vid. the *dim.*, like the qualified and *ep.* [together] ; and qualification of proper names is not disapproved, but is common, frequent (R). As for the *qual. n.*, the ة of femininization, when not expressed in its *non-dim.*, is not expressed in its *dim.*, because it is heavier [than the *tril.*]; and the fourth letter, according to them, corresponds to the sign of femininization [300], because the *n.* becomes long by means of it, the number of [letters in] عُنَيْقُ [*dim.* of عُنَاقُ] being like the number of [letters in] قُدَيْمَةٌ [above] (IY). In short, when the *tril.*, which is the lightest of the formations, is invaded by the sense of qualification, they venture upon adding the ة, which is affixed to the end of the *eps.* of the *fem.*: but, when they reach the *n.* of four or more letters, then, since the ة, though an entire word [266], is still like a letter of the word that it is attached to, they do not think fit to add a letter to letters already so numerous that, if a *rad.* were added, they would reject it in the *dim.* [274] ; so that they assume the last letter to be like the ة, which is needed, because the *n.* is an *ep.*, saying عُنَيْقُ *dim.* of عُنَاقُ an eagle, and عُنَيْرُ, [not عُنَيْرَةٌ عُنَيْرَةٌ] *dim.* of عُنَيْرُ a scorpion (R), like زَيْنَبُ *dim.* of

زَيْنَبُ (D). If, however, the *fem.* [μ . (R)] exceeding three letters contains something that necessitates its being reduced to three in forming the *dim.*, the ة must be added [in its *dim.* (R)], as سَمَاءُ *dim.* سَيِّئَةٌ [above] (IY, R), *orig.* سَيِّئَةٌ, like عَطَاءُ *dim.* عَطِيٌّ [281] (IY): and similarly, in the curtailed *dim.* of [the augmented *tril.*, as عَنَاقُ *a she-kid*, عَقَابُ (R), زَيْنَبُ *Zainab*, [and سَعَادُ *Su'ād* (IY),] you say [عَنْيَقَةٌ, عَقِيبَةٌ (R), زَنْيَبَةٌ (IY, R), and سَعِيدَةٌ (IY). If the *tril.* is a generic *n. orig. masc.*, but used as an *cp.* of the *fem.*, as امْرَأَةٌ عَذْلٌ or صَوْمٌ or رَضَى [143], you regard the original gender, *vid.* the *masc.*, in the *dim.*; and do not add the ة, as امْرَأَةٌ عَذِيلٌ and صَوِيمٌ and رَضَى (R). In the proper name, however, no regard is paid to the gender of what it is transferred from [4]: but you say رَمِيحَةٌ as *dim.* of رَمَحٌ when a proper name of a woman, and عَيْنٌ as *dim.* of عَيْنٌ when a proper name of a man, contrary to the opinion of IAMB, who regards the original gender, saying رَمِيحٌ in the first, and عَيْنَةٌ in the second (A). When you use a *tril.* as a name for a female, you add the ة in its *dim.*, when the *tril.* is (1) *masc.*, like حَكْبَرٌ and زَيْدٌ; (2) a *fem.*, to whose *dim.* the ة is not affixed before the *tril.* becomes a proper name, like حَرْبٌ and دِرْعٌ [below]. The reason

why the original gender is observed in such as *امْرَأَةٌ عَدِيلٌ* and *صَوِيمٌ*, but not in the proper name, is that the *ep.* is not totally excluded from its original meaning, since *امْرَأَةٌ عَدْلٌ* means that, from abundance of justice, she, as it were, embodies justice [143], and *امْرَأَةٌ حَائِضٌ* means *انْسَانٌ حَائِضٌ* [268]; so that in both cases you intend the original meaning, which the expression is applied to denote: whereas in the proper name that is not intended, because it is transferred, and is a secondary application different from the primary, the object of the name being to explain the [person or thing] named, not its own original meaning; so that, when you use *حَجَرٌ* *Stone* as a name, it is as though you used *غَطَفَانٌ* *Ghatafan* [4] or some other coined [proper name]; and it is seldom that in the proper name the meaning [of the expression that the name is] transferred from is regarded. Similarly, when you use a *fem.* [*tril.*] bare of the ة, like *أذنٌ* *an ear* and *عينٌ* *an eye*, as a name for a male, you do not affix the ة to its *dim.*, because this use is, as we mentioned, a new application (R). Y, however, allow this [regard to the original, as he allows regard to the actual, gender (Sn), saying *أَذِينَةٌ* and *عَيْنَةٌ* (R)]; and cites in proof of it [the saying of the Arabs *نُوَيْرَةُ* *Nuwaira* (A),] *أَذِينَةٌ* *Udhaina*, and *عَيْنَةٌ* *Uyaina*, names of men: but

that is no proof, because, [according to the GG (R), it may be that (A)] these words were taken as names [for a male (R)] after the formation of the *dim.* (R, A). When you use ^تبِنْتُ and ^تأُخْتُ as names for a female, you elide this ت, [as when they are not used as names at all (Sn)]; and then form the *dim.*, and affix the ة of feminization, saying ^ةبَنِيَّةُ and ^ةأُخِيَّةُ [277] (A): and, when you use them as names for a male, [and form their *dim.* (R),] you [elide the ت; but (R)] do not affix the ة, [because the *dim.* is then *masc.* (R),] saying [^ةبُنَى and (A)] ^ةأُخَى (R, A), by restoration of the elided ل [275] (R). The ة is anomalously omitted, [notwithstanding the absence of ambiguity (IA, Aud),] in [the *dim.* of (IY, R, Aud)] certain [*tril.* (R, Aud)] *ns.*, [not to be copied (A), three of which are mentioned by S (IY, R),] vid (1) ^ةحَرْبٌ *war* [above] (IY, R, IA, Aud, A), *dim.* ^ةحَرْبٍ; (2) ^ةنَابٌ *an aged she-camel*, [*dim.* ^ةنَيْيَبٌ (IY, R)]; (3) ^ةفَرَسٌ *a mare*, (IY, R, A), *dim.* ^ةفَرَسٍ: and three mentioned by Jr, vid. (IY, R) (4) ^ةدَرَعٌ *a coat of mail*, [^ةدَرَعٌ *a woman's shift* being *masc.* (Sn), *dim.* of the former ^ةدَرِيعٌ (Jh, KF)]; (5) ^ةعُرْسٌ [or ^ةعُرْسٌ (Sn)] *a marriage-feast* (IY, R, Aud, A), which is *fem.* [241], as

إِنَّا وَجَدْنَا عُرْسَ الْكَنْطِ * لَيْثِمَةً مَذْمُومَةً الْخَوَاطِ

نَدَعَى مَعَ النَّسَاجِ وَالْخَيَاطِ

(R), by a Rājiz (Jh, MAR), *Verily we found the marriage feast of the wheat-seller to be mean, blameworthy in respect of the managers, we being invited to it with the weaver and the tailor* (MAR), or more properly عَرَسَ a man's wife, and a lion's mate (Sn), *dim.* عَرِيسٌ (IY); (6) قَوْسٌ a bow (IY, R, IA, A), *dim.* قَوَيْسٌ (IA): and the rest transmitted by others, *vid.* (R) (7) عَرَبٌ Arabs (IY, R, Aud, A), *dim.* عَرَبٌ, as says Abu-lHindī [Ghālīb Ibn 'Abd AlKuddūs (KA, FW)]

وَمَكْنُ الصَّبَابِ طَعَامُ الْعَرِيبِ * وَلَا تَشْتَهِيهِ نَفُوسُ الْعَجَمِ

And the eggs of the lizards called صَبَب are the food of the grand Arabs, while the souls of the foreigners long not for them (IY), using the *dim.* for magnification, as in اَنَا جَدَّيْلَهَا الْحَمْدُ [274] (Jh); (8) ذَوْدٌ a few camels (R, IA, A), *dim.* ذَوَيْدٌ (IA); (9) ضَحَى early forenoon [286] (R, A), *dim.* ضَحَى (KF); (10) نَعْلٌ a sandal (IA, Aud, A), *dim.* نَعِيلٌ (IA); (11) شَوْرٌ [quasi-pl. of شَائِلَةٌ over whom seven months have passed from her conception, or delivery, so that her milk is scanty, said of a she-camel (Sn), *dim.* شَوَيْدٌ]; (12) نَصَفٌ middle-aged, said of a woman (A), *dim.* نَصِيفٌ (Jh, KF); and the like (Aud). But some of the Arabs make حَرْبٌ and دَرَعٌ masc., in which case they are not of this class; while some affix the ة to [the *dim.* of] عَرَسٌ and قَوْسٌ, saying عَرِيسَةٌ and قَوَيْسَةٌ (A): and فَرَسٌ,

being [a *masc. n.* (IY)] applied to the male and female, [like **إِنْسَانٌ** and **بَشَرٌ** (IY),] forms its *dim.* according to its [original (IY), prevalent (R),] gender (IY, R); whereas, if the female were [specially] meant, only **فَرَسَةٌ** would be said (IY). One Grammarian has combined [ten of] these words by his saying

دَوْدٌ وَقَوْسٌ وَحَرْبٌ دِرْعُهَا فَرَسٌ * نَابٌ كَذَا نَصْفُ عَرَسٌ ضُحَى عَرَبٌ

A few camels, and a bow, and war, its coat of mail, a mare, an aged she-camel, similarly a middle-aged woman, a marriage-feast or a wife, early forenoon, Arabs (MKh).

The affixion of the **ة** to [the *dim.* of (IY, R, Aud, A)] what exceeds three letters is anomalous (IY, IM, R), as **قُدَامٌ** (IY, R, IA, Aud, A), **وَرَاءٌ** (IY, R, Aud, A), and **أَمَامٌ** (R, Aud, A), *dim.* **قُدَيْدِيَّةٌ** [264] (IY, IA, A), on the measure of **فُعَيْيَلَةٌ** (Sn), **وَرِيَّةٌ** [264] (IA, A), with [a double **ي** before (Sn)] the Hamza [below] (A), and **أُمِيَّةٌ** (R, A), the last being transmitted by AHm, who says that it is not authentic (R). That [affixion of the **ة**] is because, the normal gender of *advs.* being *masc.*, if the sign of feminization were not expressed in the *dim.* [of **قُدَامٌ** and **وَرَاءٌ**], there would be no indication that either of them was *fem.* (IY). Sf says that the **ة** is affixed to these two, because they are *advs.*, not predicated of, nor qualified, nor qualifying; so that their being *fem.* is not explained by any of those processes, as you say **لَسَعَتِ**

الْعَقْرَبُ *The scorpion stung*, عَقْرَبٌ لَاسِعَةٌ *a stinging scorpion*,
 and هَذِهِ الْعَقْرَبُ *this scorpion*; and therefore they are
 made *fem.*, in order to explain their gender (R). A's
 language necessarily implies that these three *adv.* are
fem., as though from regard to the جَهَةٌ *direction*: but
 it is transmitted, on the authority of IU, that all the
adv. are *masc.*, except وَرَاءٌ and قُدَّامٌ; and accordingly the
 affixion of the ة to [the *dim.* of] أَمَامٌ is anomalous in two
 respects, its being *masc.*, and its being *quad.* (Sn). As
 for وَرَاءٌ, its ِ is variously said to be (1) a Hamza [above];
 for some say that رَأَتْ بِكَذَا *I made a feint, or pretence,*
of such a thing is said, whence the tradition إِنَّ النَّبِيَّ
 صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ كَانَ إِذَا أَرَادَ سَفَرًا وَرَاءَ بَعْضِهِ
Verily the Prophet (God bless him, and give him peace!) was wont,
when he intended a journey, to make a feint, or pretence, of
something else; but the Traditionists do not put the sign
 of Hamza, giving the version وَرَى بَعْضِهِ: (2) a و or ي, as
 in كَسَاءٌ or رِدَاءٌ, from رَوَيْتُ بِكَذَا, which is the best-known
 form; and, according to this, its *dim.* is only وَرِيَّةٌ, by
 elision of the third ي [281], as in سَمَاءٌ *dim.* of سَمَاءٌ
 [above] (R). IAl allows حَبِيرَةٌ as *dim.* of حَبَارَى [265],
 and لَغَيْرَةٍ as *dim.* of لَغَيْرَى, putting the ة as a compen-
 sation for the [abbreviated (R)] † [of feminization (R)],

which is elided (R, A), when fifth or upwards, as will be seen below (R); while IM in the Tashil appears to agree with him, saying "the ʾ is not affixed without anomaly " to [the *dim.* of] any [*fem.*] other than what has been " mentioned, except what the ʾ of femininization, when " fifth or sixth, is elided from" (A). That, however, is not transmitted by any other Grammarian, except I Amb; and he elides the prolonged also, when fifth and upwards, substituting the ʾ for it, as for the abbreviated: but no one agrees with him in eliding the prolonged (R); and IM [in the passage just quoted] means the abbreviated, because he afterwards says "but the prolonged " is not elided, so that it should be compensated for, " contrary to the opinion of I Amb, who allows بُوقِلَّةٌ and " بُرَيْسَةٌ as *dims.* of بَاقِلَاءَ *beans* and بُرْنَسَاءَ [273, 400]" (A). The abbreviated ʾ [of femininization (IY, Aud)], when fourth, [as in حُبْلَى (Aud),] is retained (M, Jrb, Aud) in the *dim.* (IY), because of the lightness of the *n.* (Jrb), as حُبْلَى [274] (M, Jrb). If, however, the ʾ [fourth] be not for femininization, it is converted into ي, because you pronounce the letter before it with Kasr [in the *dim.*], as you pronounce [the letter after the ي of the *dim.* in] the *quad.* [274], as مَرْمَى *a butt* [229], *dim.* مَرْمِ, and أَرْطَى [248, 272], *dim.* أَرْطِ, the ʾ in مَرْمَى being the ʾ of the word, converted from the ي of رَمَيْتُ; and the ʾ

in *اُطَى* being *aug.*, for coordination (IY). As for *عَلَى* [248, 272], *ذَفَرَى*, and *تَتَرَى* [689], those who pronounce them with Tanwīn say *عَلِيْقٍ*, *ذَفَيْرٍ*, and *تَتِيرٍ*; while those who do not pronounce with Tanwīn say *عَلِيْقَى*, *ذَفَيْرَى*, and *تَتِيرَى* (IY, R). The [abbreviated (M, R, Jrb, IA, Aud, Sn)] † [of femininization (S, IY, R, IA, Aud, A) or of anything else (S, IY)] is [always (IY)] elided [in the *dim.* (IY, IA)] when (1) fifth [274] (S, M, R, Jrb, IA, Aud, A), if not preceded by a letter of prolongation (Aud), as *قَرَقَرَى* [397] (S, M, IA, Aud, A), *dim.* *قَرَقِرْ* (S, M, IA, A), and *جَحَجَبَى* [272, 397], *dim.* *جَحَجِبْ* (M, Jrb), in both of which the † is for femininization (IY), whence *عَرَضَى* [272], *dim.* *عَرِضْ*, and *عَبْدَى* [pl. of *عَبْدٌ* (Jh, KF, MAR)], *dim.* *عَبِيدٌ* (S, R); and as *حَبَرَكَى* [253, 397], *dim.* *حَبِيرٌ* (S, IY), and *صَلَحَدَى* α *strong he-camel*, *dim.* *صَلِيَحْدٌ*, in both of which the † is for coordination (IY): (2) upwards (S, M, R, Jrb, IA, A), [i. e.] sixth or seventh (Aud), as *حَوَلَاَى* [248, 272] (S, M, R, Jrb), *dim.* *حَوِيلَى* (S, IY, R, Jrb), the † of *حَوَلَاَى* being converted into *ى*, because preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr in the *dim.*, and being then incorporated into the *ى* after it, so that *حَوِيلَى* results (IY, Jrb), which is triptote, because *حَوَلَاَى* was diptote only

because of the † of feminization [18], and there is no such † here (Jrb); but, in the MSS of the M (IY), *dim.* حَوِيلَ (M), defective, as though Z elided the † [of feminization] and the letter before it, leaving حَوَلَا, the † of which was then converted into ي, because preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr [in the *dim.*] (IY); whence نُغَيِّرِي [272] (S, R, IA, Aud, A), *dim.* نُغَيِّرُ (A), so in A's handwriting, but, in some MSS (Sn), *dim.* نُغَيِّرُ [284] (S, R, IA, Sn), which is the regular form (Sn), because you do not elide the ي (S, R) fourth (S) of نُغَيِّرِي, since it does not spoil the formation of the *dim.*, but becomes a letter of prolongation before the final, as in عُصْفِير [283] (R): and بَرْدَرَايَا [272] (S, R, Aud A), *dim.* بَرْدِرُ (S, R, A), by elision of the † [of feminization (Sn)], and [afterwards (Sn)] of the † and ي (R, Sn), because all would spoil the formation (R). This is the saying of Y and Khl (S). The reason why the † is elided, when fifth or upwards, is that its retention would exclude the formation from the paradigm نُغَيِّرُ or نُغَيِّرِي (IA, A); for, though حَبِيلِي is نُغَيِّلِي, which is not one of the three formations of the *dim.* [274], still it is like نُغَيِّرُ in all but the Kasra, which the † prevents (Sn). If, however, the † be fifth, but preceded by an [*aug.* (IA, A)] letter of prolongation, you [may (IA, A)] elide

whichever of the two you please (IA, Aud, A). You say حَبَارَى [248, 272, 283], *dim.* حَبِيرَى, [like حَبِيلَى (R)]; or حَبِيرٌ (S, IM, R), like حَبِيرٌ [281, 298]: for the two *ts* are equal in spoiling the formation of the *dim.*; and, whichever of them you elide, the formation is attained (R): and [similarly (A)] قَرَبَتَى [246, 273], *dim.* قَرَبَتَى or قَرَبَتْ (Aud, A). The prolonged *t* of feminization is retained, unrestrictedly, [whether it be in the *tril.* or anything else, because, since it exceeds one letter, it resembles another word (Jrb),] like the second [member] in بَعْلَبَكْ [below] (SH). The two *ts* [263] are not altered from their state, [as it was] before the formation of the *dim.*, because they are equivalent to the *ṣ* [below], as حَبِيرَاءُ [274, 283]. And every *n.* of three letters, that has two *augs.* affixed to it, and is then prolonged [230], triptote, forms its *dim.* like the *dim.* of the prolonged that contains the same number of letters, but whose Hamza is a substitute for a *rad.* *ي*, because the Hamza of the former is a substitute for a *ي* corresponding to the *rad.* *ي*, as عِلْبَاءُ and حَرْبَاءُ [248, 273, 385, 683], *dims.* عِلْبِيَّةٌ [below] and حَرْبِيَّةٌ [278], like سَقَاءُ *a water-carrier* and مَقْلَاءُ *a bandy*, *dims.* سَقِيَّةٌ and مَقْلِيَّةٌ; and, when the *ي*, for which this Hamza is a substitute, is displayed, you form the *dim.* of that *n.* like the *dim.* of the *n.* in

which a *rad.* **ي** is displayed, and which contains the same number of letters, as **دِرْحَايَةٌ** *short, fat, and big-bellied* [683], *dim.* **دُرَيْحِيَّةٌ**, like **سَقَايَةٌ**, *dim.* **سُقَيْقِيَّةٌ**: and this is so because its *aug.*, [the **ا** and Hamza,] are not for feminization (S). Those who say **غَوَآءٌ** *locusts whose wings are grown* say **غَوَيْغِيٌّ**; while those who make it dip-tote, [like **عَوْرَاءٌ** (S),] say **غَوَيْغَاءٌ**, [like **عَوِيرَاءٌ** (S)]: and those who say **قَوَبَاءٌ** [248, 273, 385] say **قَوَيْبِيٌّ**, [like **عَلَيْبِيٌّ** (S)]; while those who say **قَوَبَاءٌ** say **قَوَيْبَاءٌ** (S, R), like **حَمِيرَاءٌ** [above], because the *dim.* of the *n.* that has the two **ا**s of feminization affixed to it, and is of three letters, whether it contain three consecutive vowels or not, and whether its vowels differ or not, is of the paradigm **فُعَيْلَاءٌ** (S). As for the prolonged **ا**, as in **خُنْفَسَاءٌ** [273, 390] (IY, R), *dim.* **خُنْفِسَاءٌ** [274] (S), the [*aug.* (IY)] **ا** and **ن**, as in **زَعْفَرَانٌ** [253, 399] (IY, R), *dim.* **زُعَيْفَرَانٌ** [274, 283] (IY), and in **ظَرْبَانٌ** [274] (R), the **ي** of relation, as in **سَلْهَبِيٌّ** (IY, R), *dim.* **سُلَيْهَبِيٌّ** (IY), and the **ا** and **ن** of the *du.*, the **و**, and **ن** of the *pl. masc.*, and the **ا** and **ن** of the *pl. fem.*, as in **ضَارِبَانٌ**, **ضَارِبُونَ**, and **ضَارِبَاتٌ** (R), they [all, because consisting of two letters (R)], as likewise the **ة** of feminization, [because mobile (R),] become, [with the first (IY) part of the word,] like a *n.* joined on

to a *n.* [266] (IY, R), as in **بَعْلَبَكُ** [290], the formation of the *dim.* being complete without these additions, and not being spoiled by them [283] (R). But the abbreviated **ا** is not like that, because it is a [single, faint (R), permanently (IY)] quiescent, [and consequently (IY)] dead letter (IY, R), not capable of being taken for an independent word, but like one of the *aug.* letters in the formation, such as the letters of prolongation in **حِمَارُ** [below], **سَعِيدُ**, and **عَجُوزُ** (R); so that it is elided [when fifth or upwards], because it does not resemble a *n.* joined on to a *n.*, but is united to what precedes it, and considered as a part thereof, as is proved by its being retained in the broken *pl.*, as **حَبَالِي** *pl.* **حَبَالِي** and **سَكَرَى** *pl.* **سَكَرَى** [248] (IY). According to this, then, in forming the *dim.* of **ظَرِيفَانِ**, **ظَرِيفُونَ**, and **ظَرِيفَاتُ**, when generic *ns.*, you say **ظَرِيفَانِ**, **ظَرِيفُونَ**, and **ظَرِيفَاتُ** with the double **ي**, by common consent. And similarly, according to Mb, when you make them proper names, because, though these additions, in the state of proper name, do not import any meanings other than those of the word that they are united to, so that they should be reckoned like independent words, but, on the contrary, the letters of prolongation [in them], by reason of the quality of proper name, become like the letters of prolongation in **حِمَارُ** [above],

كَرِيمٌ, and عَمُودٌ, still before the state of proper name they were like independent words ; so that the *o. f.* is observed, and not altered. According to S, however, their state, when proper names, is different from their state when generic *ns.*: for, in the state of proper name, they, with respect to their *o. f.*, are like the ة ; but, with respect to the quality of proper name, are like part of the formation of the word : so that he retains these additions in their state, like the second of the two words in بُعَيْلَبَكْ [274, 283, 290], ثُنَيَّا عَشْرَ [290], and ثُنَيَّا عَشْرَةَ ; but elides the letters of prolongation before them, such as the ي of طَرِيفَانِ, طَرِيفُونَ, and طَرِيفَاتٌ, the ا of جِدَارَانِ [283] and دَجَاجَاتٌ, and the و of عَجُوزَاتٌ, when these *ns.* are proper names, because he treats the additions affixed as like part of the letters of the formation of the word, which is therefore deemed too heavy with them. And for that reason, in the *dim.* of ثَلَاثُونَ *thirty*, [even] when a generic *n.*, Y says ثَلَاثُونَ [283], by elision of the ا, because the و and ن are like part of the word, since ثَلَاثُونَ is not *pl.* of ثَلَاثٌ, otherwise the least number that it would be applicable to would be *nine* [234]. And similarly S says on بَرُوكَاءَ [or جَلُوكَاءَ (S)], بَرَاكَاءَ, and قَرِيْبَاءَ [283] that the و, ا, and ي are elided, because he treats the prolonged ا as like part in one respect, and not like part in another ; so that he says بُرَيْكَاءَ [or جَلِيْلَاءَ (S)] and قَرِيْبَاءَ, with

the single **ي** : while Mb doubles [the **ي** in] such [*dims.*] as these, because he does not elide anything. But S says that, if **فَعُولَاءَ**, with Fath of the **و**, occurred in the language, you would not elide its **و** in the *dim.*, as you elide the **و** of **جُلُولَاءَ** [246, 283], because, being then for coordination with [the **م** in] **قَرَمَلَاءَ** *Karmalá*, [a place (Bk, ZJ, MI, KF), *dim.* **قَرِيمَلَاءَ** (S),] it would be *quasi-rad.*; whereas, the **و** of **بُرُوكَاءَ** and **جُلُولَاءَ** being weak, its elision in accordance with the rule mentioned is not minded (R). But, in forming the *dim.* of [such as (R)] **مَعِيرَاءَ** [257, 273] and **مَعْلُوجَاءَ** *asses, barbarians*, you do not elide the **و** (S, R), but say **مُعِيلِجَاءَ** and **مُعِيرَاءَ** [274] (S), because such a letter of prolongation as this, [being fourth,] possesses a state of permanence not possessed by any other [283], like the **ا** before the **ي** of **حَوَلِيَاءَ** [above]. With the **ة** of femininization, however, there is no dispute that the letter of prolongation third, as in **دَجَاجَةٌ** and **دَجَاجَتَانِ**, is not elided, whether the word be a proper name or not, because the **ة** of femininization is *orig. separable* [266], as **دُجَجِيكَةٌ** and **دُجَجِيكَتَانِ**, by common consent, like **بُعَيْكَبْكُ** [above]. In forming the *dim.* of such as **حُبْلَرِيٌّ** and **مَلْهَرِيٌّ** [300], which is like that of **سَلْهَبِيٌّ** [above], you pronounce the letter before the **و**, with Kasr, because the letter after the **ي** of the *dim.*

in the *quad.* is always pronounced with Kasr [274]; so that the , , being converted into a ی pronounced with Kasr, must be elided, as the ی is elided in قَامِي and غَارِي [301], elision of the ی of relation not being possible, because it is a sign, and is strengthened by doubling. And the reason why the letter before the , of حَبَرِي is pronounced with Kasr [in the *dim.*], although the , is a substitute for a letter, i. e., the † of femininization, always preceded in the *dim.* by a letter pronounced with Fath, as in حَبَلِي, is that, the appearance of the † being altered, the original respect for it no longer remains, because the † itself is removed (R).

§. 283. When the *n.* is of five letters, and contains an *aug.* letter of prolongation and softness, which is fourth, that augment is retained in the *dim.*, as in the broken *pl.* [253]; and you elide nothing from the *n.* (IY). Every *aug.* letter of prolongation in the position of the [second] ی of نُعْيَعِيل must be retained, being changed into ی, if it be not a ی, [but a , or an † (IY),] as كُرْدُوسُ *dim.* of كُرْدُوسُ, [which is a troop of horsemen (IY),] and مُصْنِيْمُ *dim.* of مُصْبَاحُ a lamp, [because it is preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, and is itself quiescent (IY)]; and [remaining unchanged, if it be a ی (IY),] as قُنْدِيْلُ *dim.* of قُنْدِيْلُ (M). The reason why the *aug.* letter of prolongation is

retained, when it occurs fourth, is that this is a position where the *ى* is often added as a compensation, as in *سَفِيرِيْمٌ* [284]; and, since you add it when it is not found, much more ought it to be retained when you find it (IY). If the letter of prolongation be not preceded by Kasra, because the letter after the *ى* of the *dim.* is not pronounced with Kasr, as in *سَكِرَانٌ* [274], *حُمَيْرَاءُ*, and *أُجَيَالٌ*, it remains unchanged (Jrb). There is no necessity for the restriction [of the predicament] to the letter of prolongation: but in the *dim.* every soft letter [253] fourth [in the *non-dim.*] becomes, if it be not already, a quiescent *ى* preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, except the *ا* of *أَفْعَالٌ* and *فَعْلَانٌ*, the two *ا*s of femininization, and the signs of the *du.* and two *pls.* [282]; so that such as *جُلَيْلِيٌّ* and *فُلَيْلِيٌّ*, *dims.* of *جَلَوَزٌ* a *filbert* and *قَلِيْقٌ* a *peach that separates from its stone* are included in it, although the *و*, and *ى* are not letters of prolongation: and similarly the mobile *و*, and *ى*, as in *مُسْرُوٌّ* [253] and *مُشْرِيفٌ* *pruned*, *dims.* *مُسَيِّرِيْلٌ* and *مُشَيِّرِيْفٌ* (R). As for *كَنْهَوْرٌ* [396], you do not elide its *و*, because it is fourth in a *n.* whose number [of letters] is five; and it is retained in the broken *pl.* [253] (S). And so you say *تَرْيَقِيَّةٌ* as *dim.* of *تَرْقُوَّةٌ* a *collar-bone* [385, 675]. Every *ى* after the Kasra of the *dim.*, when not a letter of inflection, as in *رَأَيْتُ أُرْطِيَا* I saw a small *أُرْطَى* [248], must be quies-

cent, except when it is followed by the ة of femininization, as in تَرْبِيَّةٌ [above]; or the prolonged ا, as in سَيِّبِيَاءٌ *dim.* of سَيِّبَاءٌ a mark [389]; or the ا and ن resembling the two ا s of femininization [250], as in عُنَيْفِيَّانٌ *dim.* of عُنْفَرَانٌ *prime* or *bloom* [389]. When the *tril.* contains one *aug.*, you do not elide it, in the beginning, as in مَقْتَلٌ and أَسْوَدٌ [372]; or the middle, as in كَوَثَرٌ [373], جَدُولٌ [374], خَاتَمٌ [373], حِمَارٌ [374], عَجُوزٌ, and كَبِيرٌ; or the end, as in حَبْلِي [375] and زَيْدَلٌ [681]. If, however, it contain two *augs.*, neither of which is the letter of prolongation mentioned, retention of both is not possible, since even the *rad.* letter of the *quin.* is elided [274], and much more therefore the *aug.* But the elision, when unavoidable, is restricted to one of the two, since it is the quantity necessary, the word thereby becoming of the *dim.* formation. Either the two *augs.* are equal, or one of them is superior to the other [253] (R). If a *tril. n.* contains two *augs.*, neither of which is the letter of prolongation mentioned, [which is not elided, then, if one of the two be more inseparable from the *n.*, and more useful (IY),] you retain the more useful, and elide its fellow, as مُنْطَلِقٌ [289], مُقْتَلِمٌ, مُضَارِبٌ [281], مُقَدِّمٌ, مُهَيِّمٌ, and مُقَيِّدٌ, *dims.* مُطِيلِقٌ [below], مُغِيلِمٌ [284], مُضِيرِبٌ, مُقَيِّدٌ, [one of the two د s being elided (IY),] مُهَيِّمٌ [298] (M),

one of the two , s being elided, so that it becomes مَهْنِم [279] (IY), and مُحْنِم (M), the *aug.*, being elided (IY). The *dim.* of مُخْتَار is [not مُخْتَيِّر, but (D)] مُخْتَر or مُخْتِير [284] (S, D), because مُخْتَار is *orig.* مُخْتَيِّر, its ت being the ت of مُفْتَعَل, which the rule of the *dim.* is to elide (D). The *dim.* of مَسَاجِدُ *Masajid*, when a name of a man, is مُسَيِّجِد [274, 285], like the *dim.* of مَسْجِد, because it is a name of a *single* [object], and the *dim.* of a multitude of mosques is not meant. The *dim.* of عَطَرٌ *hard, severe* [298] is [formed, according to S, by elision of the first , , because, though both are *aug.*, still the second is superior and stronger, since it is mobile, and the first quiescent ; so that you say (R)] عَطِيْد or [with compensation (R)] عَطِيْد [284] (S, R), because the broken *pl.* would be عَطَاوِد or عَطَاوِيْد (S) : while Mb says that one of the two , s may not be elided, because عَطَرٌ is like مُسَرَّرٌ [above], and the , , when fourth, whether quiescent or mobile, is not elided ; so that, as there you say مُسَيِّرٌ, so here you say only عَطِيْد with prolongation (R). But, if the two *augs.* be equal [in inseparability and utility (IY)], you are allowed an option, [eliding whichever you please (IY),] as قَلَنْسَوَةٌ [253, 254, 390, 399, 675], *dim.* قَلَيْنَسَةٌ [by elision of the

حَبْنَطَى or ثَلَيْسِيَّة [by elision of the ن (IY)]; and حَبْنَطَى [short (IY) and big-bellied (Jh)], *dim.* حَبْنِطُ, [where you elide the ا (IY),] or حَبْنِطُ (M), where you elide the ن, and retain the ا, except that you convert the ا into ي, because the ط before it is pronounced with Kasr (IY). And حَبَارَى, as before described [282], is an instance in which you are allowed an option (R). In [the *dim.* of (S)] ثَمَانِيَّة eight, عَلَانِيَّة [256], and عَفَارِيَّة strong (S, R), it is better to say ثَمِينِيَّة, عَلِينِيَّة, and عَفِيرِيَّة (S): [for] S prefers to elide the ا, because it is weak, while the ي is strong; and because the ي, being in the place of the [final] *rad.* letter in such as مَلَائِكَةٌ [253, 265] and عَذَائِرٌ [395, 673], is coordinative, contrary to the ا (R). But [he says that (R)] some of the Arabs say ثَمِينِيَّة and عَفِيرِيَّة (S, R), by elision of the last [*aug.*], because it is at the end, which is the seat of alteration [306] (R). In [the *dim.* of (S) such as (R)] قَبَائِلُ [661] (S, R) or عَجَائِرُ [246, 717] (R), when a [proper (R)] name [of a man, you say قَبِيلُ, because (S)] elision of the ا is preferable, according to Khl [and S, on account of its weakness (R)]; while Y [says قَبِيلُ, because he (S)] elides the Hamza (S, R), on account of its nearness to the end. And, according to both opinions, you say مَطَايَا as *dim.* of مَطَايَا [726]. For Khl elides the ا after the ط, so that it becomes

مَطِيَا ; and, this ي being pronounced with Kasr after the ي of the *dim.*, the ا is converted into ي, on account of the Kasra before it ; so that, three ي s being combined, as in the *dim.* of عَطَاة, the last is elided as forgotten [281] : while Y elides the ي, which is a substitute for the Hamza, so that two ا s remain after the ط ; and, the first being then converted into a ي pronounced with Kasr after the ي of the *dim.* [279], as in [the *dim.* of] حِمَار [281], the second also is converted into ي, because of the Kasr before it, so that the third ي is elided [281]. And مَطِيء [for مَطِيئِي] with Hamza is not said, as سَيِّئٌ is said by Khl in the *dim.* of رَسَائِل, because this Hamza is never retained in the *pl.*, as the Hamza of رَسَائِل is [246, 717] ; but is converted into ي [726]. In the *dim.* of خَطَايَا [661, 726], however, you say خَطِيئِي with the Hamza as a final, because, (1) if you elide the ا after the ط according to the opinion of Khl and S, then, (a) according to S, the ي of خَطَايَا returns to its *o. f.* of Hamza, because it was changed into ي [726] on account of its following the ا ; and, this Hamza being presently restored [by the removal of the ا] to its *o. f.* of *aug.* ي, which was after the ط in خَطِيئَة [246, 717], the ا is restored to its *o. f.* of Hamza, because it was converted into ي [661, 726] on account of the combination of two Hamzas, the first of which was pronounced with Kasr :

(b) according to Khl, the [*rad.*] Hamza being transferred to the position of the [*aug.*] *ي* from fear of the combination of two Hamzas [661], it follows that, when the [*aug.*] *ي* is not converted into Hamza, because the *!* of the *pl.* is removed, the Hamza is not transferred to the position of the *ي*, but remains in its own position [at the end of the word]: (2) if you elide the *ي* of *خَطَايَا*, according to the opinion of Y, the [final *!* converted from the *rad.*] Hamza reverts to its *o. f.*, because two Hamzas are no longer combined; so that here also you say *خُطَيِّ*, like *خَيْرٌ* (R). If the *aug.* [of the *tril. n.* (IY)] be three, and one of them be superior [to its two fellows, the superior is retained, and (IY)] its two fellows are elided, as *مُقَيِّسٌ* *dim.* *مُقَيِّسٌ* [below] (M), where you elide the *ي* and one of the two *س* s, and retain the *م*, because it indicates the *act. part.* This is the opinion of S; while Mb says *قُعَيِّسٌ*, because *مُقَيِّسٌ* is co-ordinated with *مُكْرَنَجِمٌ*, where you say *حَرِيْجِمٌ* [below]; but the first opinion is preferable (IY). If one of the *aug.* be the soft letter mentioned, i. e., the fourth, you do not elide it at all, but deal with the two remaining *aug.* as though that soft letter were not there, as *تَبْلَقٌ* [332, 678], *dim.* *تُبْلِقٌ*, one of the two *ل* s being elided, though it is a duplicate of the *rad.*, because the *ت* is superior to it by reason of being initial, and of frequently occurring in *inf.*

ns. without reduplication, as in *تَفَعَّلَ* and *تَفَعَّلَ* [332, 678]. All the *conj.* Hamzas are elided, whether in the *tril.*, as *اِفْتَقَارٌ* and *اِنْطِلَاقٌ*, *dims.* *فَتَيْقِيرٌ* and *نُطَيْلِيقٌ*; or the *quad.*, as *اِحْرَنْجَامٌ*, *dim.* *حَرْبَجِيمٌ* [below]. In the *tril.* containing four *augs.*, inclusive of the letter of prolongation, you say (1) *اِسْتِخْرَاجٌ*, *dim.* *نُخَيْرِيجٌ* [below], eliding the *س* rather than the *ت*, since the *س* is not used as an *aug.* at the beginning of a word, except when coupled with the *ت*; so that, if we said *سُتَخِيرِيجٌ*, it would be *سُفْيَعِيلٌ*, for which there is no precedent; whereas *نُفْيَعِيلٌ* is like *نُجْيَفِيفٌ* [*dim.* of *تُحْفَافٌ* a *cataphract* (S)], the *ت* being used as an *aug.* at the beginning without a *س*: (2) *اِشْهِيَابٌ* [332, 391], *اِغْدِيدَانٌ*, and *اِفْعَنْسَاسٌ*, *dims.* *شْهَنِيْبٌ*, *غُدْدِيْدِيْنٌ*, and *تُعَيْسِيْسٌ*, eliding the Hamza unavoidably, as mentioned; and afterwards the *ي* and *ن* rather than the duplicate of the *rad.* (R). You say *اِعْلَوَاطٌ*, *dim.* *عُلَيْيَطٌ*, [*orig.* *عُلَيْيُوطٌ* (R),] eliding the Hamza, and [one (R), (*vid.*) the first (S),] و (S, R), because it corresponds to the *ي* in *اِغْدِيدَانٌ* and the *ن* in *اِحْرَنْجَامٌ* (S); and *اِضْطِرَابٌ*, *dim.* *ضُتَيْرِيْبٌ*, restoring the *ط* to its *o. f.* the *ت*, because it was made a *ط* only on account of the quiescence of the *ض* [756] (R). As for the *quad.*, every *aug.* is elided from it [in the *dim.* (IY)], as *عَنْكَبُوْتُ* [399],

dim. عُتَيْبٌ, and مُقَشَّعٌ *trembling, shuddering, dim.* قَشِيرٌ; except the letter of prolongation described, [which is not elided (IY),] as اِحْرَنْجَامٌ *crowding together, dim.* حَرْجِيمٌ [below] (M), سَرْدَاجٌ [253], *dim.* سُرَيْدِيحٌ, جَرْمُوقٌ, *dim.* جَرَبِيْقٌ, and قَنْدِيْلٌ *dim.* قُنَيْدِيْلٌ [above], since the *dim.* is not excluded by this *aug.* from the formation قُعَيْيْلٌ (IY). You say, (1) [where there is one *aug.* (R),] مُدَحْرَجٌ [سَرَادِقٌ (IY),] and جَعْنَفَلٌ [395], *dims.* دُحْرِجٌ, [سُرَيْدِقٌ (IY),] and جُعْنِفَلٌ; (2) [where there are two (R),] مُهْرَنْجِمٌ *dim.* حَرْجِمٌ [291]; (3) [where there are three (R),] اِحْرَنْجَامٌ *dim.* حَرْجِيمٌ [284] (IY, R). And you say قُبْحَدْرَةٌ [399] and سُلْحَفَاءٌ [272], *dims.* قُبْحِدَّةٌ and سُلْحِفَةٌ; and مَنَجْنِيْقٌ [676], *dim.* مُجْنِيْقٌ, [on the ground that the first ن is *aug.* (R),] since you say مَجَانِيْقٌ; and عَنَتْرِيْسٌ *strong* [290, 674, 676], *dim.* عَتَيْرِيْسٌ, [because Khl asserts that the ن is *aug.* (S),] since [عَتْرِيْسَةٌ is from (R)] عَتْرَسَةٌ, [which (R)] means *taking by force*; and خَنْشَلِيْلٌ *swift, stout, strong camel, dim.* خُنَيْشِيْلٌ, because one of the two ل s is *aug.* (S, R), that being indicated by the doubling, while the ن is *rad.* (S); and [similarly (S)] مَنَجْنَرُونٌ [398, 675, 676], *dim.* مُنَجْنِيْسٌ (S, R), which is قُعَيْلِيْلٌ (S), because, one of the

last two ن s being *aug.*, you elide the first, not the second, since, if you elided the second, you would need to elide the , also, and because the *pl.* heard is مَنَاجِينُ (R); and [similarly (R)] طَبَائِنَةٌ *tranquillity* and فَشَعِيرَةٌ *a trembling, shuddering* [332], *dims.* طَبَيْثِيَّةٌ and فَشَعِيرَةٌ by elision of (S, R) one ن [and,] (S), [vid.] the first (R), because it is *aug.* (S). But As heard عَنِيَكَيْتَ [674], which is anomalous (R). And [S says that (R)] the *dims.* of أَبْرَهِيمُ and إِسْمَاعِيلُ are بَرَبْهِيمُ and سَمِيعِيلُ by elision of the Hamza (S, R), which he imagines to be *aug.*, since, the *n.* being foreign, its derivation is not known; and this saying is good (Jh). But Mb refutes him with the argument that the Hamza, being followed by four *rad.*s., as in إِصْطَبَلُ [672], is not *aug.*; and, in that case, these two *ns.* being *quins.*, the last [*rad.*] letter [274] is elided [together with the *aug.* ي], as أُبَيْرِيَّةٌ and أُسَيْنِيْعٌ, like شَمِيرِيْعٌ (R), *dim.* of شَمْرَاخٌ or شَمْرُوخٌ *a date-stalk* (MAR). Analogy requires what Mb says; but the form heard from the Arabs, as transmitted by AZ and others, is what S says. And S transmits the *curt. dims.* بَرِيَّةٌ and سَمِيْعٌ [274, 291], which show the م to be *aug.* in أَبْرَهِيمُ, and the ل in إِسْمَاعِيلُ; so that the initial Hamza is followed by [only] three *rad.*s., as in أَحْمَرٌ [672] (R). As for إِسْتَبْرَقٌ *thick silk*

brocade (S, R), its *dim.* is أُبْرِيقُ or أَبْرِيقُ [284] (S) : [for] it also is *orig.* foreign, being اِسْتَبْرَ in Persian; and, when Arabicized, is made to conform to what it is akin to among Arabic formations : while it is not akin to any of the formations of the *n.* ; but is akin to such formations of the *v.* as اِسْتَخْرَجَ by reason of the combination of the ا , س , and ت at the beginning ; so that we judge the three letters to be *aug.* in conformity with [the corresponding letters in] its counterpart : and, suppression of two of the *aug.* letters being unavoidable, we retain the Hamza, because it is superior, as being initial ; and is not a *conj.* Hamza, as in اِسْتَخْرَاجُ [above], so that it should be elided ; and therefore we elide the س and ت . And similarly the *augs.* are elided in the *quin.*, together with the 5th *rad.*, as قَرَعَبْلَانَةٌ [236] and قَرَطَبُوسُ [401], *dims.* قُرَيْعَبَةٌ [274] and قُرَيْطِبُ (R). And [in short you] attain the paradigm [فُعَيْعِلٌ or فُعَيْعِلٌ (IA, Aud)] of the *dim.* [of what exceeds four letters (A)] by the same [elision (IA, Aud, A) of a *rad.* or *aug.* letter (IA)] as [the paradigm فُعَالِلٌ or فُعَالِيلُ of (IA, Aud)] the ultimate [broken (IA)] *pl.* is attained by [245, 253] (IM), the elider here exercising the same preference, and the same option, as there (A). Thus you say (1) سَفَرَجَلٌ *dim.* سَفِيرٌ (IA, Aud, Sn), as you say سَفَارِجُ [245] (IA) ; and فَرَزْدَقٌ, *dim.*

سَبِطَرٌ *dim.* سَبْطَرَى (2) : (And, A) [274] فَرَبْرُق or فَرَبْرَدُ;
 دَحْرِجٌ *dim.* مَدْحَرَجٌ [above] : (3) فُدَيْكُسٌ *dim.* فَدَوَكُسٌ
 قَرِيطِيسٌ [282] عَصِيفِيرٌ *dims.* قَنَدِيلٌ and قِرْطَاسٌ , عَصْفُورٌ
 [274], and قَنَدِيدٌ [above]; and غُرْنِيقٌ and فِرْدَوْسٌ , *dims.*
 قَبِيعَةٌ *dim.* قَبَعَثَرَى (4) : (A) فَرِيدِيسٌ and غُرَيْنِيقٌ;
 مَدَاعٍ [253] (IA) ; as you say مَذْنِيعٌ *dim.* مُسْتَذْنِيعٌ
 تَحْطِرِيجٌ *dim.* اسْتَحْطَرَاچٌ (Aud) ; مُسْتَحْطَرِجٌ *dim.* [above];
 and مُطِيلِقٌ *dims.* مُقْعَنْسِسٌ and مُنْطَلِقٌ [above] : (6) أَلِيدٌ and
 يَكْنَدَدٌ and أَلْنَدَدٌ (A) : (7) حَزَبِيبٌ *dim.* حَزْبُونٌ : يَلِيدٌ
 عَلِيدٌ or عَلِينِدٌ *dim.* عَلَنْدَى (8) : (A) [284] عَطِيبِيسٌ *dim.*
 (IA, Aud, A) ; and سَرِنْدٌ or سَرِينِدٌ *dim.* سَرَنْدَى (IA, Aud, A) ;
 as you say عَلَادٍ and عَلَانِدٌ [253] (IA). From that
 rule are excepted the prolonged *l* of femininization (Aud,
 A), as قَرْفَصَاءُ [40, 273] (Aud) ; the *z* of femininization
 (Aud, A), as حَنْظَلَةٌ [below] (Aud) ; the *y* of relation
 (Aud, A), as عَبْرَى [below] (Aud) ; and the *l* and *n* (Aud,
 A), as زَعْفَرَانٌ (Aud, Sn) and عَبْوَثْرَانٌ [below] (Sn) ; when
 these things occur (Aud) after four [or more (A)] letters
 (Aud, A), this being the number from which the ultimate *pl.*
 is formed (Sn). For [all of (Aud)] these are retained in the
dim. (Aud, A), not being taken into

account, as will be shown (A); whereas in the [broken (Aud)] *pl.* you [elide, and (Aud)] say [حَنَاطِدُ, قَرَانَصُ], عِبَائِرُ (Aud), [253] (Aud, Sn), and عِبَائِرُ (Sn). The *pre.*, as إِمْرُو الْقَيْسِ [4], forms its broken *pl.*, like its *dim.* [290], without elision [of the *post.*], as أَمَارِي الْقَيْسِ, like أُمَيْرِي الْقَيْسِ, because the *pre.* and *post.* are two words, each of which has an inflection peculiar to it (Aud). The following [eight (A)] things are not taken into account in forming the *dim.* (IA, A); but are reckoned separate, i. e., considered as an independent word, the *dim.* being formed from what precedes them, as from what does not end in them (A):— (1) the prolonged † of femininization (IA, A), as حَمِيرَاءُ *dim.* حَمِيرَاءُ [274, 282] (A): (2) the ‡ of femininization [274, 277], as حَنْظَلَةٌ [254], *dim.* حَنِيطَلَةٌ: (3) the [aug. (IA)] ى of relation, as عَبْقَرِيَّ [relating to 'Abkar, which the Arabs assert to be the country of the Jinn, to which they refer every thing wonderful (Sn, MKh) for the beauty of its manufacture, as in the tradition كَانَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَسْجُدُ عَلَى عَبْقَرِيَّ He was wont (God bless him and give him peace!) to prostrate himself upon an عَبْقَرِيَّ, meaning a carpet dyed and embroidered (MKh)], *dim.* عُبَيْقَرِيَّ: (4) the *post.* (IA, A), as عَبْدُ شَمْسٍ [4], *dim.* عُبَيْدُ شَمْسٍ [290] (A): (5) the

last member of the [synthetic (A, MKh)] *comp.*, as بَعْلَبُكُ *dim.* بُعَيْلَبُكُ [274, 282, 290] (IA, A); whereas the *att.* [comp. (MKh)], like تَابَطُ شَرًّا [4], does not form a *dim.* (Sn, MKh): (6) the *aug.* ا and ن after four or more letters (IA, A), as زَعْفَرَانُ and عَبُوثُرَانُ [400], *dims.* زُعَيْفِرَانُ [274, 282] and عُيَيْثِرَانُ [274]; while the ا and ن after three letters, as سَكَرَانُ and سِرْحَانُ, have been already mentioned [274] (A): (7) the sign of the *du.*, as مُسْلِمَانِ *dim.* مُسَيْلِمَانِ: (8) the sign of the sound *pl.*, as مُسْلِمُونَ and مُسْلِمَاتُ, *dims.* مُسَيْلِمُونَ and مُسَيْلِمَاتُ [285] (IA, A). According to S, however, the prolonged ا is not in every respect like the ة of femininization in not being taken into account, because his practice in the case of such as جَلُولَاءُ [282], بَرَاكَاءُ, and قَرِيْبَاءُ, whose third is a letter of prolongation, is to elide the و, ا, and ي in the *dim.*, and say جَلِيلَاءُ, قَرِيْبَاءُ, and قَرِيْبَاءُ with the single ي, contrary to [such as (Sn)] فَرُوقَةٌ [246, 265, 269], where he says in the *dim.* فُرَيْقَةٌ with the double ي [279], and does not elide; so that the ا is evidently taken into account in this respect, [vid. elision of the و, ا, and ي (Sn),] contrary to the ة, [since, if the ا were not taken into account, the letter of prolongation before it would not be elided, but would remain, the ا and و being converted into ي, as in the

dims. of جَلُولٌ , بَرَّاءٌ , and قَرِيْتُ without an *l* of feminization (Sn)]: while the practice of Mb is to retain the *و* , *ا* , and *ى* , and say جَلِيلَاءُ , بُرِّيَاءُ , and قَرِيَّاءُ with incorporation, putting the *l* on an equality with the *ʔ* of feminization. And here IM's putting the prolonged *l* on an equality with the *ʔ* of feminization [in his saying " And the *l* of feminization, where it is prolonged, and its *ʔ* are reckoned separate " (Sn)] necessarily implies agreement with Mb; but elsewhere he pronounces the practice of S to be correct. There is a [similar] dispute about such as ثَلْثُونَ also, whether a proper name or not; and about such as جِدَارَانِ [282], طَرِيفُونَ , and طَرِيفَاتُ , when proper names; vid. those *ns.* which contain the sign of the *du.* or sound *pl.*, and whose third is a letter of prolongation: for the practice of S is to elide, saying ثَلَيْثُونَ [282], جَدَيْرَانِ , طَرِيفُونَ , and طَرِيفَاتُ , because their augment, [vid. the sign of the *du.* or *pl.* (Sn),] does not invade an expression bare [of it, since ثَلْثُونَ was *orig.* formed with the augment, having no *sing.*, and in the rest the augment was found before their employment as proper names (Sn)], so that they are treated like جَلُولَاءُ ; while the practice of Mb is to retain the letter of prolongation in those cases, and incorporate, as he does in the case of جَلُولَاءُ [above]. But IM does not mention this distinction here (A).

§ 284. If part of the *n.* be elided in the *dim.* (IM), a [quiescent (R, Aud)] ی in the penultimate, [if the *non-dim.* do not contain an unsound letter in that position (R),] may be put as a compensation (IM, R) for the elided, whether *rad.* or *aug.* (R, A), as [سَفَرَجَلٌ *dim.* (IA, A)] حَبْنِيْطٌ *dim.* حَبْنَطَى [283] (IA, Aud, A), مُنْطَلِقٌ *dim.* مُنْطَلَقٌ [274] (A). Compensation is the transformation of the paradigm نُفَعِيْعِلٌ into نُفَعِيْعِلٌ by addition of the ی, as مُغِيْلِمٌ for مُغِيْلَمٌ [283], مُقَيْدِيْمٌ for مُقَيْدَمٌ, and عُنِيْكِيْبٌ for عُنِيْكَبٌ; and similarly the rest (M). Compensation is [said by S to be (R)] the doctrine of Y (S, R) and Khl (S). But from the words "may be" used by IM [and R] it is known not to be necessary (A). Compensation is good because of the debility brought on by the elision; but omission of compensation is allowable, because the elision is for a kind of alleviation, and compensation is detrimental to this object. This is when the paradigm is not نُفَعِيْعِلٌ (IY). If, however, [after the elision (IY),] the paradigm be itself نُفَعِيْعِلٌ, there is no [way to (IY)] compensation (M), because compensation would exclude it from the formations of the *dim.*, as عِيْطَمُوْسٌ *dim.* عِيْطِيْسٌ [283], and عِيْسَجُوْرٌ [398], *dim.* عِيْسِيْجِيْرٌ, in both of which the ی is elided, and after the elision the *dim.* becomes of the paradigm نُفَعِيْعِلٌ

(1Y). For, if the *non-dim.* contain an unsound letter in the penultimate, as in اِخْرَنْجَامُ [below], the ى is not supposed to be compensatory, because the place [of the compensatory ى] is pre-occupied by its like (R). IM says in the Tashil " And a quiescent ى in the penultimate, as a compensation for what is elided, may be given to what is not entitled to it otherwise than for compensation," [e. g., because of its presence, or the presence of what it is converted from, in the *non-dim.* (Sn),] meaning thereby to exclude such as [لَغَيْرِى ^{لَغَيْرِى} *dim.* of (Sn)] [253, 272, 282], since its | is elided, but compensation is not needed, [nay, is impossible (Sn),] because its ى, which was in the *non-dim.*, is retained (A); and such as حُرَيْجِيمُ [283], *dim.* of اِخْرَنْجَامُ [above], since compensation is impossible, because its place is pre-occupied by the ى converted from the | that was before the م: and A's intention is to restrict the language of IM here by his language in the Tashil (Sn).

§ 285. When an expression imports plurality, then, if *sing.* in form, like the *quasi-pl. n.* and the [collective] generic *n.*, it makes its *dim.* according to its own form, whether a *sing.* of its composition occur, as رَكْبٌ *sing.* رَاكِبٌ [257], سَفَرٌ *sing.* مُسَافِرٌ, and رَجُلٌ *sing.* رَاكِبٌ, *dims.* رَاكِبٌ [257], سَفِيرٌ, and رُجَيْلٌ; or do not occur, as قَوْمٌ and نَفَرٌ [293], *dims.* قَوِيْمٌ and نَفِيْرٌ: and similarly in the generic

n., as تَبَيَّرَ [254] and تَفَيَّيْعِمَ (R). But, if you pluralize قَوْمَ and رَهْطَ [257], saying أَقْوَامَ and أَرَاهِطَ [255,256], you say in the *dim.* (1) أَقْيَامَ, making the *dim.* of أَقْوَامَ according to its form, because it is a formation of paucity [below], and converting the و into ي [279]: (2) رَهَيْطُونَ, restoring أَرَاهِطَ to its *sing.*, [because it is a *pl.* of multitude,] and then pluralizing it with the و and ن [below]; while IS transmits أَرْهَطَ, the *dim.* of which is أَرْهَيْطُ (IY). And the opinion of Akh that رَكَبٌ is *pl.* of رَاكِبٌ, and سَفَرٌ is *pl.* of مُسَافِرٌ [257], necessarily involves their restoration to the *sing.* [below], as رَوَيْكِبُونَ and مُسَيْفِرُونَ; and so he does. If, however, the expression be *pl.* in form, it is (1) a sound *pl.*, in which case it makes its *dim.* according to its own form, whether it denote the *masc.*, as [ضَارِبُونَ *dim.*] ضَوْرِبُونَ; or the *fem.*, as [ضَارِبَاتٌ *dim.*] ضَوْرِبَاتٌ: (2) a broken *pl.*, denoting (a) paucity, in which case it makes its *dim.* according to its own form [235], as [أَكْلَبٌ *dim.*] أَكْلِبٌ, [أَجِمَالٌ *dim.*] أَجِمَالٌ, [أَقْفَرَةٌ *dim.*] أَقْفَرَةٌ, and [غُلَيْمَةٌ *dim.*] غُلَيْمَةٌ [below]: (b) multitude, in which case it either is accompanied by a *pl.* of paucity of the same crude-form, like كِلَابٌ and أَكْلَبٌ, and فُلُوسٌ and أَفْلُسٌ; or is not, like دَرَاهِمٌ [245], دَنَانِيرٌ, and رِجَالٌ [235]. The second [kind, which is not accompanied by a *pl.* of paucity,]

is restored to its *sing.*; and from that *sing.* a *dim.* is formed, which is pluralized (1) with the , and ن , if that *pl.* be rational, (a) *masc.* in form and sense, as رَجَالٌ *pl.* *dim.* رَجُلُونَ [234], because reason exists in it at first, and qualification supervenes upon formation of the *dim.*; and as حُمُرٌ [249] and عِطَاشٌ [250] in the *masc.*, *dims.* عَطِيشَاتٌ and أَحْبَبَرُونَ : (b) *fem.* in form, *masc.* in sense, as جَرَحَى and حَمَقَى [259] in the *masc.*, *dims.* جَرِيحُونَ and أَحْبِقُونَ : (2) with the ا and ت , if that *pl.* be (a) rational, (a) *masc.* in form, *fem.* in sense, as حُمُرٌ and عِطَاشٌ [248] in the *fem.*, *dims.* حُمَيْرَاتٌ and عَطِيشَاتٌ : (b) *fem.* in form and sense, as جَرَحَى and حَمَقَى in the *fem.*, *dims.* جَرِيحَاتٌ and حَمِقَاتٌ : (b) not rational, whether *masc.*, as كُتُبٌ *dim.* كُتَيْبَاتٌ; or *fem.*, as قُدُورٌ *dim.* قُدُورَاتٌ (R). You say شِعْرَاءُ [247], *dim.* شُوبِعِرُونَ; and شُوعٌ *latchets* [of the sandal, *sing.* شِئْعُ (Jh, KF),] *dim.* مُسَيِّعَاتٌ (M). The *dims.* take the sound *pl.*, although that is not allowable in the *non-dims.*; and similarly you say حَوَيْضَاتٌ as *dim.* of حَوَائِضُ *pl.* of حَائِضٌ [247], although حَائِضٌ does not take the sound *pl.* [234]. But in the first kind, which is accompanied by a *pl.* of paucity, you have the option of reducing the *pl.* of multitude to the *pl.* of paucity, and forming the *dim.* of the former

like the *dim.* of the latter, as **كِلَابٌ** and **فُلُوسٌ**, *dims.* **أُكِلِبٌ** and **أُفِيلِسٌ** [below]; or of restoring the *pl.* to the *sing.*, and forming a *dim.* from that *sing.*, and then pluralizing it with the **و** and **ن** or with the **ا** and **ت**, exactly as in the second kind (R). You say (1) **فَتَيَانٌ** [243], *dim.* **فَتِيَّةٌ** [by reducing it to **فَتِيَّةٌ** (IY)] or **فَتَيُونٌ** [by restoring it to the *sing.* (IY)]; (2) **أَذَلَاءٌ**, *dim.* **أَذِيلَةٌ** [by reducing it to **أَذِيلَةٌ** (IY)] or **أَذِيلُونَ** [by restoring it to the *sing.* (IY)]; (3) **غُلَمَانٌ** [246], *dim.* **غُلَيْمَةٌ** [above] or **غُلَيْمُونَ**; (4) **دُورٌ** [256], *dim.* **أُدَيْرٌ** or **دُويرَاتٌ** (M); (5) **كِلَابٌ**, *dim.* **أُكِلِبٌ** [above] or **كُلَيْبَاتٌ**; (6) **فُلُوسٌ**, *dim.* **أُفِيلِسٌ** or **فُلَيْسَاتٌ** (IY). The reason why the *pl.* of multitude does not make its *dim.* according to its own form is that the object of forming the *pl.* into a *dim.* is to denote *diminution of the number*, the sense of **عِنْدِي غُلَيْمَةٌ** *I have a few servants* being a *small number of them*, not *diminution of the substances*; and the Arabs do not combine *diminution of the number* by formation of a *dim.* with *multiplication of it* by retention of the form of the *pl.* of multitude, because that would be a contradiction. The *quasi-pl. ns.*, however, are common to paucity and multitude; and so are the two sound *pls.* [235]: so that all of them have *dims.* from regard to the paucity, no contradiction being thus entailed (R). But not one of the *pls.* of multitude has a

dim. (R, A), except أَصِلَّ *pl.* of أَصِيل [below], by assimilation to عُثْمَانُ [250,274]; so that أَصِيلَنَّ is said; and sometimes the ل is substituted for its ن, as أَصِيلَلَّ [286, 691], which is an anomaly upon an anomaly (R). The KK, however, allow that [*pl.* of multitude] which has a counterpart among the paradigms of the *sing.* to have a *dim.*, as رَغْفَانُ [246], *dim.* رَغِيفَانُ, like عُثْمَانُ *dim.* عَثِيمَانُ [274]; and hold أَصِيلَنَّ [286] to be an instance of that, asserting that it is *dim.* of أَصَلَنَّ *pl.* of أَصِيل [256]. But what they assert is refuted by two considerations, (1) that أَصِيلَنَّ, having the same meaning as أَصِيل, cannot be a *dim.* of a *pl.*, because the *dim.* of the *pl.* is *pl.* in meaning; (2) that, if it were *dim.* of أَصَلَنَّ, it would be أَصِيلِئِنَّ, because the broken *pl.* of فَعْلَانُ and فَعْلَانُ, when they have one, is فَعَالِئِنَّ [250], like مُصْرَانُ *pl.* مَصْرَائِئِنَّ and غَرْبَانُ *pl.* غَرَابِئِنَّ [256], while every thing that makes the broken *pl.* فَعَالِئِنَّ makes the *dim.* فَعِيلِئِنَّ [274]: and أَصِيلَنَّ is really a heteromorphous *dim.* [of أَصِيل (Sn)], like أُنَيْسِيَانُ and مُغِيرَبَانُ [286] (A). And Ks and Fr allow such [*pls.* of multitude] as شُقْرَانُ and سُودَانُ, *pls.* of أَشْقَرُ and أُسُودُ [249], to make their *dims.* according to their own forms, as شَقِيرَانُ and سُودَانُ (R). And, if a *pl.* [of multitude (R)] happen to have no *sing.*, [regular

or irregular, of its own form (S),] used [in the language (S)], like عَبَادِيدُ (S, R) or عَبَائِدُ [255,257] (R), its *dim.* is formed according to its assumed regular *sing.*, [and then takes the sound *pl.* (R),] as عَبِيدُونَ [or عَبِيْدُونَ (R)], because فَعَالِيلُ is *pl.* of فَعْلُولُ or فَعْلِيلُ or فَعْلَالُ (S, R); and, whichever the *sing.* of عَبَادِيدُ [or عَبَائِدُ] be, this is its *dim.* (S). And, if some *pl.* occur formed from an obsolete *sing.*, but having an irregular *sing.* used, it is restored in the *dim.* to the [*sing.*] used, not to the obsolete regular [*sing.*], as مَحَاسِنُ and مَشَابِهُ [255, 257], *dims.* حُسَيْنَاتُ and شُبَيْهَاتُ, and in the rational *masc.* حُسَيْنُونَ and شُبَيْهُونَ; though AZ used to restore it to the obsolete regular [*sing.*], as مُحْكِسُونَ and مُشْيِهُونَ, and مُحْكِسَاتُ and مُشْيِهَاتُ. Y asserts that some of the Arabs say سُرِّيَلَاتُ [or سُرِّيُولَاتُ] as *dim.* of سَرَاوِيلُ drawers, trousers [18,274] (S, R), believing it to be *pl.* of سِرْوَالَةٌ, because, this form being peculiar to *pls.*, they make every piece of the سَرَاوِيلُ a سِرْوَالَةٌ, as says the poet

عَلَيْهِ مِنَ اللَّوْمِ سِرْوَالَةٌ * فَلَيْسَ يَرِقُّ لِمُسْتَعْطِفٍ

[Upon him is a rag of ignobleness, so that he does not soften to a seeker for kindness (MN, AKB)]; while he that makes سَرَاوِيلُ a *sing.*, which is the better opinion, says سُرِّيِيلُ or سُرِّيُولُ [279]. Some *pls.* deviate from analogy [in the formation of their *dims.*], as

قَدْ شَرِبْتُ إِلَّا الدُّهَيْدَ هِينَا * قَلَيْصَاتٍ وَأَبْيَكِرِينَا

[234], by analogy دُهَيْدَهَات and أَبْيَكِرَات (R). When you form the *dim.* of سِنُون [234, 244] (R, A), according to the *dial.* of those who inflect it with the و and the ي (A), and [similarly (A)] of أَرْضُون [234], you say سُنَيَات and أُرْيَضَات, because the و and ن in them were a compensation for the [departed (R)] ل [in سَنَوَةٌ (R)], and for the ة [supplied in أَرْضُ (R)]; and, these two being restored in the *dim.*, their substitutes are not put (R, A), but the *pl.* reverts to the regular form with the ا and ت (R). When, however, you make the ن of سِنُون the seat of inflection, [without using the word as a proper name (R),] you make its *dim.* سُنَيْن (R, A), upon the measure of فُعَيْعِل (Sn), since it is *quasi-sing.* in form (R): while سُنَيْن [upon the measure of فُعَيْل, by elision of the *aug.* ي between the two ن s (Sn),] is allowable, according to the opinion that سِنِين [236] is *orig.* [سَنِو (Sn), the ف of فُعَيْل, which sometimes occurs in the *pl.*, as كَلَيْب, being here pronounced with Kasr on account of the Kasra of what follows it (Jh), then (Sn)] سِنِي with two ي s, the first *aug.*, and the second a substitute for a و, vid. the ل of the word, but afterwards changed into ن; and that, as in forming the *dim.* of سِنِي, the *aug.* ي would be elided,

[because of the succession of three *ى* s (*S_n*),] and the *ى* in the position of the *ل* would be retained, so in forming the *dim.* of *سَنِينٌ*, when the *ن* is believed to be a substitute for the last *ى*, the word is treated as it would be if the *ن* were not substituted (*A*) for the last *ى* (*S_n*): but *Zj* used to restore it to the *o. f.*, saying *سَنِاتٌ* here also, from regard to the sense, since, notwithstanding that the *ن* is the seat of inflection, the word is *pl.* in sense. But, when *أَرْضُونَ* is not used as a proper name, its *ن* may not be made the seat of inflection, because the *ن* is commonly made so only in the *n.* whose *ل* has departed or in the proper name. And, when you use *أَرْضُونَ* as a name for a man or woman, then, (1) if you make its *ن* the seat of inflection, you form its *dim.* like that of *حَبِصِيصٌ* [274], saying *أَرْضِيصُونَ*, triptote in the *masc.*, diptote in the *fem.*: (2) if not, you still do not restore it in the *dim.* to the *sing.*, since it is not a *pl.*, though it be inflected as one, just as, if you form the *dim.* of *مَسَاجِدُ* when a proper name, you say *مُسَيِّجِدٌ* [274, 283], and do not restore it to the *sing.* and then pluralize it, saying *مُسَيِّجِدَاتٌ*; so that you say *أَرْضُونَ* in the *nom.*, and *أَرْضِيصِينَ* in the *acc.* and *gen.* (*R*). But, if you use *سِنُونَ* as a [proper (*A*)] name (*R, A*) for a man or woman, then, (1) if you do not make its *ن* the seat of inflection (*R*), you restore the

[elided (R)] ُ (R, A), because the sign of the *pl.* remains attached to a *bil. n.* [275], and the formation of the *dim.* is not complete, as it is in ^{أُرِضُونَ}; but you do not elide the و and ُ, because, though *orig.* a compensation for the elided ُ [244], still, by reason of the application as a proper name, they become a part of the proper name (R): so that you say ^{سُنِّيُونَ} in the *nom.*, and ^{سُنِّيِينَ} in the *acc.* and *gen.* (R, A); or ^{سُنِّيَهُونَ} (A) in the *nom.*, and ^{سُنِّيِهِينَ} in the *acc.* and *gen.* (Sn): (2) if you make its ُ the seat of inflection, you say ^{سُنِّيُّ}, triptote in the *masc.*, diptote in the *fem.*; and Zj does not differ here, as he differs when you make its ُ the seat of inflection without using it as a proper name, because, in the state of proper name, when the ُ is made the seat of inflection, the word, being *quasi-sing.* in form and sense, cannot be restored to the *sing.* (R).

§ 286. Whatever contravenes the preceding rules is (SH, IM) irregular (IM), anomalous (SH) in form [below] or sense [287] (Jrb), used when heard (A), to be remembered, not copied (IA, A). The *dim.* is sometimes formed from an expression other than its *non-dim.* (S, M, IA) used in the language (S), as (1) ^{عَشِيَّةٌ} (S, M, SH, IA, Aud, A), *dim.* of ^{عَشِيَّةٌ} evening (S, IY, R, Jrb, IA, A); by rule ^{عَشِيَّةٌ} (Jrb, Sn), *orig.* ^{عَشِيَّةٌ} (Sn),

the last of the three *ى* s being elided, as in *مُعَيَّة* [281] (R, Jrb); for, *عُشَيَّة* being liable to be mistaken for the *dim.* of *عَشَوَّة*, which is the *period from the beginning of night to the end of its [first] quarter*, they change the middle *ى* into *ش*, since the addition of a letter homogeneous with the *ع* is easy to them, as in the *conjug.* of *فَعَلَ* [489] (Jrb); as though it were *dim.* of *عَشَاءَ* (S, IY, R, Sn): (2) *عُشَيَّانُ* (S, M, R, Aud, A), *dim.* of *عُشَيٌّ* [293] (S, R), [or] *dim.* of *عَشَاءَ* *nightfall* (Aud, A); as though it were *dim.* of *عُشَيَّانُ* (S, IY, R, Sn): (a) another irregular *dim.* of *عُشَيٌّ* is *عُشَيْشَيَّانُ* (R): (3) *مُغِيرَبَانُ* (S, M, R, IA, Aud, A), *dim.* of *مَغْرِبُ* (S, IY, R, IA, Aud, A); as though *dim.* of *مُغِيرَبَانُ* (S, IY, Sn); by rule *مُغِيرَبُ* (IY): (a) they pluralize [these *dims.*], saying [*عُشَيْشَيَّاتُ* (Jh),] *عُشَيَّانَاتُ* or *عُشَيْشَيَّانَاتُ*, and *مُغِيرَبَانَاتُ* as though they named every part of it *an evening or a sunset*: (4) *أَصِيلَانُ* [285], which is anomalous as being a homomorphous *dim.* of the *pl.* of multitude, as though they made every part of it an *أَصِيلُ* *evening*; and *أَصِيلَالُ* [691], an anomaly upon an anomaly; by rule *أَصِيلَاتُ* [285] (R): (a) as for *غُدُوَّةُ* *early morning*, it has a homomorphous *dim.*, as *غُدَيَّةُ* [280]; and so have *سَكْرُ* and *ضُكْيُ* [282], as *أَتَانَا* *سُكَيْرَا* *He came to us a very little before daybreak* and *ضُكَيَّا*

very early in the forenoon ; (b) in putting these *ns.* into the *dim.* you do not diminish the *time* ; but you mean to approximate time to time, and to diminish the interval between them ; just as, when you say ذَاكَ دُوَيْنَ and فَوْقَ ذَاكَ [274], you only approximate [292] thing to thing, and diminish the space between them [287] (S) : (5) اُنْسِيَانُ [below] (S, M, SH, Aud, A), *dim.* of اِنْسَانُ (S, IY, Aud, A) ; by rule [اُنْسِيَانُ if its *pl.* اَنَاسِيْنُ be regarded, and (Sn)] اُنْسِيَانُ [274] (Jrb, Sn) if it be not regarded (Sn) ; a ي being [anomalously (R)] added in the *dim.* (IY, R) that was not in the *non-dim.* (IY) ; so that the *dim.* becomes like اُعْيِرْبَانُ [274] (R), as though it were *dim.* of اِنْسِيَانُ (S, IY, Jrb, Sn), which is unknown (IY) : (a) the KK say that اُنْسِيَانُ is *dim.* of اِنْسَانُ, because اِنْسَانُ is *orig.* اِنْسِيَانُ upon the measure of اِنْعِلَانُ [390], with Kasr of the Hamza and ع, [the ي being elided for lightness, because اِنْسَانُ frequently occurs upon their tongues, and being then restored in the *dim.*, because the *dim.* is not frequent (Jh, HH),] while the *dim.* of اِنْعِلَانُ is اُنْعِلَانُ [274] ; and this is based upon their saying that اِنْسَانُ is derived from نَسِيَانُ *forgetfulness*, [which they allege to be proved by the saying of Ibn 'Abbās اِنْسَانًا إِنَّمَا سَمِيَ اِنْسَانًا لِأَنَّهُ عَهِدَ إِلَيْهِ فَنَسِيَ He was named اِنْسَانُ only because he

was commanded, and then forgot (Jh, HH),] its measure being اِفْعَانُ : but, according to the BB, اِنْسَانٌ is from اِنْسٌ sociability, its measure being فِعْلَانُ (Sn) : (6) رَوَّيَحِلُّ (S, M, R, Aud, A), *dim.* of رَجُلٌ a man (S, IY, R, Aud, A) ; as though *dim.* of رَاجِلٌ (IY, Sn) i. q. رَجُلٌ , though رَاجِلٌ does not appear to be used in this sense ; by rule رَجِيْلٌ (IY) : (a) رَجُلٌ occurs in the sense of رَاجِلٌ , as says the poet

أَمَّا أَتَاتِلُ عَنْ دِينِي عَلَى فَرَسِي * أَوْ هَكَذَا رَجُلًا إِلَّا بِأَصْحَابِي
(IY, R) *Shall I not fight for my faith, riding upon my mare, or going on foot like this, except with my comrades, meaning alone, not needing the help of comrades ?* (MAR), i. e., رَاجِلًا : so that رَوَّيَحِلُّ , being *orig. dim.* of رَاجِلٌ , in the sense of which رَجُلٌ occurs, is said to be, as it were, *dim.* of رَجُلٌ in the sense of رَاجِلٌ ; and to be afterwards used as *dim.* of رَجُلٌ a man unrestrictedly, whether he be رَاجِلٌ going on foot or not (R) : (7-8) أُصَيْبِيَّةٌ and أُغَيْلِمَةٌ [246] (S, M, SH, Aud, A), as اِرْحَمْ أُصَيْبِيَّتِي اَلْحَ [237] (IY) ; *dims.* of غَلِيْمَةٌ and صَبِيَّةٌ (S, M, R, Jrb, Aud, A) ; as though *dims.* of أُغَلِيْمَةٌ and أُصَيْبِيَّةٌ (IY, Jrb, Sn) ; by rule غُلِيْمَةٌ and صُبِيَّةٌ (S, R, Jrb), which are used by some of the Arabs (S, R) : (9) أُبَيِّنُونَ [234], *dim.* of بَنُونٌ (S, R, Aud, A) ; as though *dim.* of اَبْنُونٌ (Sn) ; by rule بُنْيُونٌ

(R): (10) لَيْلِيَّةٌ *dim.* of لَيْلَةٌ (S, R, Aud, A), by addition of a ي, as in أُفَيْسِيَّانُ [above]; as though *dim.* of لَيْلَةٌ (R, Sn), as in فِي كُلِّ مَا آخِ [255] (R). These are expressions that deviate from analogy, being in the *dim.* like مَلَامِحُ [an extraordinary, heteromorphous *pl.* of كَسَكَةٌ *a likeness* (Jh)] and مَذَاكِيرُ in the broken *pl.* [255, 257] (IY). If the *non-dim.* of any of these anomalous *dims.* be used as a name, its *dim.* is quite regular, as إِنْسَانُ, لَيْلَةٌ, and رَجُلٌ, when proper names, *dims.* أُفَيْسِيَّانُ, لَيْلِيَّةٌ, and رَجُلِيَّةٌ, because the proper name is a secondary application (R).

§ 287. What is anomalous in sense [286] is of two kinds. For the *dim.* means that the thing [signified by it] is deemed small: so that its *id.* anomalousness is because it means either (1) *not being deemed small*, but *nearness*, [274] of one thing to another, as in هُوَ أَصْغَرُ مِنْكَ [below], which imports not that *he is small*, since the expression أَصْغَرُ already indicates *excess in smallness*, but that *the difference between them is small*; or (2) *being deemed small*, not in the case of [the thing signified by] the *dim.*, but of another thing, as in مَا أَحْسَنَ زَيْدًا How handsome little, or young, Zaid is! [288], since the act cannot be described as small, but only the person that the act is attributed to (Jrb). The *dim.* is sometimes employed

to denote that one thing is near to, though not [quite] like, another, as in your saying هُوَ أَصْغَرُ مِنْكَ *He is a little smaller than thou* [274], when you mean only to diminish the difference between them (S, M), because, if you said هُوَ أَصْغَرُ مِنْكَ *He is smaller than thou*, the difference between them might be little or much ; so that you explain by the *dim.* that it is little, and that one is almost like the other in smallness (IY) : and [similarly (IY)] in [the six relative locations, as (IY)] ذَاكَ هُوَ دُونِ زَيْدٍ and فَوْقَ هَذَا هُوَ فَوْقَ ذَاكَ [274, 286] (S, M), because هُوَ فَوْقَ زَيْدٍ *He is above Zaid* and دُونَ بَكْرٍ *below Bakr* might mean *much* or *little* ; whereas دُونَهُ or فَوْقَ زَيْدٍ [289] must mean *little* : and similarly [in *adv.* of time, as قَبِيلَ ذَاكَ, because], if a man said قَبْلَ طُلُوعِ الشَّمْسِ آتِيكَ *I will come to thee before the rising of the sun*, and then came in the night, he would not be breaking his word ; whereas, if he said, قَبِيلَ طُلُوعِ الشَّمْسِ *a little before the rising of the sun*, he would have to come after the rising of the dawn, or at some such time approximate to the rising of the sun (IY). And hence أُسَيْدٌ *blackish* [279] (S, M) and أَحْمَرٌ *reddish* (IY), i. e. [*nearly* (S, IY), *not quite* (M),] *black* (S, M) and *red* (IY). As for the saying of the Arabs هُوَ مُثِيلُ هَذَا *He, or It, is rather like this* and أُمِثَالُ هَذَا, they mean to announce that the compared is as contemptible

as what it is compared to (S). What is intended by the *dim.* of *quals.* is mostly not *diminution of the substance of the qualified*, but *diminution of so much of the quality indicated by the qual. expression as exists in the substance of the qualified* [288]: for ضَوْبٌ [278, 292] means *author of little striking*; while أُحْبِرٌ [279], أُصْفَرٌ, and أَصْفَرٌ *yellowish* [274] mean that these colors are not complete in him; and similarly بَزِيرٌ and عَطِيطٌ *a poor, or small, draper and perfumer* mean that these crafts are not perfect in them; and هُوَ مُثِيلٌ عَمْرٍ *He is a little, or rather, like 'Amr* [292] means that the likeness between them is small. According to this, then, هُوَ أَصْفَرٌ مِنْكَ means that *his excess in smallness over thee is little*; and similarly أَفْضَلُ مِنْكَ and أَعْيَلُ مِنْكَ *a little, or rather, more learned, and more excellent, than thou* [274, 281], and the like, because the أَفْعَلُ of superiority is applied to denote [a person or thing] *qualified by an excess over others in the meaning [of the v.] that it is derived from* [351]. Sometimes, however, the *dim.* of the *qual.* does denote *diminution of the substance [of the qualified]*, as in 'Ali's saying يَا عَدَى نَفْسِي *O little enemy of thyself*. As for the *dim.* of the proper name [282], like زَيْدٌ and عَمْرٌ, it denotes *unrestricted diminution*; and so does the *dim.* of the generic substantive [3], like رَجُلٌ and فَرَسٌ:

there being nothing in them to indicate whether the *diminution* refers to *substance* or *quality* or both (R).

§ 288. The general rule is that the *v.* has no *dim.* (Jrb). The reason why analogy forbids the *v.* to have a *dim.* is that the object of the *dim.* is to describe the *n.*, meaning the *thing named*, as small; for, *ns.* being signs for the things named, their expressions are put into the *dim.* form in order that it may be an indication of the smallness of the thing named: whereas *vs.* are not like that, being only enunciations, not signs, like *ns.*; so that the *dim.* form in them has no meaning. And, this being so, the *dim.* of the *v.* of wonder is anomalous [274], irregular (IY). But they allow the *أَفْعَلُ* of wonder [477] to have a *dim.* (ML), as *يَا مَا أَمِيلَحُ آخِ* [171] (IY, ML), because of its resemblance [360] to the *أَفْعَلُ* of superiority (ML), which has a *dim.*, as *زَيْدٌ أَمِيلَحُ مِنْ عَمْرٍو* *Zaid is a little prettier than 'Amr* and *أُحْيِسُّ مِنْهُ* *a little handsomer than he* [287] (DM). What emboldens them to this is its being divested of the meanings of *accident* and *time* [402], which are among the peculiarities of *vs.*; and its resemblance in sense to the *أَفْعَلُ* of superiority (R). Kh̄l̄ says on *مَا أَمِيلَحُهُ* *What a pretty darling he, or it, is!* "they mean [to diminish] only that [thing (Jrb)] which you describe as pretty, as though you said *زَيْدٌ مُلَيِّحٌ*

Zaid is a pretty darling" (S, M, Jrb). And I Amb says that this is not said except of the young (ML). But no *v.* or verbal *n.* [292] has a *dim.* except this and similar instances of مَا أَفْعَلَهُ (S). And that [*dim.* (DM)] has not been heard except in the case of [these two expressions (DM)] أَحْسَنَ and أَفْلَحَ: so Jh [followed by the KF] mentions [in *art.* مَلَحَ]; but, notwithstanding this, the GG speak of it as regular, [allowing, e. g., مَا أُطِيفَ رَيْدًا (DM)]; though IM does not transmit the doctrine that it is regular from any [Grammarian] but IK, and it is not so (ML). According to the KK, the أَفْعَلَ [of wonder (R)] is a *n.*, so that its *dim.* is regular (R, DM); but, according to the BB, it is a *v.* [477]. And, since the أَفْعَلَ of wonder, according to the correct opinion, is a *v.*, it is not prevented by its formation as a *dim.* from governing, as ضَوْرِبُ is [292] (R).

§ 289. Some *ns.* occur in the language only as *dims.*, their *non-dim.* being discarded, because, according to the Arabs, they are deemed small (S, M, R), so that their *non-dim.* is superseded by their *dim.* (S, IY), as جَمِيلٌ (S, M, R), which is a *small bird, like the sparrow* (IY, R); كَعَيْتٌ [274] (S, M, R), which is [said to be (R)] the *nightingale* (S, IY, R), but is said [by Mb (R)] to be *like the nightingale, but not it* (IY, R); and كُمَيْتٌ bay [274] (S, M, R), which is applied to the *masc. and fem.*

(IY, R). S says (IY), I asked Khl about كُنَيْتٌ: and he said " It [is like جُنَيْتٌ; and (S)] is made a *dim.* because it is between *black* and *red*, and [as it were (IY)] neither *pure black* nor *pure red*; so. that it is near to [each of (IY)] them, [and is therefore made a *dim.* in order that it may indicate that sense (IY),] like دُونَيْنَ زَيْدٍ [287]" (S, IY). But they say جُنَلَانُ, كَعْتَانُ, [and كُنْتُ (M, R)], using the [broken (IY, R)] *pl.* of the [assumed (R)] *non-dim.* (S, M, R) expression (IY), as though *pl.* of جُنَلٌ, كَعْتُ, and أَكْتُ (M, R) or كَمْتَاءُ [248, 249] (IY, R); whereas, if they meant to pluralize the *dim.*, they would say جُنَيْلَاتُ [234, 270] (S), since their custom is to give the *dim.* no *pl.* but the sound, because, as is said, the *dim.*, by the addition of a soft letter third, resembles the ultimate [broken] *pl.*, which takes only the sound *pl.*, as صَرَارِيُونُ and صَرَا حِبَاتُ [256]. But there is nothing to prevent you from saying that, since كَعَيْتٌ and جُنَيْتٌ are constituted as *dims.* from regard to their being *orig.* deemed small, and are afterwards used without regard to the *dim.* sense in them, because كَعَيْتٌ is like بُنْبُلٌ in sense, and the *dim.* sense is not intended in بُنْبُلٌ, though the *nightingale* itself is small, therefore the *dim.* sense is obliterated from them in usage, and they become like words constituted as *non-dims.*, so that they take the same *pl.* as the *non-dim.* does; and, the *non-dim.* nearest

to this shape being *فَعْلٌ*, like *صُرْدٌ* a certain bird [237] and *نُفَرٌ* young of sparrows, [pl. *نِفْرَانٌ* (Jh, KF),] they take the same pl. as these do: and, according to this, *كَعْتَانٌ* and *جَمَلَانٌ* are pls. of the expressions *كَعَيْتٌ* and *جَمِيلٌ*, not of their assumed non-dims. (R). And *سَكَيْتٌ* is a *curt. dim.* [291] of *سَكَيْتٌ* (S, IY, R), which is the horse that comes in last (S, IY) of the ten reckoned (Jh) in a race (Jh, KF). And the *dim.* of *مُبَيْطِرٌ* [274] and *مُسَيْطِرٌ* an overseer has the same form as the non-dim., because you elide the *ي*, like the *ن* in *مُنْطَلِقٌ* [283], and put the *ي* of the *dim.* into its place (R).

§ 290. Khl asserts that (S) the *dim.* of the [prothetic or (R) synthetic (S, IY, R)] *comp.* is formed [only (S)] from the first member (S, M, R), the second being then put after it (IY), as *أَبِي بَكْرٌ* Little Abū Bakr and *أُمَيَّةٌ* Little Umm 'Amr, *مُعَيْدِي كَرْبٌ* and *خُمَيْسَةَ عَشَرَ* [below] (R). You say *بُعَيْكَبُكٌ* [274, 282, 283], *حُضَيْرَمَوْتُ* [275] (S, M), and *مُعَيْدِي كَرْبٌ* [274], because the *pre.* and *post.* ns. and the two ns. compounded together are equivalent to one long n., like *عَنْتَرِيْسٌ* [283]; so that, as you say *عَنْتَرِيْسٌ*, so you say *حُضَيْرَمَوْتُ* [above] (IY), *مَوْتُ* standing [towards *حَضَرَ* (IY) in *حُضَيْرَمَوْتُ* (S)] in the same position as *رِيْسٌ* towards [عَنْتَ in] *عَنْتَرِيْسٌ* (S, IY), as being

a supplement to it (IY): and [similarly you say (IY)]
 خُمَيْسَةَ عَشْرَ (S, M), *dim.* of خَمْسَةَ عَشْرَ fifteen, [whether
 you mean *number*, or use it as a name (IY)]; and ثَنِيًّا
 عَشْرَ [282], *dim.* of اِثْنَا عَشَرَ, [and ثَنِيَّتَا عَشْرَةَ *dim.* of اِثْنَتَا
 عَشْرَةَ (IY),] because عَشْرَ stands [towards اِثْنَا (IY) in اِثْنَا
 عَشْرَ (S)] in the same position as the ن of [the *du.* in
 اِثْنَانِ [318] (S, IY). But Fr holds that, when the prothetic
comp. is a surname, the *dim.* is formed from the *post.*,
 arguing from such as اُمُّ جُبَيْنٍ [and sometimes in poetry
 اُمُّ الْكُبَيْنِ a beast the size of the palm of the hand (IY
 on §. 7)], اَبُو الْخَصِينِ [7], and اَعْلَاقَةُ اُمِّ الْوَلِيدِ اَلْح [565] (R).

§ 291. There is a sort of *dim.* named *curt.* (IA, A).
 This is formed by eliding from the [augmented (Aud)
tril. or *quad.* (M)] *n.* [all (M, SH)] the *aug.* (M, SH,
 IA, Aud, A) contained in it (IA), which are retainable
 (Aud, Sn) in the *uncurt. dim.* (Sn), until the *n.* is re-
 duced to its *rad.* letters (M), and then forming its *dim.*
 (M, SH, Aud) from its *rads.* (Aud). This *dim.* is named
curt. because of the elision in it (Jrb). It has two forms,
 فُعَيْلٌ and فُعَيْعِلٌ; not فُعَيْعِيلٌ, because this contains an
 augment (Aud). If the *rads.* be three, the *dim.* is upon
 [the paradigm] فُعَيْلٌ (IA, A). You say (1) حَامِدٌ *prais-*
ing, [حَمْدَانُ *Hamdān* (Aud, A), حَمْدُونُ *Hamdūn* (Aud),
 حَمَادٌ *great praiser* (A), مَحْمُودٌ *praised* (Aud, A), مُحَمَّدٌ

much praised (Sn), and أَحْمَدُ more praiseworthy (Aud, A),] *dim.* حَبِيدٌ (IA, Aud, A), the ambiguity being disregarded, in reliance upon the [distinctive] circumstances [of the case] (Sn); (2) مَعْطَفٌ a wrapper, *dim.* عَطِيفٌ (IA, A); (3) زَهِيرٌ bright, *dim.* زَهِيرٌ (A). There is no difference between the coordinative augment, as خَفِيدٌ [370, 378], *dim.* خَفِيدٌ, [ضَفْنَدٌ stout, stupid, *dim.* ضَفْنَدٌ (A),] and مُقْعِنَسٌ [253, 283], *dim.* قُعَيْسٌ; and the non-coordinative (IY, A), as حَارِثٌ a husbandman, *dim.* حَرِيثٌ, and أَسْوَدٌ black, *dim.* سَوِيدٌ (IY). If the *rad.*s. be four, the *dim.* is upon [the paradigm (IY)] نُعَيْعٌ (IY, IA, A). You say (1) قَرِيطُسٌ *dim.* قَرِيطُسٌ (M, IA, Aud, A), جُبُورٌ *dim.* جُبُورٌ (IY), and عُصْفُورٌ *dim.* عُصْفُورٌ (IA, A); (2) مَدْحَرَجٌ *dim.* دُحَيْرَجٌ [283] (IY, R); (3) مُتَحَرِّنَجٌ [below], *dim.* حَرِنَجٌ [283] (IY). Two matters are necessary, [according to IHsh,] that the *n.* should contain an augment, and that this augment should be retainable in the *uncurt.* *dim.* (Sn). The *curt. dim.* therefore, is not practicable, [as is distinctly declared in the Aud (Sn),] in such as جَعْفَرٌ and سَفَرَجَلٌ, because they are unaugmented; nor in such as مُتَدَحْرَجٌ and مُتَحَرِّنَجٌ [above], because the augment in them is not retainable [in the *uncurt. dim.* (Sn)], on account of its spoiling the measure (Aud, Sn),

so that their *dims.* دَحِيرَجْ and حَرِيْجَمْ [283] are not named *curt.* (Sn). But, [according to IY and R,] there is no difference in the *quad.* between the *curt.* and *uncurt.* *dims* except that the ى of compensation is not inserted, [nor is the *aug.* soft letter fourth in the *non-dim.* retained,] in the *curt. dim.*, as it is in the *uncurt.*, as دَحِيرَجْ and حَرِيْجَمْ [284], and as جُنَيْهِيْرْ [283] (IY). If the *curt. dim.* [be *masc.*, it is bare of the ة: but, if it (IA)] be *fem.*, and its *rad.*s. be three, the ة [of feminization (IA)] is affixed to it, [because it is a *fem.* ultimately *tril.* (Sn),] as حَبْلَى *dim.* حَبِيْلَةٌ; سَرْدَاءْ *dim.* سَرِيْدَةٌ (IA, A); سَعَادْ [18, 263], *dim.* سَعِيْدَةٌ; and غَلَابْ [a proper name (Sn)], *dim.* غَلِيْبَةٌ [282]. The *curt. dim.* of such *eps.* peculiar to the *fem.* as حَائِضْ and طَالِقْ [268] is حَيِّضْ and طَلِيْقْ, because they are *orig. eps.* of a *masc.* (A), vid. شَخْصْ *person* (Sn). S transmits بُرِيَّةٌ and سَمِيْعٌ as [*curt.* (Sn)] *dims.* of اِبْرَهِيْمُ and اِسْمَاعِيْلُ [274, 283]. But these are anomalous [by common consent of S and Mb, being by rule بُرِيْهُمُ according to S, and اُبَيْرُهُ according to Mb (Sn)]; and are not to be copied. For, [according to Mb,] they contain an elision of two *rad.*s., since the م and ل are *rad.* by common consent, and the Hamza according to Mb; [so that, the *non-dim.* being *quin.*, only the 5th *rad.* should be elided from it in the *dim.* (Sn)]; while

according to S, the Hamza is *aug.*; [so that, the *non-dim.* being *quad.*, its *dim.* should be upon the paradigm **فَعِيلٌ**] (A). The *curt. dim.* is anomalous, rare (R). Fr says that it occurs only in the proper name (IY, R), like the curtailed *voc.* [58] (IY), because in the proper name what is retained is an indication of what is rejected, on account of its notoriety (R): and, according to this, the *dims.* of **حَارِثٌ** and **أَسَدٌ**, when proper names, are **حُرَيْثٌ** and **سُرَيْدٌ** when *curt.*, [and **حُوَيْرِثٌ** and **أُسَيْدٌ** when *uncurt.*]; but, before the transfer and use as [proper] names, are only **حُوَيْرِثٌ** and **أُسَيْدٌ** (IY). The BB, however, allow it in what is not a proper name also (R); [for] our school make no distinction between these two (IY); and there is a *prov.* **هَرَفَ حَمِيْقٌ جَمَلَهُ** *A little fool knew his he-camel*, [meaning the (IY)] *dim.* of **أَحَمَقُ** (IY, R), i. e., *knew so much, though he was a fool* (Md). The *curt. dim.* is not peculiar to proper names, contrary to the opinion of Fr, Th, and, as is said, the KK, as is proved by the sayings of the Arabs **يَنْجَرِي بُلَيْقٌ وَيَذْمُ** *A little piebald runs, and is blamed*, [where, however, **بُلَيْقٌ** (Md),] *dim.* of **أَبْلَقُ**, [is the name of a horse that used to outstrip, and still be blamed (Md),] and **جَاءَ بِأَمِّ الرُّبَيْقِ عَلَى أُرَيْقٍ** *He brought Calamity upon a little dusky he-camel*, which, says As, the Arabs assert to be the saying of a man who saw a goblin upon

a dusky he-camel, the , of أَوْقُ being converted into Hamza in the *dim.* [683] (A).

§ 292. The following [*ns.* (M)] have no *dim.* :—(1) the *prons.* [160, 274] (S, M, SH), because (a) the *prons.* resemble *ps.* [497] (IY, R) in not standing by themselves, and in needing something else, and *ps.* have no *dim.*; (b) most *prons.* are *unil.* or *bil.*, and [a word of] that [number of letters] has no *dim.*, because it falls short of [the number requisite for the least of] the *dim.* formations [275] (IY); (c) the *prons.* have little plasticity, since they do not qualify, nor are they qualified, as *dem.* are [147] (R): (2) مَتَى and آيْنَ [206] (S, M, SH), the *interrog.* and *cond. ns.* having no *dim.* for the same reason as the *prons.* [above], because they resemble the *p.*, and are not plastic in qualifying or being qualified (R): (3) حَيْثُ [202] (S, M, SH); and [similarly, among *advs.* of time (IY),] إِذْ and إِذَا [204, 279] (IY, R), and مُنْذُ [203, 275] (SH): these four being like the *prons.* in resemblance to the *p.*; and being less plastic than they, because, in addition to neither qualifying nor being qualified, they mostly keep to one sort of inflection, [the place of the *acc.* as *advs.* of place or time] (R): (4) مَعَ [115] (S, M, SH), because, [though *infl.*, it is aplastic in inflection, and does not qualify, nor is qualified; and moreover (R)] it is *bil.* (IY, R), and is believed to be a *p.* by those who make [the ع in] it quiescent, [as] in فَرِيشَى الْحَمَح [115]

(IY) : and [similarly (R)] عِنْدَ (S, M, R), because the object of using the *dim.* of the *adv.* is to denote *approximation*, as in تَحَيَّنَتْ and فَوَيْقَ [274, 286, 287], while عِنْدَ denotes *extreme nearness* ; so that, since its form indicates what is indicated by the *dim.* of *advs.*, a *dim* for it is not needed (IY) ; [and] because, though *infl.*, it is *aplastic* [64] : and similarly لَدُنْ [205], because it is *aplastic* (R) : (5) كَيْفَ [207, 274] (S) : (6) غَيْرَ [90] (S, M, SH), contrary to مِثْلُ, which has a *dim.* (IY, R), as هَذَا مِثْلُ هَذَا *This is rather like this* [287] (IY), because, though *difference*, like *similarity*, is susceptible of being *small* or *great*, still غَيْرَ is deficient in plasticity, since the *art.* is not prefixed to it, nor is it dualized or pluralized, contrary to مِثْلُ (R) : and [also (R)] سِوَى (S, IY, R) and سِوَاءَ [89], i. q. غَيْرَ (R), for the same reason (IY) : (7) حَسْبُ (M) [in] حَسْبُكَ [24, 68, 69, 142, 143, 201] (S, SH), because it implies the sense of the *v.* (IY, R, Jrb), since حَسْبُكَ دِرْهَمَانِ *Thy sufficiency is two dirhams* means لِيَكْفِكَ دِرْهَمَانِ *Let two dirhams suffice thee* (IY) ; and similarly what is *syn.* with it, such as كَفَيْكَ and شَرَعَكَ [69, 142, 143] (R) : (8) مَنْ [182, 274, 293] and مَا [180] (S, M, SH) and أَيُّهُمْ [116, 184, 293] (S), because they are i. q. *interrog.* [or *cond.* (IY)] *ps.* (S, IY) ; and [مَنْ and مَا] are *indecl.* and *bil.* (IY) : (a) the conjunct مَنْ

and مَا go farther in resemblance to the *p.* than الَّذِي [293], because they are *bil.*, and do not qualify, as الَّذِي does [147] (R) : (9) أَمْسٌ *yesterday* [206] and غَدٌ *to-morrow* [153, 231, 275] (S, M) because, being dependent upon the day that you are in, they correspond to the *prons.* in needing the presence of *to-day*, as the *pron.* [of the 3rd *pers.*] heeds an explicit *n.* preceding it [160] (IY) : and [similarly (S, IY)] أَوَّلُ مِنْ أَمْسٍ *the day before yesterday*, [the predicament of which is the same as that of أَمْسٍ (IY)]; and الْبَارِحَةُ *yesternight* (S, M), and the like (S) : (a) the [n. of] time limited on both sides, like شَهْرٌ *a month*, يَوْمٌ *a day*, لَيْلَةٌ *a night*, and سَنَةٌ *a year*, has a *dim.*, but only from regard to its containing events on account of which the time is deemed to fall short of the [standard] quantity ; while the unlimited, like حِينٌ and زَمَانٌ, وَقْتُ, has a *dim.*, sometimes for that reason, and sometimes because the *time* itself is diminished : but, as for غَدٌ and أَمْسٌ, they have no *dim.*, although they are limited, like يَوْمٌ and لَيْلَةٌ, because their most important object is to denote that one of the two days is *before*, and the other *after*, your [present] day, without any interval ; and, in this respect, they denote what is not susceptible of diminution, contrary to قَبْلٌ and بَعْدٌ [287] ; so that they have no *dim.* from regard to the events contained in them,

though that would be possible, just as they have no *dim.* from regard to the diminution of their *time* itself, since their most important object is to denote what is not susceptible of diminution (R) : (10) the days of the week (S, M, R), according to S, as السَّبْتُ *the Sabbath, Saturday*, الْأَحَدُ *Sunday*, and الْأَثْنَانِ *Monday* (R), whence الثَّلَاثَاءُ [273], الْأَرْبَعَاءُ [273] (S, IY), and the like (S), to الْخَمِيسَةُ *Friday*, because, according to him, every [n. of] time whose being first, second, third, etc., is regarded, is like أَمْسٍ and غَدٌ (R) ; and [similarly (IY, R)] the names of the months (S, IY, R) of the year (S), as الْمَحَرَّمُ *AlMuharram*, صَفَرٌ *Safar* (IY, R) to ذُو الْحِجَّةِ *Dhu-l-Hijja* (R) : for these names are applied to the month and [the day of] the week to make known that it is the first [or second] month of the year, and the first or second day of the week ; and that does not vary, so that one should be pronounced smaller than another (IY) : but [the KK and (IY)] Mz and Jr allow them to have a *dim.* (IY, R) : while one grammarian says that, when you say يَوْمَ الْخَمِيسَةِ *on Friday* or يَوْمَ السَّبْتِ *on Saturday*, putting يَوْمَ into the *acc.*, then الْخَمِيسَةُ and السَّبْتِ have no *dim.*, since they are *inf. ns. i. q.* الْاجْتِمَاعُ *congregating* and الرَّاحَةُ *rest* ; and that even the *n.* put into the *acc.* may not have a *dim.*, because it stands in the place of وَقَعَ *occurred* or يَقَعُ *occurs or will occur*, and the *v.* has no *dim.* [288] ;

but that, when you put *يَوْم* into the *nom.*, then *الْجُمُعَة* and *السَّبْت*, being i. q. *الْيَوْم*, may have a *dim.*: and the converse of this saying is transmitted from another, vid. that *الْجُمُعَة* and *السَّبْت* may have a *dim.* with *يَوْم* put into the *acc.*, but not with *يَوْم* put into the *nom.*: (11) the verbal *ns.* [187, 288] (R): (12) the *n.* [governing (SH)] like the *v.* [330] (S, M, SH), when in the act of so governing (Jrb), whether it be an *act. part.*, a *pass. part.*, or an assimilate *ep.* (R); whereas it may have a *dim.* when not so governing (Jrb): and hence *ضَوْبَرِبُ زَيْدًا* is disallowed [288] (S, M, SH); while *ضَوْبَرِبُ زَيْدٍ* the little striker of Zaid is allowed (S, IY, SH), when *ضَارِبٌ* striker denotes the past [345] (S, IY), because the sense of the *v.* is then non-existent in it (Jrb): for the *n.*, when in the *dim.*, becomes qualified by smallness [274, 282], the sense of *ضَوْبَرِبُ* [287] being like that of *ضَارِبٌ صَغِيرٌ* a little, or small, striker; while the *ns.* governing like the *v.*, when they are qualified, are deposed from government [147], so that you do not say *زَيْدٌ ضَارِبٌ عَظِيمٌ عَمْرًا*, nor *أَضَارِبٌ عَظِيمٌ الزَّيْدَانِ*, because they are then far from resembling the *v.*, since it is so constituted as to be attributed, but not attributed to, whereas the qualified has the *ep.* attributed to [the *pron.* relating to] it: (a) as for the *inf. n.*, its being attributed to does not depose it from government, because the verbal sense in it is strong;

and, according to this, you may say *أَعْجَبَنِي ضَرْبُكَ الشَّدِيدُ* *زَيْدًا* Thy hard striking of Zaid pleased me or *ضَرْبُكَ زَيْدًا* Thy little striking of Zaid : (b) it is said that the reason why the *n.* governing like the *v.* has no *dim.* is because resemblance to the *v.* predominates in it then, and therefore, as the *v.* has no *dim.*, so what resembles it has none ; but from this it follows that the *inf. n.* governing like the *v.* may not have a *dim.* (R).

§ 293. The *dim.* formation being one of the variations peculiar to *decl. ns.* [274], the *uninfl. ns.* [ought to (A)] have no *dim.* (IA, A). The *uninfl. ns.* [159], with regard to the *dim.*, are of two kinds, (1) a kind that has a *dim.*, but different from the *dim.* of the *decl.* [below] ; (2) a kind that has no *dim.* [292] (Jrb). Only four of the *indecl.* [formations] have a *dim.*, (1, 2) the *أَفْعَل* of wonder [288] and the synthetic *comp.* [290], the *dim.* of which is like that of the *decl.* [*n.*] ; and (3, 4) the *dem.* and the conjunct *n.* [274] (Aud, A). But Syt adds in the Ham' (5, 6) the [*uninfl.*] *voc.* [48] and *أَوْ* [187], as *أَوَّيْهِ*, like *زَيْدًا* *زَيْدًا* [188] (Sn). *وَ* [171] and *الَّذِي* [176] and [some of (Sn)] their *derivs.* have *dims.* (IA, A), anomalously (IA). The *dem.* ought not to have a *dim.*, because resemblance to the *p.* predominates in it, and because its *o. f.*, vid. *وَ*, is *bil.* ; but, since it is plastic, like *decl. ns.*, qualifying and being qualified, and

having a *du.*, *pl.*, and *fem.*, it is treated like them in having a *dim.* [274]. Similarly the conjuncts ought not to have *dims.*, because resemblance to the *p.* predominates in them; but, since some of them are *tril.*, as **الَّذِي** [292] and **الَّتِي**, and are plastic, like *decl. ns.*, qualifying, and having a *fem.*, *du.*, and *pl.*, these and their variations may have *dims.*, contrary to the other conjuncts, like **مَنْ** and **مَا** [274, 292] (R). **أَيُّ** and **أَيُّ** [292] have no *dim.*, [even] when i. q. **الَّذِي**, because they are [also i. q.] *interrog. ps.*; whereas **الَّذِي** corresponds to **ذَا**, because it is not [i. q.] an *interrog. p.* (S). But not all the *derivs.* have *dims.* (A). That has been heard in five words of the *dem.*, vid. (1, 2) **ذَا** and **تَا**, (3, 4) **ذَانِ** and **تَانِ**, and (5) [**أُولَا** or **أُولَاءَ**]; and in five words of the conjunct *n.* also, vid. (1, 2) **الَّذِي** and **الَّتِي**, (3, 4) the *du.* of both, and (5) the *pl.* of **الَّذِي** (Aud). The *dim.* of these *ns.* agrees with the *dim.* of the *decl. n.* in the following [three (Aud, Sn)] matters :—(1) a quiescent **ي** is added [third (A), except in the instances mentioned below, where it is second (Sn)]: (2) it is [always (Aud)] preceded by Fatha (Aud, A): (3) such of these *ns.* as are short of three [letters] must be supplemented [275] (Aud); [so that] the *rad.* elided from **الَّذَانِ** [176], **الَّتَانِ**, and **الَّذِينَ**, from **ذَا** and **تَا**, and from **ذَانِ** and **تَانِ** [below], is

restored (Sn). It differs from the *dim.* of the *decl. n.* in the following [three (Aud, Sn)] matters :—(1) the original vowel of the initial is retained : (2) an ا [497] is added at the end as a compensation for the Damm of the initial (Aud, A) imported for the formation of the *dim.* (Sn) : (a) that compensation is put when the *n.* does not end in a *du.* or *pl.* augment (Aud, Sn) ; but, when it does, there is no compensation, because the *n.* is long by reason of the augment (Sn) : (3) the ع [of the *dim.* (Sn)] sometimes occurs second, vid. in ذَيَّا and تَيَّا, and ذَيَّان and تَيَّان [below] (Aud, Sn). You say (1, 2) ذَيَّا and تَيَّا (M, SH, IA, Aud, A), *dims.* of ذَا and تَا (M, Jrb, IA, Aud, A) : (a) the ا is added at the end, as a substitute for the Damma, after completion of the word ذَا to three letters by addition of a ع at its end, as in ذَيَّا *dim.* of مَنْ [275] ; so that it becomes ذَيَّا : and then, the ع of the *dim.* being inserted third, after the [first] ا, as it ought to be, what precedes it must be pronounced with Fath ; and therefore the [first] ا is converted into ع, not into و, in order that it may differ from the *aug.* ا s in the *decl. ns.*, which in such a position are converted into و, because they occur after the Damma of the *dim.*, as in ضَوْرِب [278] ; so that it becomes ذَيَّا : (b) you may say that the *o. f.* of ذَا is ذَيِّى or ذَوِّى, the ل having been converted into ا [684] ; and the ع anomalously elided, as in سَع [275,

667]: and that the ع being restored in the *dim.*, as is necessary, and the ی of the *dim.* being added after the ع, the † reverts to its *o. f.* of ی, as in [فَتَى (S),] the *dim.* of فَتَى [275, 278]; so that it becomes ذَيِّيًا or ذَوِيًا, though its ع should rather be *orig.* ا, because the *conjug.* of طَرَى is more numerous than that of حَى; while the Imala of ذَا [639] is because of the †'s being ا ل in ذَوِي, and the ع's being elided: (c) then they elide the ع anomalously, because, the *dim.* of the vague *ns.* being irregular, as above shown, one anomaly emboldens them to another; so that it becomes ذَيَّا (R): (d) IM says in the CK that the *o. f.* of ذَيَّا and تَيَّا is ذَيِّيًا and تَيِّيًا with three ی s, the first being the ع, and the third the ل, of the word, [upon the ground that ذَا is *tril.*, *orig.* ذَيِّ (Sn),] and the middle one being the ی of the *dim.*; but that, the succession of three ی s being deemed heavy, alleviation by elision of one is intended; while the ی of the *dim.* may not be elided, because it indicates a meaning; nor may the third, because, the † being necessarily preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, it follows that, if the third were elided, the ی of the *dim.* which is not vocalized because of its resemblance to the † of the broken *pl.*, would have to be pronounced with Fath; so that the first must be elided, although that entails occurrence of the ی of the *dim.* second, which is pardoned because it helps to carry out

the intention that the *dim.* of what has no declinability should be different from the *dim.* of what is *decl.* (A):

(e) no *fem.* has a *dim.* except تَا and تِي [below] (R): (f) ذِي

has no *dim.*, [by common consent (Aud), the *dim.* of تَا being used instead (Jrb),] to avoid confusion (R, Jrb, Aud, Sn) with [the *dim.* of (Jrb, Sn)] the *masc.* (R, Jrb, Sn) ذَا (Sn); nor has ذِي (R, Jrb), for the same reason (Jrb), being *orig.* ذِي (R); nor has تِي [above], the *dim.*

of تَا being used instead (Aud, Sn), contrary to the opinion of IM [and R] (Aud): (g) the language of IM [and R]

suggests the notion that تِي, like تَا, has a *dim.*; but the GG distinctly declare that no *fem.* expression has a *dim.* except تَا; and this is understood from [IM's words in] the Tashil, where he says "No *indecl.* has a *dim.* except ذَا and الَّذِي and their *derivs.* mentioned below", and does

not mention any *fem.* expression except تَا (A): (3, 4)

ذِيَانِ and تِيَانِ (Aud, A), *dims.* of the *du.* (A): (a) in the *du.* they elide the | added as a compensation for the

Damma, contenting themselves with the ى of the *dim.*, because the | of compensation and the | of the *du.* are combined; and, when two quiescents are combined, the rule is to elide the first when a letter of prolongation

[663] (R): (5) أُوَلِيَّآءُ or أُوَلِيَّآءُ, *dim.* of أُوَلَا or أُوَلَاءُ (M, R,

Aud, A): (a) the Damma in أُوَلِيَّآءُ [and أُوَلِيَّآءُ (Sn)] is

original (IY, R, Sn), not the Damma [imported for the formation (IY)] of the *dim.* (IY, R); and [for this reason (IY, R), as YS says (Sn),] the † is [added as (IY, R)] a compensation for the Damma (IY, R, Sn) of the *dim.* (IY, Sn), which ought to be in them, but is not, the original Damma being retained (Sn): (b) Mb says that the † of compensation is added before the final in [†]أُولَآءِ, because, if it were added at the end, the *dim.* of [†]أُولَآءِ would be liable to be confounded with that of [†]أُولَآءِ: for since you treat [†]أُولَآءِ like a *decl. n.* [in giving it a *dim.*], you assume its Hamza after the † to be converted from a و, or ي, as in كَسَاءَ and رَدَاءَ [683]; and therefore, as you say رَدَاءَ *dim.* رَدَى by elision of the third ي [281], so you say [†]أُولَى; and then, the † being added at the end, it becomes [†]أُولَى, which is liable to be confounded with the *dim.* of the abbreviated: and therefore you add the † of compensation before the Hamza after the †; and then the † of [†]أُولَى is converted into ي [279], like the † of جَبَارَ when you say خَبِيرَ [281]; but the ي is not pronounced with Kasr, as in خَبِيرَ, in order that the † of compensation may be preserved; so that it becomes [†]أُولَى: (c) Zj adds the † of compensation at the end of [†]أُولَآءِ, but assumes the Hamza of [†]أُولَآءِ to be *orig.* an †; so that, when the ي of the *dim.* is inserted, three †s, says he, are combined after it, the first being the one after the † of [†]أُولَآءِ

the second the *o. f.* of the Hamza, according to what he asserts, and the third the *l* of compensation; and then the first is converted into *ى*, as in *حَبِيرٌ*; while the two others remain, the last being made a Hamza, as in *حَمْرَاءُ* [263, 683], and then pronounced with Kasr, as in the *non-dim.* (R). No other *dem.*s. have a *dim.* (A). The *ء* of premonition is prefixed [174], and the *ل* of allocution [and the *ل* of distance (Sn)] affixed [172, 173], to the *dim. dems.* (IY, R, A) *ذِيَّ* and *تِيَّ* [and their *du.* and *pl.* (R)], as *هُذِيَّ* (IY, R) and *هَاتِيَّ*, *ذِيَّكَ* and *تِيَّكَ* (IY), and *ذِيَّكَ*, whence *مِنْ هُوَ لِيَأْتِكَ الْخ* [171] (R): so says IM in the Tashīl (A). And you say (1, 2) *الَّذِيَّ* and *الَّتِيَّ* (M, SH, IA, Aud, A), *dims.* of *الَّذِي* and *الَّتِي* (M, R, Jrb, IA, A), as *بَعْدَ الَّتِيَّ الْخ* [177] (IY): (a) the *ى* after the *ى* of the *dim.* is pronounced with Fath in order that the *l* of compensation may be preserved (R): (b) *الَّذِيَّ* and *الَّتِيَّ* with Damm of the initial are transmitted; but Fath is more agreeable with analogy, in order that the substitute and the original may not be combined (IY, R): (3, 4) *الَّذِيَّانِ* and *الَّتِيَّانِ* (IY, SH, Aud, A) in the *nom.* (IY), and *الَّذِيَّيْنِ* and *الَّتِيَّيْنِ* (IY, R) in the *acc.* and *gen.* (IY), *dims.* of the *du.* (IY, R, A), eliding the *l* of compensation before the two signs of the *du.*, because of the combination of two quiescents (R): (5) *الَّذِيْنَ* (M, SH, Aud, A) in the *nom.* (IY, A), and

٧ **الَّذِينَ** [in the *acc.* and *gen.* (IY, A)], with Damm [oi the **ي** (IY, R) before the **و** (IY, A)], and Kasr (IY, R, A) before the **ي** (A). So says S (R, A), who in the *du.* and *pl.* elides the **ل** of compensation as forgotten, like the **ي** of **الَّذِي** in the *du.* [176] (R); while Akh, [who does not elide it as forgotten, either in the *du.* or in the *pl.* (R), holding that the letter before the **ل** remains pronounced with Fath, to indicate the elided **ل** (IY),] says [in the *pl.* (R)] **الَّذِينَ** and **الَّذِينَ** (IY, R, A) with Fath (IY, A) of the **ي** (IY, Sn) before the sign of the *pl.* (Sn), as in the abbreviated [234] (A), like **الْمُصْطَفَرْنَ** (IY, R, Sn) and **الْمُصْطَفِينَ**: but the pronunciation heard in the whole is Damm or Kasr of the **ي**, as is the opinion of S (R). The **ذ**, according to both opinions, is pronounced with Fath (Sn). And the reason why in the *dim.* **الَّذِي** in the *nom.* and **الَّذِينَ** in the *acc.* and *gen.* are regular, while in the *non-dim.* **الَّذِي** in the *nom.* is anomalous [176], is only that **الَّذِي**, since it has a *dim.*, resembles the *decl.*; so that its *pl.* conforms in inflection [of the *dim.*] to the *pl.* of the *decl.* [285] (R): [or] A in what he says, [like the other GG cited above,] conforms to the *dial.* of those who inflect **الَّذِينَ** with the **و** in the *nom.*; while, according to the *dial.* of the majority, there is no difference between the *nom.* and the *acc.* and *gen.* (Sn). And [for the *dim.* of the *pl.* of (IY, A) the *fem.* (IY) **الَّتِي** (A)] you say **الَّتِيَّاتِ** (M, SH, Aud, A), which

is the [sound (IY, R)] *pl.* of (IY, R, Aud, A) **الَّتِيَّ** (R, Aud, A), the *dim.* of (IY, Aud, A) the *sing.* (IY) **الَّتِي** (Aud, A), the **ا** [of compensation (R)] being elided [from **الَّتِيَّ** (Sn)] because of [the concurrence of (Sn)] the two quiescents (R, Sn), it and the **ا** of the *pl.* (Sn). S says that (IY, R, A), according to the soundest opinion (Aud), they use **الَّتِيَّاتُ** instead of forming a *dim.* from **الَّتِي** (S, IY, R, Aud, A) or **الَّتِيَّ** (R, Aud), which therefore has no *dim.* (S, A); for, since the state of these *ns.* in the *dim.* is not the same as that of non-vague *ns.*, some of them become used instead of others (S), as they use **عَشِيَّانَا** and **أَتَانَا مُسَيَّانَا** *He came to us near evening* instead of forming a *dim.* from **عَشِيٍّ** i. q. [**مَسَاءً** and (IY)] **عَشِيٍّ** [286] (S, IY) in **أَتَانَا قَصْرًا** *He came to us at evening* (S). But Akh forms a homomorphous *dim.* from **الَّتِي** (IY, R) or **الَّتِيَّ**, by analogy, not from hearsay (R), arguing that **الَّتِيَّ** [or **الَّتِيَّ**] is not a homomorphous *pl.* of **الَّتِي**, but only a *quasi-pl. n.* [176], like **فَرَّ** and **قَوْمٌ** [285], which is agreeable with analogy (IY); so that he says [**الَّتِيَّ** as *dim.* of **الَّتِي**, by conversion of the **ا** into **و**, as in the *pl.* **الَّتَوَاتِي**, and elision of the **ي**, and (R)] **الَّتِيَّ** (IY, R) as *dim.* of **الَّتِيَّ** [below] (R). And Akh also allows **الَّتِيَّ** as *dim.* of **الَّتِي** without a Hamza [176] (A). Here the [final (Sn)]

ى of اللَّاتِي [or اللَّاتِي (Sn)] is elided [in the *dim.*] (R, Sn),
 in order that, by the addition of the † of compensation,
 five letters besides the ى [of the *dim.*] may not be com-
 bined (R), because, if the *dim.* were formed from the full
 complement [of letters], and اللَّوَيْتَا [or اللَّوَيْتَا] were
 said, the *dim.* would, by the addition of the † at its end,
 consist of five letters besides the ى of the *dim.*, and that
 does not happen in the *dim.* [274] (Sn). Mz, however, says
 that, when elision [of a letter on account of the adventi-
 tious † (IY)] is unavoidable, then the † after the J should
 rather be elided, because it is *aug.* (IY, R), since اللَّاتِي
 is assumed to be [upon the measure of] فَاعِلٌ [176] (IY);
 so that the *dim.* of اللَّاتِي is اللَّتِي, exactly like the *dim.*
 of اللَّتِي [above]. And some of the BB say اللَّوَيْتَا and اللَّوَيْتَا
 without elision of anything. But all of that is fanciful,
 going beyond what has been heard on the strength of mere
 analogy, which is not allowable (R). S does not mention
 any *dim.* conjuncts except اللَّدَيَا and اللَّتَيَا and their *du.*
 and *pl.*: but IM says in the Tashīl “and اللَّتَيَاتُ and
 اللَّوَيْتَا *dims.* of اللَّاتِي [above], اللَّوَيَا *dim.* of اللَّاتِي [above],
 [by conversion of the † into و, and of the Hamza into ى,
 and elision of the ى (Sn),] and اللَّوَيْنَ [in the *nom.*, and
 اللَّوَيْنَ in the *acc.* and *gen.* (Sn),] *dim.* of اللَّاتَيْنَ, [the
 double ى being the ى of the *dim.* incorporated into the
 ى substituted for the Hamza, and, in a MS of the CK,

ى اللَّوَيْثُونَ with the Hamza retained after the quiescent (Sn)]"; so that he adds the *dims.* of اللَّاتِي , اللَّاتِي , and اللَّاتِيَّات : and his language appears to mean that اللَّاتِيَّات and اللَّوَيْثَا are both *dims.* of اللَّاتِي , which in the case of اللَّوَيْثَا is correct, being mentioned by Akh ; while اللَّاتِيَّات is only the *pl.* of اللَّاتِيَّات , as above shown (A). This is what is said : but I think that, since the *dim.* of the vague *ns.* is irregular, as we have mentioned, a ى is put as a compensation for the Damma, and the ى of the *dim.* is incorporated into it ; so that in the *dim.* of all the vague *ns.* there exists a double ى , the first of which is the ى of the *dim.*, and the second a compensation for the Damma ; and therefore the ى of compensation, being necessarily mobilized [to avoid the concurrence of two quiescents], is pronounced with Fath for the sake of lightness : and then, (1) if the second letter in the *n.* be quiescent, as in ذَا and تَا , and ذَانِ and تَانِ , this double ى is put after the first letter, because, if put after the second, as the ى of the *dim.* ought to be [274], a concurrence of two quiescents would be entailed ; and, according to this, the ا of ذِيَّ and تِيَّ is the one that was in the *non-dim.* : (2) if the second letter of the word be mobile, as in اُولَا and اُولَاء , the ى of the *dim.* is put in its [proper] position after the second ; and, according to this, the *dim.*

of اَلَّذِي and اَلَّتِي ought to be اَلَّذَيْنِ and اَلَّتَيْنِ with a quiescent ي at the end after a ي pronounced with Fath, but is lightened by conversion of the third [ي] into ا, from dislike to the combination of ي s (R).

CHAPTER XI.

THE RELATIVE NOUN.

§ 294. The *rel. n.* is the *n.* to whose end a double **ي** [preceded by Kasra (M)] is affixed as a sign of *relation* to the *n.* (M, SH) bare of the **ي** (SH), like **هَاشِمِيّ** *descended from Hāshim*, **بَصْرِيّ** *residing at AlBasra*, [and **مُنْعَبِيّ** *seller of a kind of cloth called مُنْعَم* (IY),] as the **ي** is affixed as a sign of femininization [263] (M). Relation needs a sign, because it is an adventitious meaning (Jrb). The letter added is the **ي**, and not any other, because analogy requires it to be one of the letters of prolongation and softness, since they are light, and are frequently added; while the **ت** is not added, lest the *n.*, becoming abbreviated, be debarred from inflection [16]; and the **ي** is lighter than the **و**. The **ي** of relation is doubled for two reasons, (1) in order that it may not be confounded with the **ي** of the 1st *pers.* [161]; (2) because, if it were affixed single, the letter before it being pronounced with Kasr, then the Damma and the Kasra [in the *nom.* and *gen.*], would be heavy upon it, as upon [the **ي** in] **الْقَامِيّ** and **الدَّاعِيّ** [16], and it would be exposed to elision when the Tanwin was affixed to it. And the letter before it is pronounced with Kasr for two reasons, (1) because the **ي** is a quiescent letter of prolongation,

which is doubled only from fear of confusion; and the vowel before a letter of prolongation is always homogeneous with it: (2) because the letter before it, while necessarily mobilized because of the quiescence of the *ي*, is not pronounced with Fath, lest it be confounded with the *du.*; and Kasra is lighter than Damma. This *ي* is a *p.*, like the *ë* of feminization, having no position in inflection. The KK hold it to be a *n.* in the position of a *gen.* governed by prefixion of the first *n.* to it; and cite in argument the saying transmitted from the Arabs رَأَيْتُ التَّيْمِيَّ تَيْمَ عَدِيَّ *I saw the descendant of Taim, of the Taim of 'Adi* with the second تَيْم in the *gen.*, holding it to be a substitute for the *ي* in التَّيْمِيَّ: but what they transmit, if correctly reported, is attributable to suppression of the *pre.*, as though صَاحِبَ تَيْمَ عَدِيَّ (*the clansman of the Taim of 'Adi* were said, like أَكَلْتُ أَمْرِيَّ الْحَمَّ [127] (IY). As the *fem.* is divisible into proper and improper [263], so is the *rel. n.*, the proper being what affects the sense, [indicating *relation* to one of the things mentioned, like the ancestor, country, and trade, as هَاشِمِيٌّ, بَصْرِيٌّ, and مُنْعَبِيٌّ (IY)]; and the improper being what depends upon the form alone, [not indicating *relation* to any of the things mentioned, but having the augment of relation at its end (IY),] as كُرْسِيٌّ [248], بَرْدِيٌّ [274] (M), قُبْرِيٌّ,

and بُخْتِي [248]. That is corroborated by the fact that كُرْسِي and بَرْدِي are substantives, as you see; whereas, if they were really *rel. ns.*, they would pass into the *cat.* of the *ep.* [below] (IY). And, as the ة is used to distinguish between the genus and its individual [254], so is the ي, as رُمِي a Greek [310] and رُومُ Greeks, [رُنَجِي a Negro and رُنَجُ Negroes (IY),] مَجُوسِي a Magian and مَجُوسُ Magians (M). F says that اَلْمَجُوسُ the Magians and اَلْيَهُودُ the Jews are made *det.* [with the *art.*] only on the ground that مَجُوسُ Magians and يَهُودُ Jews are [indet., being] *pls.* of مَجُوسِي a Magian and يَهُودِي a Jew, as شَعِيرُ is of شَعِيرَةٌ [254], and are then made *det.* with the *art.*; otherwise prefixion of the *art.* to them would not be allowable, because they would be *det.* [as proper names]: and, says he, being *fem.*, they follow the course of the قَبِيلَةُ, and are not treated like the حَيُّ in triptote declension [Note on p. 39, l. 11]; and he cites the saying of Imra alKais

أَحَارِ أُرِيكَ بَرَقًا هَبَّ وَهَنَا * كَنَارِ مَجُوسَ تَسْتَعِرُ اسْتِعَارًا

O Hārith, I will show thee lightning that has played at midnight, like the fire of the Magians blazing brightly (Jh). They affix to the end of the *n. a* ي like the ي of relation, (1) to distinguish between the individual and its genus, as رُنَجِي and رُنَجُ [253, 310] and نُرْكِي and نُرْكُ

[248], corresponding to تَمَرٌ and تَمْرَةٌ, and نَخْلٌ and نَخْلَةٌ [254]: (2) to denote *intensiveness*, as أَحْمَرٌ *red* and أَشْقَرٌ *sorrel*, أَحْمَرِيٌّ *very red* and أَشْقَرِيٌّ *bright sorrel*, like رَايَةٌ and نَسَابَةٌ [265]: (3) as a permanent *aug.*, as كُرْسِيٌّ [above], بَرْنِيٌّ *an excellent kind of date*, and بَرْدِيٌّ with Fath [of the ب and quiescence of the ر (Sn)]; and this is like the affixion of the ة to the n. in which the *fem.* gender has no meaning, as غُرْفَةٌ and ظَلَمَةٌ [265]: (4) as an accidental *aug.*, as أَطْرَبًا أَحْمَرٌ [581], i. e. دَوَارٌ (A); but here, says Dm, the ي may denote *corroboration of the intensiveness*, like the ة in عَلَامَةٌ [below] (Sn); and hence [the good *ex.* of the non-permanent *aug.* is (Sn)] the saying of AṣṢalatān [Kutham Ibn Khabīya al'Abdī (AKB)]

أَنَا الصَّلَاتَانِي الَّذِي قَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ * إِذَا مَا تَحَكَّمْتُمْ فَهُوَ بِأَلْحَكَمِ صَادِعُ
(A) *I am AṣṢalatān, whom ye have known. Whenever he assumes the office of judge, he is decisive by the judgment*, the م of تَحَكَّمْتُمْ being quiescent for the sake of the metre (Sn). The clause "as a sign of relation to the n. bare of the ي" excludes the n. to whose end a double ي is affixed, denoting *unity*, as in رُمِيٌّ and زَنْجِيٌّ; or *intensiveness*, as in أَحْمَرِيٌّ and دَوَارِيٌّ; or having no meaning, as in بَرْدِيٌّ and كُرْسِيٌّ: for these *ns.* are not said to be *rel. ns.*, nor their ي to be the ي of relation, as تَمْرَةٌ [254], where the ة denotes *unity*, and عَلَامَةٌ [312], where

it denotes *intensiveness*, and غُرْفَةٌ [265], where it has no meaning, are said to be *fem. ns.*, and their ة to be the ة of feminization, because they follow the course of the proper *fem.* in some things, like the feminization of their attribute [263], their becoming diptote in such as طَلْعَةٌ [18], and the conversion of their ة into ة in pause [646] (R). The object of the *rel. n.* is to pronounce the related to be *one of the race of the ancestor related to*, or [one] of the residents of that city, or of the workers at that trade; and its import is that of the *ep.* (IY, Jrb). The *n.* compounded of the double ع and of the *n.* related to becomes one *n.* [denoting] *related to [what is denoted by] the n. bare of the ع*; and therefore indicates an *unspecified substance qualified by a specified quality*, vid. *relation to [what is denoted by] the n. bare of the ع*: so that it is like the rest of the *eps.*, such as the *act.* and *pass. parts.* and the assimilate *ep.*, each of which is [denotative of] *an unspecified substance qualified by a specified quality*; and therefore it needs something that, by itself or by its belonging, will particularize that substance, as مَرَرْتُ بِرَجُلٍ تَيْمِيٍّ وَبِرَجُلٍ مِصْرِيٍّ حِمَارَةً *I passed by a man descended from Tamīm, and by a man whose ass was Egyptian*, where it governs in the *nom.* in the first case the *pron.* of the qualified, and in the second the belonging of the qualified, like the rest of the *eps.* mentioned [145]. But it does not govern the direct *obj.*,



since it is i. q. the *intrans.* مَنَسَّبٌ or مَنَسُوبٌ [142]. And, from its want of resemblance to the *v.* in form, it governs only the particularizer of that vague substance, whether an explicit *n.*, as in رَجُلٌ مِصْرِيٌّ حِمَارَةٌ; or a *pron.*, as in رَجُلٌ قَيْسِيٌّ: and nothing else, except the *adv.*, for [governing] which a tinge of the *v.* is sufficient [64, 498], as اَنَا قُرَشِيٌّ أَبَدًا *I am always related to Kuraish*; or the *d. s.*, which resembles it [75]: 'Imrān Ibn Hiṭṭān says

يَوْمًا يَمَانٍ إِذَا لَقَيْتُ ذَا يَمَنٍ * وَإِنْ لَقَيْتُ مَعَدِيًّا فَعَدْنَانِي

(R) *One day (I am) an inhabitant of Al Yaman* [311] *when I meet a man of Yaman; and, if I meet a descendant of Ma'add, I am a descendant of 'Adnān, orig. عَدْنَانِي* (MAR). The relation produces [three (A)] alterations (M, A) in the [*rel.* (IY)] *n.* (M), (1) in form, vid. [three things (A),] (a) the addition of the double ع [of relation (IY)] at the end of the *rel. n.*; (b) the Kasr of the letter before the ع; (c) the transfer of the inflection to the ع [309] (IY, A): (2) in sense, vid. the *n.*'s becoming denotative of what it did not denote (A), i. e. *the related*; whereas, before that, it denoted *the related to* (Sn): (3) in predicament, vid. the *n.*'s [being treated like the assimilate *ep.* in its invariably (A)] governing in the *nom.* the *pron.* or explicit *n.* [above] (IY, A). And in some *ns.* one or more alterations are added to these (A). The alterations are of two kinds, regular, universal in their

language ; and irregular (M). The alterations entailed by the *ى* of relation on the *n.* related to are (1) common to all *ns.*, vid. Kasr of the letter before the *ى*, for affinity to it : (2) peculiar to some, vid. (a) elision of a letter [below], like the elision of (a) the *ة* of feminization and the signs of the *du.* and the two [sound] *pls.* [295] ; (b) the *ى* of *فَعِيلَةٌ* and *فُعَيْلَةٌ* [297], and of *فَعِيلٌ* and *فُعَيْلٌ* when unsound in the *ل* [299] : (b) conversion of a letter, as in *عَصْرِيٌّ* and *رَحْرِيٌّ* [300], and in *عَمْرِيٌّ* [301] : (c) restoration of the elided letter, as in *دَمْرِيٌّ* [306] : (d) substitution of one vowel for another, as in *نَمْرِيٌّ* and *شَقْرِيٌّ* [296] : (e) addition of (a) a consonant, as in *كَمِيٌّ* [306] and *لَآئِيٌّ* [300, 306] ; (b) a vowel, as in *طَوْرِيٌّ* and *حَيْرِيٌّ* [302] : (f) transfer from one formation to another, as in *مَسْجِدِيٌّ* from *مَسَاجِدُ* [310] : (g) elision of a word, as in *مَرْمِيٌّ* from *أَمْرٌ*, *أَلْقَيْسٍ* [306, 308, 309] (R). On account of this *ى* six things are elided at the end, (1) the double *ى* occurring after three or more letters, whether both the *ى* s be *aug.*, as in *كُرْسِيٌّ* and *شَافِعِيٌّ*, *rel. ns.* *كُرْسِيٌّ* and *شَافِعِيٌّ* [303] ; or one of them be *aug.*, and the other *rad.*, as in *مَرْمِيٌّ*, *orig.* *مَرْمُويٌّ*, *rel. n.* *مَرْمِيٌّ* [303] : (2) the *ة* of feminization, as *مَكَّةُ* *rel. n.* *مَكِّيٌّ* [295] : (3) the *ا*, if it be (a) after four or more [letters], which occurs in the case of (a) the *ا* of

femininization, as حَبَارَى [300]; (b) the | of coordination, as حَبْرَكَى [253, 300, 397]; (c) the | converted from a *rad.*, as مُصْطَفَى [300]: (b) fourth, when the second [letter] of its word is mobile, which occurs only in the case of the | of femininization, as جَمْرَى [300]: (4) the defective ى after four or more [letters], as مُعْتَدٍ and مُسْتَعِلٍ [301]: (5-6) the sign of the *du.* and the sign of the sound *pl. masc.*, as زَيْدَانٍ and زَيْدُونَ, when proper names inflected with consonants, *rel. n.* زَيْدِي [295]. And in the penultimate also six things are elided, vid. (1) the ى pronounced with Kasr, and having another ى incorporated into it, as طَيِّبٌ and هَيِّبٌ, *rel. ns.* طَيِّبِي and هَيِّبِي [298] by elision of the second ى: (2) the ى of فَعِيلَةٌ, as صَحِيفَةٌ and حَنِيفَةٌ [297]: (3) the ى of فَعِيلَةٌ, as جَهَنَّةٌ and قَرْيَاطَةٌ [297]: (4) the و of فَعُولَةٌ, as شَنْوَةٌ [297]: (5) the ى of فَعِيلٌ unsound in the ل, as غَنِيٌّ and عَلِيٌّ [299]: (b) the ى of فَعِيلٌ unsound in the ل, as قَصِيٌّ [299] (Aud). These are the regular alterations; and, as for the anomalous, they will be described in their places (R). [Z followed by] IH puts the regular alterations first [295-310]; and, after finishing them, points out the irregular ones [311] (Jrb).

§ 295. You elide (1) the ى of femininization (SH, IM), as مَكَّةُ *Makka*, *rel. n.* مَكِّي [294] (IA, A), and نَاطِقَةٌ

Faṭima, *rel. n.* ^{فَاطِمَةُ} (A), unrestrictedly (SH), i. e., whether the *n.* containing the *ʿ* be a proper name, like ^{مَكَّةُ} and ^{الْكُوفَةُ} *AlKūfa*, or not, like ^{غُرْفَةٌ} [238, 263] and ^{صَفْرَةٌ} *yellowness*, contrary to the augments of the *du.* and [sound] *pl.*, which are sometimes not elided in the proper name [below]; and whether the *ʿ* be in a proper *fem.*, as in ^{عَزَّةٌ} *ʿAzza*, or not, as in ^{حَمْرَةٌ} *Hamra*; and whether it be after the *ʾ* in the *pl. fem.*, as in ^{مُسْلِمَاتٌ} [below], or not (R): (2) the sign (IM), [i. e.,] the augment (SH), of the *du.*, [vid. the *ʾ* and *ن*, and the *ي* and *ن* (R),] and of the [sound (IM, R, Jrb)] *pl.* (SH, IM) *masc.* [294] or *fem.* (Sn), vid. the *و* and *ن*, the *ي* and *ن*, and the *ʾ* and *ت* (R), as ^{مُسْلِمَانِ}, ^{مُسْلِمُونَ}, and ^{مُسْلِمَاتٌ} [above], *rel. n.* ^{مُسْلِمِي} (A), except when [the *du.* or sound *pl. masc.* is] a proper name *infl.* with vowels (SH). The *ʿ* of feminization is elided (1) in order that two *ʿ* s [of feminization (A), one before, and the other after, the *ي* (R),] may not be combined in the *fem. rel. n.* [265] (R, A), as ^{مَكْتَبِيَّةٌ} (Sn); and then its elision is extended to the *masc. rel. n.*, as ^{رَجُلٌ كُوفِيٌّ} (R): (2) in order that its retention may not conduce to the occurrence of the *ʿ* of feminization as a medial (Sn): (3) as is said, because the *ي* is sometimes like the *ʿ* in importing *unity* and *intensiveness*, and in having no meaning [294]; so that, if the *ʿ* were not elided, two *ي* s or two *ʿ* s would, as it

were, be combined ; but, according to this reasoning, كُوفِيَّةٌ or بَصْرِيَّةٌ ought not to be said, since this also combines them. The ت in أُخْتُ and بِنْتُ [307], though not for femininization [263, 689], as is proved by the triptote declension of أُخْتُ and بِنْتُ when used as names, is elided because of the tinge of femininization in it [277] (R). The saying of the theologians ذَاتِي from ذَاتٌ *essence, substance* and the saying of the vulgar خَلِيفَتِي from خَلِيفَةٌ *a successor, Khalifa* are solecisms, the correct forms being ذَوْرِي [307] and خَلْفِي [297] (Aud, A). As for the elision of the ن, [the reason for] it is manifest, because the ن indicates the completeness of the word [84], while the ي of relation is like one of its parts. The elision of the ا, و, and ي mentioned is because they are inflections [16], and no inflection is in the middle ; and also because, if they were not elided, two equal signs would be combined in such as مُسْلِمَانِيَّانِ and مُسْلِمُونِيَّونَ, and the signs of the *du.* and *pl.* in such as مُسْلِمُونِيَّانِ and مُسْلِمَانِيَّونَ, so that the word would contain two inflections. The ا and ت in such as مُسْلِمَاتٌ are elided, because, since both together import *femininization*, as they import *pluralization* [234], the retention of both would entail a combination of two ة s in such as عَرَفَاتِيَّةٌ [from عَرَفَاتٌ below]; while neither of them is retainable or

removable separately from the other, because they are like one sign. You say عَانَاتُ *'Anāt*, *rel. n.* عَانِيٌ; and أَذْرَعَاتُ [13, 17], *rel. n.* أَذْرَعِي (R) with Fath of the , [296] (KF, LL). The predicament of such [*du.* and sound *pls.*, *masc.* or *fem.*,] as are used as names, [*infl.* (Sn)] according to the *dial.* of imitation, [i. e., as before their use as names (Sn),] is similar [to that of the *du.* and *pl.*, when not used as names, in elision of the sign and restoration to the *sing.* (Sn)], as نَصِيبُونَ *Nasībūn*, *rel. n.* نَصِيبِي, and عَرَفَاتُ [13], *rel. n.* عَرَفِي (A). When you make the *du.* and the *pl.* with the , and ن proper names, then, (1) if you retain their inflection as it was, elision is necessary in the *rel. n.*, since the objection remains, for which reason, when you name a man عِشْرُونَ or مُسْلِمُونَ, you may not say عِشْرُونَانِ and عِشْرُونُونَ, nor مُسْلِمُونَانِ and مُسْلِمُونُونَ: (2) if you inflect them with vowels, making the ن after the ا in the *du.*, and after the ي [236] in the *pl.*, the seat of inflection, the ا and the ي are not inflectional, nor does the ن import completeness of the word, but the word is like سَكَرَانُ and غَسَلِينَ; so that their *rel. ns.* must be formed without elision of anything, as بَحْرَانِي [311] and قَنْسَرِينِي [236] (R). And therefore قَنْسَرِي [from قَنْسَرُونَ (Jrb)] and قَنْسَرِينِي [from قَنْسَرِينَ (Jrb)] occur (SH), قَنْسَرِينَ [with

Fath, and sometimes Kasr, of its second (MI)] being a proper name [of a city one day's journey from Aleppo (MI)], diptote because a *fem.* proper name [exceeding three letters] (Jrb). When the [sound] *pl. masc.* is a name, then those who treat it like ^{هَرُونَ} [in inseparability of the , and in diptote declension because of the quality of proper name and quasi-foreignness (Sn)], or like ^{عَرَبُونَ} [in inseparability of the , and in triptote declension (Sn)], or make the , and the Fath of the ن inseparable from it [by imitation of its *o. f.* in the *nom.* case (Sn)], say ^{مُسْلِمُونِي} from ^{مُسْلِمُونَ} when a name (A). F declines ^{حَمْدُونَ} as a diptote because of determination and [virtual (Sn)] foreignness, [which is termed quasi-foreignness (Sn),] holding that ^{حَمْدُونَ} and similar proper names augmented at their ends by a , and ن following a *Damma*, but not denoting plurality, are not found in native Arab usage, but in usage really or virtually foreign ; so that they are co-ordinated with what is declined as a diptote because of determination and pure foreignness (A on the diptote). As for such as ^{سِنُونَ} and ^{كُرُونَ} [234], when not proper names, they must be restored to the *sing.*, when their *rel. ns.* are to be formed, whether the ن be made the seat of inflection or not [310] (R). As for [such as (Aud)] ^{تَمَرَاتٌ}, [where the second is mobile, and the ! fourth (Sn), if it remain a *pl.*, then (Aud)] the *rel. n.*, [being formed from its *sing.* (Aud),] is ^{تَمَرِي} with

quiescence [240, 310] (Aud, A) of the م (Sn) : but, if it be a [proper (Aud)] name, then [those who inflect it like its *o. f.*, the *perf. pl. fem.*, elide the ا and ت, saying تَمَرِي with quiescence of the م, as is necessarily implied by A's previous saying "The predicament of such as are used as names, etc."; while (Sn)] those who make it diptote [17] treat its ت like the ة of مَكَّة [above], and its ا like the ا of جَمَرِي [300], eliding both, and saying تَمَرِي with Fatḥh. As for such as صَخْبَات, [where the second is quiescent, and the ا fourth (Sn),] conversion [with or without separation by the ا, as صَخْبَاوِي or صَخْبَرِي (Sn),] and elision, [as صَخْبِي,] are allowable in its ا, because it is like the ا of حَبَلِي [300] (Aud, A); but elision is preferable : and there is no difference between the *ep.*, as صَخْبَات; and the substantive, as هِنْدَات, *rel. n.* [هِنْدَاوِي or هِنْدَوِي or هِنْدِي (Sn). But in the ا of such as مُسَلِمَات and سُرَادِقَات, [where the ا is fifth or upwards, whether it be *pl.* of a substantive or of an *ep.* (Sn),] only elision is allowable (Aud, A). And the predicament of what is co-ordinated with the *du.* and sound *pl.* [*masc.* or *fem.*] is the same as theirs, as اِثْنَانِ [16, 306, 313], *rel. n.* اِثْنِي or ثَنَرِي, [by restoration to the assumed *sing.* اِثْن, *orig.* ثَنَو, when اِثْنَانِ is not used as a name, or is used as a name *infl.* according to the *dial.*

of imitation, and اِثْنَانِيّ when اِثْنَان is used as a name not *infl.* according to the *dial.* of imitation, but treated like حَمْدَانُ or سِرْحَانُ (Sn); and عِشْرُونَ [234], *rel. n.* عِشْرِيّ [or عِشْرِينِيّ or عِشْرُونِيّ (Sn)]; and اُولَات [17], *rel. n.* اُولِيّ (A).

§ 296. The ع pronounced with Kasr in the [*n.* (IY)] related to must be pronounced with Fatḥh in the *rel. n.*, when the related to is of three letters, [whether the ف be pronounced with Fatḥh, Kasr, or Damm (A),] as نَمِرٌ *leopard*, *rel. n.* نَمِرِيّ (IY, R, A), and شَقِرَةٌ *red anemone*, *rel. n.* شَقِرِيّ [294] (IY); اِبِلٌ [257], *rel. n.* اِبِلِيّ; and دُبُلٌ *jackal, weasel*, *rel. n.* دُبُلِيّ (IY, R, A). They say الْحَبِطَاتُ *The Habîṭs*, [who are the Banu-l-Hārith Ibn ‘Amr Ibn Tamīm (Mb),] *rel. n.* حَبِطِيّ (S, Mb). For, if the ع were not pronounced with Fatḥh, the whole, or most, of the letters of the word formed for lightness, i. e., the unaugmented *triḷ.*, would become extremely heavy, because of the succession of likes, *vid.* the Kasras and the ي, since in such as اِبِلِيّ not a letter, and in such as نَمِرِيّ and دُبُلِيّ only the first letter, would be free from Kasra (R). The necessity, however, for Fatḥh is disputed by some, who, as AH transmits, allow the Kasra of the ع to remain: so says Syt in the Ham’ (Sn). Those who pronounce the ف in such as صَعِقٌ [11] with Kasr,

by alliteration to the guttural ع pronounced with Kasr, say in the *rel. n.* صَعَقِي² with Kasr of the ص and Fath of the ع (R). Both صَعَقِي² and صَعَقِي³ are good (S). But صَعَقِي³ with Kasr of the ص and ع is [said by S to be (R)] anomalous (R, A); and perhaps is so pronounced in order that the cause of the Kasr of the ص, vid. the Kasr of the ع, may remain unaltered (R). It is understood from IM's confining himself to the [unaugmented] *tril.* that the *n.* whose final is preceded by a Kasra is not altered when it exceeds three [letters]. That includes what is of (1) five letters, as جَحْصَرِشْ [245, 401]; (2) four mobile letters, as جُنْدِلْ [302] (A), with Damm or Fath of the ج, *a place in which stones are collected* (Sn); (3) four letters, its second being quiescent, as تَغْلِبْ [4]. The two first are not altered; but in the third there are two ways, in the better known of which it is not altered, while in the other its ع is pronounced with Fath. And Fath, in addition to Kasr, has been heard in تَغْلِبِي² [below], يَحْصَبِي² [from يَحْصَبُ a clan of Ḥimyar (LL)], and يَنْرَبِي² (A) or أَثْرَبِي² [311] (Jh, KF), from يَنْرَبُ [or أَثْرَبُ (KF), the land of (LL)] AlMadīna (Jh, KF, LL); but its regularity is disputed. Mb, IS, Rm, and those who agree with them hold that it is universal, [so that you say مَغْرَبِي² with Fath of the , from مَغْرَبٌ *west* (Sn)];

but, according to Khl and S, it is anomalous, confined to hearsay (A). Mb allows Fath, in addition to Kasr, as an universal rule in such as ^ثتَغَلَّبِي [below], ^ثيَتَرَبَّى, and ^ثمَغْرَبِي, because the second is quiescent, and, the quiescent being like the dead and non-existent [301], the *n.* is co-ordinated with the [unaugmented] *tril.*; but the [correct] opinion is that of Khl, since Fath has not been heard except in ^ثتَغَلَّبِي [above] (R).

§ 297. The *ى* of ^ثفَعِيلَةٌ [294] is elided in the *rel. n.*, as ^ثحَنِيفَةٌ *Hanīfa*, *rel. n.* ^ثحَنِفِي, and ^ثصَحِيفَةٌ *a writing, book*, *rel. n.* ^ثصَحَفِي [310] (A). First the *ث* of feminization is elided [295] (Aud, A), because it does not combine with the *ى* of relation (Sn): then the *ى* is elided (Aud, A), to distinguish the *fem.* from the *masc.* [299, 302], as ^ثحَنِيفٌ *orthodox*, *rel. n.* ^ثحَنِيفِي, and ^ثشَرِيفٌ *noble*, *rel. n.* ^ثشَرِيفِي; while they do not adopt the converse method, because, the *ث* of feminization being elided from the *fem.*, the *ى* is elided in succession to it (Sn): and then the Kasra is converted into Fatha [296] (Aud, A), in order that two Kasras and the *ى* of relation may not follow one another (Sn). As for [^ثسَلِيبِي (SH, A),] ^ثعَمِيرِي, and ^ثسَلِيقِي, they are anomalous [311] (SH, Aud, A), serving to direct attention to the obsolete *o. f.* (A); and more anomalous are ^ثعَبْدِي and ^ثجَدَمِي (SH, A) with

Damm [311] (A), because, says IUK, what precedes is a reversion to an obsolete *o. f.*, while there is no reason for the Damm (Sn). S co-ordinates فَعْرَلَةٌ [294] with فَعِيكَةٌ (IY, R, A), eliding the و (IY, R), and pronouncing the ع with Fatḥ (IY), regularly, universally (R), whether فَعْرَلَةٌ be sound in the ل, as فَرُوقَةٌ [246, 265, 269], *rel. n.* فَرُوقِي [with Fatḥ of the و (Sn)]; or unsound, as عَدْوَةٌ [234, 246, 269], *rel. n.* عَدْوِي (A) with Fatḥ of the و (Sn): because he assimilates the و to the ي, on account of their equality in prolongation and in position after the ع (R). The ة of feminization is elided; then the و is elided; and then the Damma is converted into Fatha (Aud). S's argument is [that the same heaviness is found in فَعْرَلَةٌ as in فَعِيكَةٌ; and (IY)] that the Arabs say شَنْوَةٌ *Shanū'a*, [a tribe of AlYaman (Kh),] *rel. n.* شَنْتِي (IY, A). According to Mb, however, شَنْتِي is anomalous, not to be copied (IY, R, A); and you say فَعْرَلِي from every other فَعْرَلَةٌ, as all say from فَعْرَلٌ, whether it be sound [in the ل], like سَلُولٌ *Salūl*, or unsound, like عَدْوٌ, since, by common consent, only سَلُولِي and عَدْوِي are said (A). He distinguishes between the و and ي [and the Damma and Kasra in this *cat.* (R)], saying that, by common consent, the *rel. n.* of عَدِي is عَدْوِي, while the *rel. n.* of عَدْوٌ is عَدْوِي [299]; and the

rel. n. of سَمْرٌ [254] is سَمْرِي, while the rel. n. of نَمْرٌ is نَمْرِي [296] (IY, R) : so that, since the Damma differs from the Kasra in نَمْرٌ and سَمْرٌ, and the , from the ي in عَدِي and عَدُو, the , in فَعُولٌ must differ from the ي in فَعِيلٌ (IY) ; for how can فَعُولٌ agree with فَعِيلٌ, when فَعْلٌ does not agree with فَعْلٌ, nor فَعُولٌ unsound in the ل with فَعِيلٌ ? Thus S assimilates فَعُولٌ unrestrictedly, regularly, to فَعِيلٌ in two things, elision of the soft letter, and Fath of the ع ; while Mb restricts that to شَمْرٌ alone (R). S treats شَمْرِي as regular, though he heard no other instance, because nothing to the contrary has been transmitted (A). The saying of Mb [here (R)] is sound (IY, R) in respect of analogy ; but the saying of S is stronger in respect of hearsay, which is decisive in the field of controversy (IY). The ي of فَعِيلٌ [294] is elided in the rel. n., as جُهَيْنَةٌ *Juhaina*, rel. n. جُهَيْنِي [281], قُرَيْظَةٌ *Kuraiza*, rel. n. قُرَيْظِي, and مُزَيْنَةٌ *Muzaina*, rel. n. مُزَيْنِي (A). The ة of feminization is [first (Aud)] elided [295] ; and then the ي (Aud, A), for the same reason as the ي of فَعِيلٌ [above] (Sn). The saying رُدَيْنِي is anomalous [311] (Aud, A) ; and so is خُزَيْنِي from خُزَيْنَةٌ *Khuzaina*, one of the names of AlBaṣra. The preceding rule that the rel. n. of فَعِيلٌ is فَعَلِي, and of فَعُولٌ is

فُعَلِيٌّ, has two conditions, absence of reduplication; and soundness of the ع, when the ل is sound. And in فَعُولَةٌ also, according to S's opinion, these two conditions are observed. They do not elide the ي of فَعِيلَةٌ unsound in the ع, when sound in the ل, as [طَوِيلَةٌ *a tether* and (Sn)] الطَوِيلَةُ *At-Tawila*, a tribe, [so in some of the MSS, though I have not found it in the KF, where الطَوِيلَةُ is said to be a name for a particular meadow (Sn) in Aṣṣammān (MI, KF),] *rel. n.* طَوِيلِيٌّ, because, if they elided the ي, saying طَوَلِيٌّ, it would be necessary to convert the و into ! [684]. And فَعِيلَةٌ is co-ordinated in that respect with فَعِيلَةٌ, as نُوبِرَةٌ [282], *rel. n.* نُوبِرِيٌّ, not نُورِيٌّ (A), though the foregoing reason does not apply here, because the unsound letter, when preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm, is not converted into ! [684] (Sn). The proviso that the ل should be sound is meant to exclude such as طَوِيَّةٌ *heart, mind* and حَيِيَّةٌ [281], *rel. ns.* طَوَوِيٌّ and حَيَوِيٌّ [302] (A), the unsoundness of the ع having no effect when the ل is unsound (Sn). And similarly they do not elide the ي, when فَعِيلَةٌ and فَعِيلَةٌ are reduplicated, as جَلِيلَةٌ *a she-camel* and قَلِيلَةٌ *a small jug*, *rel. ns.* جَلِيلِيٌّ and قَلِيلِيٌّ, not جَلَلِيٌّ and قَلَلِيٌّ, from dislike to [the heaviness in (Sn)]

the combination of two likes (A); while incorporation is impossible, because the measure of the first is *فَعْلٌ*, and of the second is *فَعْلٌ* [731] (Sn). And *فَعُولَةٌ* is like *فَعِيلَةٌ* in what is mentioned, as *قَوُولَةٌ* talkative and *صَرُورَةٌ* celibate, *rel. ns.* *قَوُولِيٌّ* and *صَرُورِيٌّ*, not *قَوَلِيٌّ* and *صَرَرِيٌّ*, for the reasons mentioned (A), *vid.* necessity for conversion of the *و* into *ا* in *قَوَلِيٌّ*, and dislike to the combination of two likes in *صَرَرِيٌّ* (Sn).

§ 298. When the sound final letter is preceded by a double *ي* pronounced with Kasr, then, whatever be the formation of the *n.*, whether *فَاعِلٌ*, like [*مَيْتٌ* and *سَيْدٌ*] [251], or *مُفَعِّلٌ*, like *مُبَيِّنٌ* [and *مُهَيِّمٌ*], or *أَفْعِيلٌ*, like *أُسَيْدٌ* [279], or *فَاعِلٌ*, like *حُمَيْرٌ* [281, 282], or anything else (R), the second *ي* [pronounced with Kasr (R)] is [necessarily (R)] elided, [when the *ي* of relation is affixed (R),] as *سَيْدِيٌّ* and *مَيْتِيٌّ*, and as *مُهَيِّمِيٌّ* from [*مُهَيِّمٌ act. part. of (R)*] *هَيْمٌ* (SH) in *هَيْمَةُ الْحَبِّ* Love drove him distracted (R), from dislike to [the heaviness produced by the combination of] two Kasras and four *ي* s (Jrb). You say *أُسَيْدٌ* [above], *حُمَيْرٌ*, [and *لُبَيْدٌ* (S), *dims. of أُسَوْدٌ*, *حِمَارٌ* (IY), and *لُبَيْدٌ* a sack or fodder-bag,] *rel. ns.* *أُسَيْدِيٌّ* [below], *حُمَيْرِيٌّ* (S, M), and *لُبَيْدِيٌّ* (S); and *هَيْمٌ* [251], *rel. n.* *هَيْمِيٌّ* [294] (IY). One of the two *ي* s of relation

may not be elided, because both together are a sign ; nor may the Kasra of the preceding letter be abandoned, because that letter is invariably pronounced with Kasr ; nor may the quiescent *ي* be elided [below], lest there remain a *ي* pronounced with Kasr, followed by a letter pronounced with Kasr, followed by a double *ي*, for that would be much harder to articulate than the two double *ي* s : so that nothing is left but elision of the *ي* pronounced with Kasr. If the final letter be unsound, as in *أَلْبَحَيِّ* [281], its predicament will be explained [301] (R). And, if the *ي* [before the final letter (R)] be [single, as in *مُغِيْلٌ* *suckling during coition or pregnancy*, or double, but (A)] pronounced with Fath (R, A), as in the *pass. parts.* *مُبَيِّنٌ* and *مُهَيِّمٌ* (R), [and] as in *هَبِيحٌ* [384], or be separated from the final letter, as in *مُهَيِّمٌ* *dim. of مُهَيِّمٌ very thirsty*, *مَفْعَالٌ* from *هَامٌ thirsted* (A), or of *مُهَيِّمٌ* or *مُهَيِّمٌ* [below] (Sn), it is not elided in the *rel. n.* (R, A) ; but you say *مُبَيِّنٌ* [*مُغِيْلٌ* and *مُهَيِّمٌ* and] *هَبِيحٌ*, and *مُهَيِّمٌ* (A), because there is no heaviness (R, A). But *طَائِيٌّ* is anomalous [311] (IY on § 311, SH), *orig.* *طَيِّئٌ*, the *ي* [pronounced with Kasr (R)] being elided (IY, R), as in *أُسَيْدِيٌّ* *rel. n.* *أُسَيْدٌ* [above] (IY), according to rule ; so that it becomes *طَيِّئٌ*, like *مَيْئٌ*, with a quiescent *ي* (R) : and the *ي* being then converted into *!* (IY, R), irregularly [684], for the sake

of alleviation, from frequency of usage (R), as in ^{آيَة}, which, according to S, is ^{نَعْلَة} [723] (IY). Or the anomaly may consist in elision of the quiescent ^ي [above], the ^ي that is an ^ع being then converted into ^ا, according to rule, because mobile, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath [684] (R). If, however, ^{مَهَيِّمٌ} be *dim.* of ^{مَهَرَمٌ}, [an *act. part.* (R) from ^{هَرَمٌ} *dozed*, then, says Z (IY, R), who is followed by IH (R), only (M, R)] ^{مَهَيِّمِي} is said, by putting [the ^ي as a (R)] compensation [284] (M, SH) for the elided ^و, [283], because, if you allowed the *rel. n.* to be formed from that [*dim.*] which does not contain the ^ي of compensation, but is [^{مَهَيِّمٌ}] in the shape of the *act. part.* of ^{هَيِّمٌ}, then, if you elided nothing from it, the heaviness mentioned would be produced; while, if you elided [the second ^ي, saying ^{مَهَيِّمِي}], the *rel. n.* of this *dim.* would be confounded with the *rel. n.* of the *act. part.* of ^{هَيِّمٌ} [above]; so that you must keep to [the *dim.* ^{مَهَيِّمٌ} with] the ^ي of compensation, in order that the two double ^ي s, being separated by two letters, the quiescent ^ي [of compensation] and the ^م, may be farther apart than when separated by one letter, and thus the combination of two double ^ي s in one word may not be deemed so heavy. And similarly, according to their opinion, ought the *rel. n.* of the *dim.* of ^{مَهَيِّمٌ} *act. part.* of ^{هَيِّمٌ} to be formed, i. e. with the ^ي of compensation. This that we have

mentioned on the *dim.* of ^{مُهَيِّمٌ} and ^{مُهَيِّمٌ}, vid. that one of the two likes is elided, is the opinion of S on the *dim.* of ^{عَطْرٌ} [283] (R). But, [according to Mb (R),] the *dim.* of ^{مُهَيِّمٌ} [or ^{مُهَيِّمٌ} (R)] ought to be [only (R)] ^{مُهَيِّمٌ} (IY, R), as the *dim.* of ^{عَطْرٌ} is only ^{عُطَيِّدٌ} (R), like ^{كُدَيِّينٌ} *dim.* of ^{كُدَيِّونٌ} *dregs of oil*, because the second , [or ^ي], being fourth, is not elided [283] (IY); and, according to his opinion, in the *rel. n.* formed from the *dim.* of ^{مُهَيِّمٌ} or ^{مُهَيِّمٌ}, it is not necessary to put [the ^ي as] a compensation for the elided, because he elides nothing (R): so that [here also (R)] the *rel. n.* is [only (R)] ^{مُهَيِّمِيٌّ} (IY, R), like ^{كُدَيِّينِيٌّ} (IY); but the ^ي is not a compensation. And, though the opinion of S, as to the elision of one of the two , s in [the *dim.* of] such as ^{عَطْرٌ}, is what we have mentioned, still he does not say here that the *rel. n.* of the *dim.* is always formed with [the ^ي of] compensation, as Z mentions: but says that, when you form the *rel. n.* of ^{مُهَيِّمٌ}, which contains a quiescent ^ي after the double ^ي, you elide nothing from it, because, says he, if we elide the ^ي that is before the ^م, there remains ^{مُهَيِّمٌ}, in the *rel. n.* of which one of the two ^ي s must be elided; so that ^{مُهَيِّمِيٌّ} remains, like ^{حَيِّرِيٌّ} from ^{حَيِّرٌ}; and, since the word becomes mutilated by the elision of two ^ي s from it, they prefer to do that which will not necessitate

an elision of two things, i. e., to retain the **ي** that is a letter of prolongation, in order that by it and the **م** the two double **ي** s may be kept farther apart. And here the opinion of S may be the same as (1) the opinion of Mb, vid. that the *rel. n.* is always [formed] with [a letter of] prolongation, since nothing is elided from the word; and in that case the **ي** in **مُهَيِّبِي** is not for compensation: or (2) his own opinion on **عَطَّرُ**, vid. that one of the two likes is elided, with or without compensation; but that, in the *rel. n.* of that [*dim.*] which contains the **ي** of compensation, you elide nothing, from fear of mutilating the word by elision of two **ي** s; while, in the *rel. n.* of that *dim.* which does not contain the **ي** of compensation, you elide the **ي** pronounced with Kasr, saying **مُهَيِّبِي**, as in the *rel. n.* of the *act. part.* of **هَيَّمَ**, and in the *rel. n.* of **حَيَّرَ**, since there is no mutilation here, and the ambiguity is not heeded. And the second of the two alternatives is preferable, in order that the doctrine of S here may not be altogether contrary to his doctrine on **عَطَّرُ**; but it is contrary to what Z and IH mention (R). The language of IM "And the third of such as," [meaning "And such as the third of" (Sn),] "**طَيَّبَ** is elided" is unrestricted enough to include (1) such as **غَزَيْلٌ** *dim.* of **غَزَالٌ** a gazelle, *rel. n.* **غُرَيْلِي**, which is unequivocally included by many, though [A asserts that] S uses only the

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§. 299. They co-ordinate **فَعِيلٌ** and **فَعِيلٌ**, when unsound in the **ل** [below], with **فَعِيلَةٌ** and **فَعِيلَةٌ** [297] (IM) in [the necessity for (IA)] elision of the [*aug.* (Sn)] **ي**, and pronunciation of the **ع** with Fath, [if it be pronounced with Kasr (A),] as **عَدِيٌّ** ‘*Adī* and **قَصِيٌّ** *Kuṣayy*, *rel. ns.* **عَدَوِيٌّ** and **قَصَوِيٌّ**, like **غَنِيَّةٌ** [*Ghanīya* and (A)] **أُمَيَّةٌ** *Umayya*, *rel. n.* [**غَنَوِيٌّ** and (A)] **أُمَوِيٌّ** (IA, A). The first **ي** [in **عَنِيٌّ** and **قُصِيٌّ**] is elided; then the Kasra [in **عَنِيٌّ**] is converted into Fathā [296]; then the second **ي** is converted into **ا** [684]; and then the **ا** is converted into **و**, [300]: so that you say **عَنَوِيٌّ** and **قُصَوِيٌّ** (Aud). The elision and alteration occur because of the number of **ي** s: for, four **ي** s being combined in [the *rel. n.* of] **عَدِيٌّ** [and **قُصِيٌّ**], they deem that heavy; and therefore elide one of the **ي** s, and convert the second into **و**, in order to lighten the expression by variety, because what is deemed heavy, according

to them, is the combination of homogeneous things (IY). The language of IM appears to imply that the co-ordination is necessary; and that is expressly stated by him in the *Kāfiya*, and by his son [BD, and by IA] also. But some mention two ways, elision, as exemplified; and retention, as ^{عَدِيّ} and ^{قَصِيّ} [below] (A). Y asserts that (S) ^{أُمِيّ} [301, 302] is said (S, M, SH) by some of the Arabs (S, M), the first ^ي being retained, because there is little heaviness, on account of the Fatha before it (R); contrary to ^{غَنِيّ} (SH), where [IH says that (R)] ^{غَنِيّ} does not occur (R, Jrb), on account of the Kasra (Jrb); whereas, according to what Y transmits, ^{غَنِيّ} is sometimes said (R). And [Sf says that (R)] ^{عَدِيّ} [above] is said (S, R) by some (R). But ^{عَدِيّ} is heavier [than ^{أُمِيّ} (R)], on account of the Kasra (S, R, A) of the ^د (A) in it (R). And the language of IM comprises such as ^{كُسيّ} *dim.* of ^{كِسَاء} *a wrapper* [281], on which there are two opinions, some saying that retention is necessary, [which is the preferable opinion (Sn),] as ^{كُسيّ} with two double ^يs, [because, says AH, the ^ي of the *dim.* may not be elided, since it denotes a meaning, which remains; nor the last ^ي, because that would entail mobilization of the ^ي of the *dim.* (Sn)]: while some allow ^{كُسيّ} (A), eliding the ^ي of the *dim.*, and converting the second into ^ل, and then the ^ل into ^و; but this is weak (Sn). S says

that some of the Arabs say ^{أَمْرِي} [311] with Fath of the Hamza, as *rel. n.* of ^{أَمِيَّة}, as though, says he, they restored it to its *non-dim.*, from desire of lightness (R); but ^{أَمْرِي} is anomalous (SH), the regular form being with Damm (Jrb). And ^{تَحَوْرِي} from ^{تَحِيَّة} a greeting [301] is treated like ^{غَنَوِي} (SH), because, though ^{تَحِيَّة} is *orig.* ^{تَفَعَّلَ} [338], still, since by incorporation it becomes like ^{فَعِيلَ} in vowels and quiescences, and therefore shares with such as ^{غَنِي} and ^{عَدِي} in the cause for elision of the [first] ^ي in the *rel. n.*, and for conversion of the [second] ^ي into ^و, its first ^ي is elided, and its second converted into ^و, because it shares with them in the cause, though it differs from them in measure, and in the quiescent ^ي's being an ^ع (R). The *rel. ns.* of ^{قَسِي}, [^{ثِدِي} breasts (S),¹ and ^{عَصِي}, when proper names (R),] are ^{قُسْرِي} (S, R), ^{ثُدْرِي} (S), and ^{عُصْرِي}, the ^ف being pronounced with Damm, because it is *orig.* with Damm, and is pronounced with Kasr only for alliteration to the Kasra of the ^ع; so that, when the ^ع is pronounced with Fath in the *rel. n.* [296], the ^ف returns to its *o. f.* (R). If, however, ^{فَعِيل} and ^{فُعِيل} be sound in the ^ل, nothing is elided from them, as ^{عَقِيل} 'Akil, *rel. n.* ^{عَقِيلِي}, and ^{عُقِيل} 'Ukail, *rel. n.* ^{عُقِيلِي} (IA, A). This is the opinion of S, and is to be

understood from IM 's saying " when unsound in the J " [above]. But Mb holds elision to be allowable in the case of both [^١نُعَيْلٌ and ^٢نُعَيْلٌ (Sn)], the two ways, according to him, being regular, by analogy to such instances as have been heard, whence ^٣تَقْفِي [311], and ^٤سُلَيْبِي [311], ^٥قَرْمِي, ^٦قَرَشِي, ^٧هَذَلِي, ^٨فَقْيِي, and ^٩مُلْكِي; and Sf agrees with Mb, saying that elision in this case is not anomalous, and is very frequent in the *dial.* of AlHijāz. Mb's putting ^{١٠}نُعَيْلٌ and ^{١١}نُعَيْلٌ on an equality, however, is said not to be good, since elision has been often heard in ^{١٢}نُعَيْلٌ, but in ^{١٣}نُعَيْلٌ only in the case of ^{١٤}تَقْفِي [311] (A). The *rel. n.* of [^{١٥}فَعُولٌ, as (M, R)] ^{١٦}عَدُوٌّ [and ^{١٧}حَلُوبٌ (R)], is [^{١٨}فَعُولِي, as (M, R)] ^{١٩}عَدَوِي [297] (M, SH) and ^{٢٠}حَلُوبِي (R), by common consent (SH), no distinction being made between the unsound and sound in the J, and the , not being elided from either of them (R).

§ 300. The final of the *n.* is (1) an ^{٢١}ا [below]; (2) a , [301, 302, 305]; (3) a ^{٢٢}ي [301—303, 305]; (4) a Hamza preceded by an ^{٢٣}ا [304]; (5) a Hamza not so preceded; (6) some other letter. The last two kinds are not altered on account of the ^{٢٤}ي of relation. We shall now mention the [first] kind, whose final is an ^{٢٥}ا [above] (R). The [final] ^{٢٦}ا is [second,] third, fourth, fifth, or sixth (Jrb). If the ^{٢٧}ا be second, then the word is either curtailed of its J, like [the *pre. n.* in] ^{٢٨}فَارِيدٌ and ^{٢٩}ذَا مَالٍ [16], when

used as names, and like شَاةٌ [260, 278, 683], while there is no fourth ; or constituted with no ج, like دَا [171], مَا, and لَ when used as names. If the ل be third, it is either converted from the ج, as in عَصَا and فَتَى [684, 719], which is more frequent ; or *rad.*, as in مَتَى [206] and إِذَا [204]. If it be fourth, it is (1) converted from the ج, as in [, مَرْمَى , مَلْهَى] , أَعْلَى , [, أَحْوَى , أَعْيَا] , and أَعْمَى ; (2) co-ordinative, as in أَرْطَى and ذَنْرَى [248, 272] ; (3) denotative of femininization, as in حَبْلَى , [, دُنْيَا] , and بُشْرَى [272, 359] ; (4) *rad.*, as in كَلَّا [598] and حَتَّى [501]. If fifth, it is (1) converted, as in مُصْطَفَى [727] ; (2) co-ordinative, as in حَبْنَطَى [253, 395] ; (3) denotative of femininization, as in حُبَارَى [248, 378]. And, if sixth, it is (1) converted, as in مُسْتَسْقَى ; (2) co-ordinative, as in مُسَلْنَقَى , and in إِسْلَنْقَى [482, 483] when a proper name ; (3) denotative of femininization, as in حَوْلَايَا [248, 272] ; (4) only for multiplication of the formation, as in قَبْعَثَرَى [272, 401, 497, 673]. The ل second, (1) when curtailed of the ج, (a) if replaceable by a sound letter before the formation of the *rel. n.*, is converted into that letter in the *rel. n.*, as فَا زَيْدٌ when a proper name, *rel. n.* فَيْئٌ [306], by elision of the *post.* [309], the ل being here converted into م, because you never affix this ي to a *n.* except when the *n.* is capable of standing by itself, and being

infl., without the **ي** [301]; while the *rel. n.* of **فِرْدٍ** [306] and **فِرْدٍ** [301], when proper names, is similar : (b) if not replaceable by a sound letter, has the **ل** restored, as **مَالٍ**, when used as a name, and **شَاءَ**, *rel. ns.* **دَوْرِيٍّ** and **شَاهِيٍّ** [306]; while the *rel. n.* of **مَالٍ** [306] and **دِيٍّ** [301], when used as names, is similar : (2) when constituted with no **ل**, has its like added to it [306], because the *n.* that the **ي** of relation is affixed to must, as we said, be capable of being *infl.* without the **ي**; and, when you add an **ل** to it, then, two **ل**'s being combined, the second of them is converted into Hamza [683], as **لَآئِيٍّ** [294], not into **و**, as in **رَحِيٍّ** *rel. n.* **رَحِيٍّ** [below], because the occurrence of the Hamza as a final after the **ل** is more frequent than that of the **و**, [306]. Thus **مَآئِيَّةُ الشَّيْءِ** [306] in the saying *the quiddity of the thing* is related to the **مَا** used as an *interrog.* about the *essence of the thing* [180]; while he that says **مَاهِيَّةُ** converts the Hamza into **هـ**, because they approximate one to the other. And the state of the **و** and **ي** when second, having no third, is exactly like that of the **ا**, as **لَوِيٍّ**, *rel. n.* [306]; and **فِرْدِيٍّ** [301], *rel. n.* [306], *orig.* **فِرْدِيٍّ**, but treated like the *rel. n.* of **حَيٍّ** [302] (R). The **ل** third is converted into **و** (IY, R, Jrb), unrestrictedly (R), whether it be [converted (Jrb)] from a **و**, as in

عَصَا *a staff* (IY, Jrb), *rel. n.* عَصَوِيَّ [294], and مَنَا *a certain weight*, *rel. n.* مَنَوِيَّ (IY); or from ا ي , as in رَحَى *a mill or mill-stone* (IY, Jrb), *rel. n.* رَحَوِيَّ [294], and فَتَى *a youth*, *rel. n.* فَتَوِيَّ; [or be *rad.*, as in مَتَى and إِذَا when used as names, *rel. ns.* مَتَوِيَّ and إِذَوِيَّ] (IY). They call him that carries the دَوَاةُ *inkhorn* دَوَاتِيَّ, which is a hideous solecism, and a sheer blunder, [such as does not proceed from many of the vulgar, much less from the distinguished (CD),] the proper way being to say دَوَوِيَّ, because, the ة of feminization being elided [295], the *n.* remains in the form of دَوَا, commensurable with the abbreviated *tril.*; so that, its ا being converted into و, as in the abbreviated *tril.*, دَوَوِيَّ is said, like فَتَى *rel. n.* فَتَوِيَّ [above] (D). The ا is not elided on account of the two quiescents, as it is in such as الْفَتَى الطَّرِيفُ *the smart youth* [663], because, if it were elided, the preceding letter would retain its Fathā as an indication of the elided ا; for, when a letter is elided on account of a cause, not as forgotten, the vowel of the preceding letter remains unaltered, as in قَامِيَّ and عَصَا [719]; so that the *rel. ns.* of عَصَا [306] and فَتَى would be عَصَوِيَّ and فَتَوِيَّ with Fath, since, if pronounced with Kasr on account of the ي, they would be mistaken for [the *rel. ns.* of] words whose ل is elided as forgotten, like يَدِيَّ and دِمِيَّ [306]; and

thus the fundamental rule, that the letter before the **ی** of relation should always be literally pronounced with Kasr for affinity to the **ی**, would be infringed. Nor is the **ا** changed into Hamza, because the unsound letters are more akin one to another. Nor is it converted into **ی**, from dislike to the combination of **ی** s [301] (R). There is no difference in this case between the **ا** whose *o. f.* is **و**, like the **ا** of **تَفَاً** derived from **تَفَرَّتْ**, and the **ا** whose *o. f.* is **ی**, like the **ا** of **حَيٍّ** derived from **حَيَّتْ**, their predicament here being contrary to their predicament in the *du.*, where the **ا** is restored to its *o. f.*, as **تَفَرَّانِ** and **حَيَّانِ** [229]. The difference between the two cases is that, the sign of dualization being single, and the letter before it being always pronounced with Fath, the elements of heaviness are not combined in the *du.* word : whereas, the sign of relation being a double **ی** that stands in the place of two **ی** s, and the letter before it being always pronounced with Kasr, if the **ا** were converted into **ی**, the word would contain such a succession of Kasra and **ی** s that the pronunciation of it would be found too heavy (D). Nor is the **و** of such as **رَحِيٍّ** converted into **ا**, notwithstanding its mobility and its being preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, because its vowel is accidental [684], since the **ی** of relation is not so completely attached as to be like part of what precedes it (R). The **ا** fourth, (1) if converted or

co-ordinative [or *rad.* (R)], is most [commonly and (R)] commendably converted into , (IY, R), not elided, because it is a *rad.*, or a substitute for a *rad.*, or co-ordinated with a *rad.* (R) : you say ^{مَنْهَرِي} [306, 307], ^{أَرْطَرِي}, [and ^{حَتَرِي}] (IY) ; and we have heard the Arabs say ^{أَعْيَرِي} from ^{أَعْيَا} *A'yd*, [^{أَفْعَلُ} from ^{أَلْعِي} *impotence* or ^{الْأَعْيَاءُ} *impotence* (ID),] the Banu A'yà being a clan of the Arabs of Jarm ; and you say ^{أَحَوِي} from ^{أَحَوِي} [281] (S) : (2) if for femininization, (a) [when the second letter is quiescent (IY),] is most commonly elided (IY, R), as ^{حَبَلِي} [307] (IY) and ^{دُنْيِي} (Jh), because, when the very sign [of femininization] has to be removed, it should rather be elided, in order that the pure *aug.* may be distinguished from the *rad.* or *quasi-rad.* : (b) when the second [letter] of the word is mobile, as in ^{جَمَرِي} [272, 294, 306, 307], must be elided, [as shown below,] because the heaviness is augmented by the vowel. If the second [letter] of the word be quiescent, the | of femininization may be assimilated to the converted, co-ordinative, or *rad.* |, as ^{حَبَلَرِي} [307] (R) and ^{دُنْيَرِي} (Jh) ; and to the prolonged | of femininization, another | being added before it, and the | of femininization being converted into , , as ^{حَبَلَارِي} [307] and ^{دُنْيَارِي}, like ^{صَحْرَارِي} [304] (R). But, as for ^{جَمَرِي}, [^{بَشَكِي}, and the

like (IY),] you say جَبَرِي (S, IY) and بَشَكِي (IY), not جَبَرِي, nor جَبَرِي, because it is heavy, on account of the sequence of vowels (S). And, as the † of femininization may be assimilated to the converted, co-ordinative, or *rad.* † in conversion, so the converted, co-ordinative, or *rad.* † may be assimilated to the abbreviated † of femininization in elision, as مَنَهِي [306], أَرَطِي, and حَتِي; and to the prolonged † of femininization, as مَنَهَارِي, أَرَطَارِي [below], and حَتَارِي (R). [According to Jrb,] the co-ordinative † is in the predicament of the † of femininization (Jrb); and IM's treating the preponderance of conversion as peculiar to the *rad.* [below] gives rise to the notion that the co-ordinative † is like the † of femininization in the preponderance of elision: whereas he distinctly declares in the *Kāfiya* and its Commentary that conversion in the co-ordinative † fourth is better than elision, as in the *rad.* [below]; but mentions that elision in the co-ordinative † is more suitable than in the *rad.* [below], because the co-ordinative † is similar to the † of حَبَلِي in being *aug.* (A), and elision of the *aug.* is better than elision of the *rad.* (S). By "*rad.*" [above] he means "converted from a *rad.*, or سِي", because the † is not *rad.*, when unconverted, except in the *p.*, [like the *p.* مَا (Sn),] or *quasi-p.* (A), like the *n.* مَا [180] (Sn). S mentions only two methods, [conversion and elision,] in the co-ordinative † and the † converted from

a *rad.*: but AZ adds a third in the co-ordinative †, vid. separation by the †, as in حَبْلَارِيّ, and transmits أَرْطَارِيّ [above]; while Sf allows it in the [† converted from a] *rad.*, as مَرْمَارِيّ (A). The [abbreviated (A)] † fifth or upwards is elided unrestrictedly (R, A), without dispute, because of the heaviness (R), whether the † be [converted from a] *rad.*, as in مُصْطَفَى [294] and مُسْتَدْعَى [727], *rel. ns.* مُصْطَفَى [below] and مُسْتَدْعَى; or for femininization, as in حَبَارِيّ and خَلِيطَى [272], *rel. ns.* حَبَارِيّ and خَلِيطَى; or co-ordinative, as in حَبْرَكِيّ [294, 397], *rel. n.* حَبْرَكِيّ; or multiplicative, as in قَبْعَتَرِيّ [272, 401], *rel. n.* قَبْعَتَرِيّ (A). The saying of the vulgar مُصْطَفَرِيّ is a mistake, the correct form being مُصْطَفَى [above] (Jrb). When, however, the † is fifth, converted [from a *rad.* (A)], and preceded by a double letter, [as in مُعَلَّى, the method of S and the majority is elision; and this is the method intelligible from the unrestricted language of the IM; but (A)] Y treats it (R, A) like the fourth (R), as in مَلْهَى (A), allowing conversion (R, A), which is weak (A), and elision (R). His idea is that, the † being fifth only because the † is doubled, and the letter doubled with incorporation being virtually a single letter, the † is, as it were, fourth (A); so that مُعَلَّى, according to him, is like أَعْلَى [above] (R). But [S

objects that (R), if so (S),] he ought to allow [conversion in the † of femininization also, when fifth, as (R) عِبْدُورٍ^٢ from (S)] عِبْدِي^٢ [288] (S, R), since it is allowable when the † is fourth (R), as [حَبْلُورٍ^٢ is allowable from (S)] حَبْلِي^٢ (S, R); whereas neither Y nor any other allows this. Y, however, is not liable to that objection, because elision, being the general rule in the † of femininization, when fourth, is necessary in what is like the fourth; whereas in the converted †, when fourth, conversion is the general rule (R). And [S objects also that (R)], if a *fem.* upon the measure of مَعْدٌ^٢ [375] (S, R), خَدَبٌ^٢, or the like (R), similarly incorporated (S), be used as a name for a man, it ought to be [declined by Y as a (S)] triptote (S, R), because it is then like قَدَمٌ^٢ [below] when used as a name for a *masc.* (R), the incorporated being treated like a single letter (S); whereas no one says that (R). For, when a *fem.* bare of the ʾ is used as a name for a *masc.* (R and A on the diptote), the condition [of diptote declension] prescribed for it is that it should exceed three [letters] (R). If *tril.*, it is triptote unrestrictedly, [i. e., whether its medial be mobile or not, and whether it be foreign or not (Sn),] contrary to the opinion of Fr and Th, who hold that it is diptote, whether its medial be mobile, as in نَعْدٌ^٢; or quiescent, as in حَرْبٌ^٢: and to the opinion of IKh on the mobile

in the medial. But, if it exceed three [letters], literally, as in [عَنَاقُ and] سَعَادُ, or constructively, but quasi-literally, [the elision being regular (Sn),] as in جَيْلُ [658] contracted from جَيْالُ the *she-hyæna* by [elision of the Hamza after (Sn)] transfer [of its vowel, such elision being regular (Sn)], it is diptote (A). Neither mobility of the medial nor foreignness avails, because the influence of the original feminization, being weak on account of its sign's being supplied, is removed by the masculinization supervening in the application to the proper name, except when the place of its sign is occupied by a letter, the pre-existing vowel [of the medial] not being a sufficient equivalent; so that مَاءُ and جُورُ [18] are like نُوحُ and لُوطُ, because, all being proper names of a *masc.*, the ة is not supplied: and therefore قَدَمُ [above] and جُورُ are triptote, for want of the additional letter; while عَقْرُبُ is diptote, because the ب stands in the place of the ة of feminization [282] (R on the diptote).

§ 301. The final ي is (1) second, [the word being] (a) curtailed of the ل, as in زَيْدُ and مَالُ when used as names [300]; (b) constituted with no ل, like فَيُ [300, 306] and كُنِيَ [306]; (c) curtailed of its ف, like شَيْئُ [306]: (2) third, preceded by (a) a mobile, the vowel of which is always Kasra, as in الْعَمَى the blind and الشَّحَى

the *sad* : (b) a quiescent, (a) a sound letter, as in طَبِي [302], قِيَّةٌ a charm or spell, and فَنِيَّةٌ [243]; (b) an ا, as in رَايَ banners or standards and رَايَةً a banner or standard [302, 305]; (c) a ي incorporated into it, as in طَيَّ and حَيَّ [302]; (3) fourth, preceded by (a) a letter pronounced with Kasr, as in الْقَاضِي the judge and الْغَارِي the raider : (b) a quiescent, (a) an ا, as in سَيَّيَّةٌ [266, 302, 305]; (b) a ي incorporated into it, as in قَصَّى and عَلَّى [299]; (c) something else, as in قَرَّيَّ [302, 661]; (4) fifth, preceded by (a) a letter pronounced with Kasr, as in الْمُرَامِي the competitor in shooting : (b) a quiescent, (a) an ا, as in دِرْحَايَةً [282, 302, 683] and حَوْلَايَا [272]; (b) a ي incorporated into it, as in كُرْسِيٌّ and مَرْمِيٌّ [303]; (c) something else, as is اِنْقَضَى [302] upon the measure of اِنْقَضَى from قَضَى [382]. The final و is (1) second, [the word being] (a) curtailed of the ل, as in فَوْزَيْدٍ and ذُو مَالٍ [300]; (b) constituted with no ل, as in لَوْ [300] and آو : (2) third, preceded by (a) a quiescent, as in غَزْوَةٌ and غَزْوَةٌ [302], رَشْوَةٌ, and عُرْوَةٌ; (b) a letter pronounced with Damm, as in سَرْوَةٌ upon the paradigm of سَبْرَةٌ [254]; (3) fourth, preceded by (a) a quiescent, as in شَقَاوَةٌ [266, 302, 305]; (b) a letter pronounced with Damm, as in عَرْقَوَةٌ [248] and قَرْنَوَةٌ [385]; (4) fifth, preceded by (a) a quiescent, as in

حَنْطَارٌ *short and big-bellied* [302] and مَغْرُورٌ [302, 722]; (b) a letter pronounced with Damm, as in قَلَنْسُوَةٌ [390, 675 721]. If the letter before the final ي and , were pronounced with Fath, they would be converted into ا [684, 719]; if the letter before the final , were pronounced with Kasr, the , would be converted into ي [685, 724]; and, if the letter before the final ي in the *n.* were pronounced with Damm, the Damm would be converted into Kasra (R). The final ي, then, is single or double [303]; and, if single, is preceded by a mobile or quiescent. The final , also is single or double: but [in the *decl. n.*] the single [not followed by the ة] is always preceded by a quiescent, because, if preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, it would be converted into ا; while there is no *decl. n.* in the language whose final is a , preceded by a Damma or Kasra [721] (Jrb). Every thing that we have mentioned, or shall mention, as to the predicaments of the ي s and , s in the *cat.* of the *rel. n.*, is as may be mentioned; and those ي s and , s whose predicaments we do not mention are not altered in the *rel. n.* from their state (R). That being so, let us now speak of the single final ي preceded by a mobile. The vowel of that mobile [in the *n.*] is always Kasra, because, if it were Fatha, the ي would be converted into ا, which is not what we are dealing with; while there is no *n.* in the language whose final is a ي

preceded by a Damma (Jrb). The [single (Jrb)] final ی preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr is [second,] third, fourth, fifth, or sixth (M, Jrb). [For the predicaments of th ی second see §§ 300 and 306.] The [final ی (IY, SH)] third [preceded by a Kasra (IY, SH), as in عَمِ and شَجِ (IY, Jrb),] is converted into , (M, SH) in the *rel. n.* (Jrb), from dislike to the [combination of (Jrb)] ی s (R, Jrb) together with the vowel of the letter before the first of them (R); and the preceding letter is pronounced with Fatḥ (SH), as عَمَرِي [294] and شَجَرِي (M, SH), the Kasra being changed into Fatha (IY, R), as in نَمِر [296] (IY, Jrb), because of the heaviness of the succession of Kasras together with the ی of relation (IY). The fourth, (1) [if the second letter of the *n.* be quiescent (R), as in قَاصِ (IY, R), حَانِيَّةٌ a wine-shop (IY), and يَزْمِي (IY, R) a man's name (IY),] is (a) elided, as قَاصِي [282] (M, SH), حَانِي (M), and يَزْمِي (IY), from dislike to the combination of the ی s and the two Kasras (Jrb), the *o. f.*, being قَاصِي and يَزْمِي (IY); and this is the better way (M, SH), according to [Khl and (R)] S (IY, R), because the converted or *rad. 1*, when fourth, may be elided [300], notwithstanding its lightness; so that the ی, being heavy in itself and by reason of the Kasra before it, must be elided when the ی of relation is attached to it (R): (b) converted, as قَاصَوِي [303] (M, R), حَانَوِي

(M), and يَرْمَى (IY, R), such as قَامِي being treated like هَم (R), according to him that says تَغْلِي (IY, R) and يَثْرِي (IY), like نَمْرِي, vid. Mb, because the quiescent is like the dead and non-existent [296] (R): (a) the poet [‘Umāra (IY), Al A ‘shā (AAz), Al Farazdaq according to Th, or an Arab of the desert according to others (MN),] says

وَكَيْفَ لَنَا بِالشَّرْبِ إِنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَنَا * دَرَاهِمُ عِنْدَ الْحَاوِي وَلَا نَقْدُ
(S, M, A) *And how shall we have (the enjoyment of) drinking, if we have not dirhams at the vintner's nor money?* (AAz, MN), in full كَيْفَ التَّمَتُّعِ لَنَا (AAz), i. e. كَيْفَ لَنَا التَّلَذُّدُ بِالشَّرْبِ (MN); but حَانِي is better, as says the poet [‘Alkama Ibn ‘Abada (S)]

كَأْسٌ عَزِيزٌ مِنَ الْأَعْنَابِ عَتَقَهَا * لِبَعْضِ أَرْبَابِهَا حَانِيَةٌ حُمُ

A lord's cup of wine made from grapes, that he has laid up till it is old for some of its patrons, heady wine (S, IY): (b) IM appears to say that in such cases conversion is universal: but others mention that the conversion is, according to S, one of the anomalous alterations in the *rel. n.*; and it is said not to have been heard except in this verse (A): (2) if the second be mobile, as in يَتَقِي [when used as a name], contracted from يَتَقَى [759], must be elided (R). And in other cases, [i. e. when fifth or sixth (R, Jrb),] the ي is [always (M)] elided, [without dispute (R),] as مُشْتَرَى (M, SH) and مُسْتَسْقَى (M, R,

Jrb), since the *!*, notwithstanding its lightness, must be elided in this position [300] (R). The *rel. ns.* [in the *cat.* (SH)] of مُكَيِّ [281], however, [which is *orig.* مُكَيِّ (Jrb, Sn), *act. part.* of حَيَّا *aor.* يُكَيِّ (IY, Jrb, A),] are [upon the model of (SH)] مُكِرِي and مُكَيِّ, like أَمْرِي and أَمِي [299] (M, SH, A), because the final *ي* [in مُكَيِّ, being fifth (R),] is [necessarily (R)] elided, as in مُشْتَرِي [above] (R, Jrb); so that مُكِي remains, which, being like قَصِي [299], though the *ي* [in the former] differs from the *ي* [in the latter], is treated like قَصِي, as we said of تَحِيَّة [299]. And مُكَي is not like مُهَيِّ, because, the *ي* fifth being necessarily elided, two double *ي* s are combined [in the *rel. n.*], contrary to such as مُهَيِّ [298] (R). Jr says that مُكِرِي is better, [because there is no succession of *ي* s (Sn)]; but Mb says that مُكَيِّ [with the two double *ي* s (R)] is better (R, A), because, says he, I do not heap elision after elision upon one word (Sn). Four *ي* s are [allowed to be (Sn)] combined in مُكَيِّ, because the first and third are quiescent (A). And the *pass. part.* مُكَيِّ is like the *act.* in that; for the *!* fifth is elided according to rule [300], and then you do what we have mentioned in the case of the *act. part.* (IY). When the [single final], occurs third or upwards, preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm, as in سُرُوَّة

and قَرْوَةٌ, then in the *rel. n.* the , must be converted into ى, and the Damma into Kasra; so that the *n.* becomes like عَم and قَاصٍ [above]. That is because you elide the ة in the *rel. n.* [295]; and, as we have mentioned [300], the ى of relation is like an independent *n.* [302, 306] in that the *n.* before it ought to be capable of being independent and *infl.* [without it]; so that, on elision of the ة, the , preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm becomes final in the *decl. n.*; and is therefore converted into ى, as in أَذِلَّ [243, 685, 721]. Then, in the *tril.*, the *rel. n.* is formed with Fath of the ع [296], and conversion of the ى into و, [as سَرَوِي, like عَبَرِي]: and, when the , is fourth or upwards, as in عَرْوَةٌ and قَمَحْدَوَةٌ [399], you say عَرَوِي and قَمَحْدَوِي, like قَاصِي and مُشْتَرِي; while, in the fourth, some of the Arabs say عَرَوِي with Fath of the ق, like قَاصَوِي; but, in the fifth and upwards, the only method is elision [310], as قَمَحْدَوِي, like مُشْتَرِي and مُسْتَسْقِي [above] (R).

§ 302. What was mentioned before was the predicament of the final , and ى when preceded by a mobile [301]; and this is their predicament when preceded by a quiescent. The و, when preceded by a quiescent, is not altered in the *rel. n.*, by common consent, whether it be third, as غَزَوِي [below], دَرَوِي [from دَرُ a desert (Jh)], سَارَوِي

from سَاوَة *Sāwa*, [a fine city between ArRayy and Hamadhān (MI),] and قَصِيدَة وَارِيَة *an ode rhyming in ,*; or fourth, as in شَقَاوِي [below]; or fifth, as in حِنْطَاوِي and مَغْرَزِي [301]. For the , when preceded by a quiescent, is not deemed heavy before the ي, because the heaviness is lightened by the difference of the two unsound letters, and by the quiescence of the letter before the first of them; and, since you have recourse to the , notwithstanding its being preceded by a mobile, in such as عَمَرِي, and, according to some, قَاصِرِي [301], much more ought you to leave it unaltered when preceded by a quiescent. According to this, then, there is no discussion about the , preceded by a quiescent, except in such as غَزَوَة [below], where, as will be seen, there is a dispute as to whether its ع should be pronounced with Fath or made quiescent [in the *rel. n.*]; and the discussion is only about the ي preceded by a quiescent. When the ي is third, and the preceding quiescent is a sound letter, then, if the *n.* be bare of the ة, as in طَبِي [below], there is no alteration in it, by common consent, because lightness is produced by the quiescence and soundness of the ع, and because what encourages to alteration is wanting, *vid. elision of the ة (R)*. You say غَزَوِي [above] from غَزَو, and طَبِي from طَبِي [above] (S, M), without dispute (IY); and do not alter the , or ي in this *cat.* (S), because it is a quasi-

sound letter [720] (S, IY). But there is a dispute about the *n.* that the *ṣ* is affixed to (M). If the *n.* be conjoined with the *ṣ*, Khl and S form its *rel. n.* without any alteration except elision of the *ṣ* [295], saying طَبِيّ [below], قَنِيّ, and رَقِيّ [in the *cat.* of the *ی*]; and similarly غَزَوِيّ [801], رَشَوِيّ, and عُرَوِيّ in the *cat.* of the *و*; with quiescence of the *ع* in the whole of them, since lightness is produced, and the general rule is absence of alteration (R). Y told us that IAl used to say طَبِيّ from طَبِيَّة; and [the statement] that the *و* s are not altered is confirmed by their saying جَرَوِيّ from جَرَوَة the *Banū Jirwa*, who are a tribe of the Arabs (S) in Ḥumais Ibn Udd (IHb). Y, however, used to pronounce the [quiescent (IY)] ع [in the whole of them (R)], whether in the *cat.* of the *و*, or *ی*, with Fath (IY, R), as طَبَرِيّ from طَبِيَّة *a doe-gazelle*, قَنَرِيّ from قَنِية [724], and عُرَرِيّ from عُرْوَة *a loop or handle* (IY); doing so in the *cat.* of the *ی* in order that the word might be lightened by conversion of the *ی* into *و*, [300] and in the *cat.* of the *و* by assimilation to the *cat.* of the *ی*. That is peculiar to the *tril.*, because the *tril.* is formed for lightness, which is therefore sought as much as possible, so that you say only اِنْقَضِيّ from اِنْقَضِيَّة [301]: and to the *n.* containing the *ṣ*, because the alteration by elision of the *ṣ* encourages to [further] alteration by pronunciation with Fath; and also because

it is intended to distinguish between the *masc.* and *fem.*, as in ^{فَعِيلٌ} and ^{فَعِيلَةٌ} [297]. What induces Y to venture upon this in the *cats.* of the *ى* and *و*, notwithstanding its extreme irregularity, is their saying ^{قَرَرِي} [below] from ^{قَرِيَّةٌ} *a town*, and ^{زَنَرِي} and ^{بَطَرِي} from ^{بَنُو زَنِيَّةَ} and ^{الْبَطِيَّةُ}, which are *two clans* (R). Zj used to incline to this opinion, arguing that the validity of the alteration is in the *ء* of femininization, [the elision of which encourages to further alteration]. But, as for Y, no argument in favor of that [alteration] has been transmitted from him (IY). Khl used to make excuse for Y in the *cat.* of the *ى*, though not in the *cat.* of the *و*, because in the *cat.* of the *ى* the mobilization of its *ع* converts its *ى* into *و*, [300], so that the *rel. n.* becomes somewhat light; for, though a little heaviness is produced by the vowel, more lightness is produced by it than heaviness: whereas in the *cat.* of the *و*, nothing but heaviness is produced by the mobilization of its *ع*; nor has any instance of it been transmitted by hearsay, as have ^{قَرَرِي} [above], ^{زَنَرِي}, and ^{بَطَرِي} been transmitted. Notwithstanding this [excuse], however, Khl prefers what we first mentioned. But ^{بَدَرِي} [311], being from ^{بَدْوٌ} *a desert*, which is bare of the *ء*, is anomalous according to all. Such is the predicament of the *ى* third, when preceded by a sound quiescent. But, if the quiescent be not sound, it is either a *ى* or an *ا*; though it

may be a , that has become **ي**, as in **طَيَّ** [685, 747]. If it be a **ي**, which is necessarily incorporated into the final **ي**, then in the *rel. n.* the incorporation must be dissolved, in order that four **ي**s may not be combined in the formation constructed for lightness; so that the **ع** is mobilized with Fath, which is the lightest of the vowels. Then the **ع**, if it be a , returns to its *o. f.*, as **طَيَّ** a fold, *rel. n.* **طَوْرِيَّ** [294], because the cause of its conversion into **ي**, vid. the combination of the , and **ي**, together with the quiescence of the first, is removed; but, if it be a **ي**, it remains unaltered, as **حَيَّ** living [307], *rel. n.* **حَيْرِيَّ** [294, 306]. In both cases the second **ي** is converted into , because a **ي** preceded by a mobile would be deemed heavy before the **ي** of relation; not into **ل**, because its vowel and the vowel of the letter before it are accidental, since they owe their existence to the **ي** of relation, which is like a separate *n.* [below]. But the **ع** is not converted into **ل**, either because its vowel is accidental [684]: or because the **ع** is not converted when the **ل** is an unsound letter [728], whether the **ل** be converted, as in **هَرَى** loved; or not converted, as in **طَرَى** was hungry [below] (R). I asked Y the *rel. n.* from **حَيَّة** a serpent, and he said **حَيْرِيَّ** [307], from dislike to the combination of **ي**s, the proof of that being the saying of the Arabs **حَيْرِيَّ** from **حَيَّة** **بَنُ بَهْدَلَةَ**; and, if you form a *rel. n.* from **لَيَّة** [685, 747],

you say كَرَوِيَّ (S). Those, however, [says S (R),] who say أُمِّيَّ [299] say حَيَّيَّ (S, IY, R) and طَيَّيَّ (IY, R), not minding the heaviness (IY), because the heaviness in them is one (R); and IAl used to say حَيَّيَّ, and لَيَّيَّ from لَيَّ [above] (S). Apparently, however, أُمِّيَّ is better than حَيَّيَّ, because the *tril.*, being *orig.* formed for lightness, is bound to avoid, more scrupulously than the formations exceeding three letters, what conduces to heaviness, whence their saying نَبْرِيَّ with Fath, but not جُنْدَلِيَّ [296]. If the quiescent be an ا, which is never *aug.*, but is converted from the ع, as in آيَّة and آي, and in رَايَّة and رَاي [301, 305, 723], the method most agreeable with analogy is to leave the ي unaltered, as in طَبْنِيَّ [above]. Those who pronounce [the ع] with Fath there, saying طَبْرِيَّ from طَبْنِيَّة, do not pronounce the ع with Fath here, because this would not be possible for them, except by converting the ا into Hamza, و, or ي, which would augment the heaviness. Though the ي in آي and رَاي is not converted into ا, and then into Hamza, as in رَدَّآي [683, 721], because the ا before it is not *aug.* [723], still here, in the *rel. n.*, the ي may be converted into Hamza: for, though the ي is not deemed heavy before the advent of the ي of relation, still, when the latter is attached, heaviness is produced; so that the ي is converted into

Hamza, as رَأَيْتُ from رَأَى and رَايَةً [305], by analogy to the rest of the final ى s deemed heavy after the ِ, as in رَدَّآءَ, although there is a difference between the two ِs. And it may also be converted into و, because the final ى third, deemed heavy on account of the ى of relation after it, is converted into و, as in شَجَرِيَّ and عَمْرِيَّ [301]. All of this is when the ى preceded by a quiescent is third. If, however, it be fourth, then, (1) if it follow a converted ِ, which is always [converted] from the Hamza, as in قَرَأَى softened from قَرَأَى [301, 661], because the ع is not converted into ِ when the ِ is an unsound letter, as in طَوْرِيَّ and هَوْرِيَّ [above], the ى is not altered in the *rel. n.*, because, the conversion of the Hamza into ِ being then not necessary, the ِ is virtually Hamza: (2) if the ِ be *aug.*, which it often, prevalently, is, as in سَقَايَةً [301, 305] and نَقَايَةً *choice part*, the ى is converted into Hamza in the *rel. n.*, because analogy would require its conversion into ِ, and then into Hamza, if the ِ, which prevents it from being final, were not present [721]; and, since the ِ drops off in the *rel. n.* [295], while the ى of relation is virtually separate [301, 306], the ى becomes quasi-final; and is moreover in need of alleviation, because of its combination with the ى of relation; so that it is converted into ِ, and then into Hamza, as in رَدَّآءَ [above]. It is not converted merely because of its being quasi-final,

as in رِدَاءَان [230] and سِقَاءٌ [721], since the *ى* of relation has a sort of attachment; but because of this, and of the heaviness produced by the combination of *ى* s. And hence the *و* of شِقَاوَةٌ [266, 301, 305] is not converted in شِقَاوِي [above], since there is no heaviness, as there is with the *ى* s. But some convert the *ى* of سِقَايَةٌ in the *rel. n.* into *و*, [305], because the *ى* deemed heavy before the *ى* of relation is converted into *و*, as in عَمَوِي and شَجَوِي, when it is not elided, as in قَامِي [282, 301]. Similarly in the case of the *ى* fifth, preceded by an *aug.* ا, as in دِرْحَايَةٌ [301], you may convert the *ى* into Hamza, which is the general rule; or into *و*, as in the fourth. If the quiescent before the *ى* fourth be a *ى*, as in عَلِي and قُصِي, its predicament has been already explained [299]. And there remains the predicament of the *ى* fifth [or sixth], when the quiescent before it is a *ى* [303] (R).

§ 303. The final double *ى* [301] is after (1) the first letter, as in طِي and حِي [302]; (2) the second, as in غَنِي and قُصِي [299, 302]; (3) the third, as in مَرْنِي and كُرْسِي [below]; (4) the fourth, as in بَحَايِي [below] (Jrb). That [double *ى*, if fourth] is of two kinds: for (1) the two *ى* s are *aug.*, as in كُرْسِي [248, 301], بَرْدِي [274, 294], and

^۲كُوفِي [295], in which case both must be elided in the *rel. n.*, whether they denote *relation*, as in ^۲بَصْرِي [294], *rel. n.* ^۲بَصْرِي; or *unity*, as in ^۲رُومِي [254, 294], *rel. n.* ^۲رُومِي; or *intensiveness*, as in ^۲أَحْمَرِي [294], *rel. n.* ^۲أَحْمَرِي; or have no meaning, as in ^۲كُرْسِي [310], *rel. n.* ^۲كُرْسِي [294]; from dislike to the combination of two double *ی*s: so that the *rel. n.* is uniform [below] with the *n.* related to: (2) the second of them is *rad.*, in which case, (a) if the second [letter] of the word be quiescent, (a) both *ی*s may be elided, as ^۲مَرْمِي thrown, shot, *rel. n.* ^۲مَرْمِي [294]; and similarly ^۲يَرْمِي upon the measure of ^۲يَعْقِيزُ a certain bitter herb [379] from ^۲رَمَى, *rel. n.* ^۲يَرْمِي; the best course here also being to elide both on account of the heaviness: or (b) the first alone may be elided, and the second converted into , , [the first being dropped,] because the *rad.* letter is deemed sufficient, as ^۲مَرْمِي and ^۲يَرْمِي; while the letter before the , is pronounced with *Fath*, because two *Kasras* with the combination of three unsound letters would be deemed heavy; so that the *rel. n.* is like ^۲قَاصِرِي [301], according to Mb (R): but this is a rare *dial.*, the preferable [usage] being opposed to it: AH says in the Ir “but ^۲مَرْمِي from ^۲مَرْمِي is anomalous” (A): (b) if the second [letter] of the word be mobile, both *ی*s must be elided, notwithstanding the radicalness of the second,

as قَضَى upon the measure of حَصِيصَةٌ [274] from قَضَى, *rel. n.* قَضَرَى, not otherwise. This, however, is based on the theory that the first of the repeated [letter] is *aug.*, [and the second *rad.*,] which is the opinion of Khl. The double ي, if fifth, must be elided, without distinction, whether the second be *rad.*, as in أَحَاجِي *enigmas, riddles* and أَرَايِي *female mountain-goats*: or both be *aug.*, as in بَخَاتِي [below], when a man's name, which is diptote because *orig.* an ultimate *pl.*; while its *rel. n.* [below] is triptote, because the ي of relation is quasi-separate, not reckoned in the formation of the ultimate *pl.* (R). The *n.* related to and the *rel. n.* are literally uniform [above], but constructively different (Aud). The first double ي is assumed to be elided, and the second to be put into its place, in order that four ي s may not be combined. And the effect of the assumption appears in such as بَخَاتِي [above], *pl.* of بُخَاتِي [248], when used as a name, from which a *rel. n.* is then formed; for you say هَذَا بَخَاتِي *This is a Bakhāti*, triptote, whereas before the formation of the *rel. n.* it was diptote (A). A prescribes the restriction of use as a name, because the broken *pl.*, when not a proper or quasi-proper name, has no homomorphous *rel. n.*; but is restored to its *sing.*, from which the *rel. n.* is then formed [310]. And IHsh in the Aud

imposes the further restriction of its being a name for a *masc.*, in order to exclude the case where it is used as a name for a woman ; for then its preventive of diptote declension is the femininization with the quality of proper name, and is not the form of the ultimate *pl.* (Sn).

§ 304. The final Hamza preceded by the † [300] is either after an *aug.* †, or 'not' (R). The final Hamza after an *aug.* † is of four kinds, (1) a [pure] *rad.*, as in قَرَّاءُ a devotee and فَرَّاءُ fair, clean (IY, R) : (2) a pure *aug.*, which is the Hamza (R) converted from the † (IY) denoting femininization (IY, R), as in حَمْرَاءُ and صَفْرَاءُ [248, 263, 272, 683] (IY) : (3) neither a pure *rad.*, nor a pure *aug.*, which is of two kinds (R), (a) converted from a *rad.* letter, as in كَسَاءُ and دَلَاءُ [683, 723] (IY, R) ; (b) converted from an *aug.* ي (IY) co-ordinated with a *rad.* letter (R), as in عَلْبَاءُ and حَرْبَاءُ [248, 273, 683] (IY, R). The *n.* ending in the Hamza converted from the † of femininization is diptote ; while the *ns.* ending in the other three kinds [of Hamza] are triptote (IY). The predicament of the Hamza of the prolonged in the *rel. n.* is like its predicament in the [regular (A)] *du.* [230] (IA, Aud, A). The Hamza, (1) if *rad.*, is [mostly (SH)] preserved [from conversion (Sn) in the *rel. n.* (R)], as قَرَّائِي (SH, IA, Aud, A), because it is strong, by reason of its radicalness (Jrb, Sn) : (2) if [an

aug. (IA) substituted for the | (A)] denoting feminization, is [necessarily (R)] converted into , (SH, IA, Aud, A) in the *rel. n.* (R), as حَبْرَا۟ (SH, IA), whence صَحْرَا۟ (SH, Aud, A) from صَحْرَآءَ [below] (A), because they intend to make a distinction between the pure *rad.* and the pure *aug.*, and the *aug.* is more meet for alteration; while the , is the letter most akin to the ى, and is what the letter deemed heavy before the ى of relation is most often converted into: (a) sometimes, but so seldom that the proceeding almost amounts to an anomaly, the *rad.* Hamza is assimilated to the Hamza denoting feminization, and is therefore converted into , as قَرَارِي۟ [306] and وَضَارِي۟ (R): (b) IM's language here and in the CK necessarily implies that the *rad.* Hamza must be preserved; and that is distinctly declared by BD, who says "and, if it be an unconverted *rad.*, it is necessarily preserved": but IM in the Tashil mentions both ways for it, saying that the more approvable one is to sound it true (A): (3) if not so (SH), [i. e.,] if converted from a *rad.*, or [from a letter (Jrb)] co-ordinated with a *rad.* (R, Jrb, IA, Aud, A), is either preserved, [by assimilation to the *rad.* (Jrb),] as كِسَا۟ئِي۟ [312] and عِلْبَا۟ئِي۟; or converted [into , (SH, Aud, A), by assimilation to the Hamza denoting feminization (Jrb)], as كِسَا۟رِي۟ and عِلْبَا۟رِي۟ (SH, IA, Aud, A): for both kinds are akin to

the pure *rad.*, inasmuch as one of them is converted from, and the other co-ordinated with, a *rad.* letter ; and to the pure *aug.*, inasmuch as the Hamza itself is not the J of the word, as it is in *قَرَأَ* and *وَضَأَ* (R) : (a) the better method is (R, A) what has been described [230] (A), preservation of the [Hamza (Sn)] converted (R, Sn) from a *rad.* (Sn), because it closely approximates to the *rad.* (R) ; and conversion of the co-ordinated (Sn). I have restricted "the *du.*" by "regular" [above], in order to exclude the anomalous *du.*, like *كِسَايَانِ* [230] ; for that is not copied in the *rel. n.*, as IM distinctly declares in the *Kāfiya*, so that *كِسَايِي* is not said (A). In every Hamza, then, not denoting feminization two methods are allowable : but conversion is better in the co-ordinated than in the converted, and in the converted than in the *rad.* ; being better than preservation in the co-ordinated, worse in the converted, and anomalous in the *rad.* (R). When the Hamza does not denote feminization, [being the J of the word (Sn),] but the *n.* is *fem.*, as in *سَبَأَ*, [which is always *fem.* (Sn),] and in *حِرَاءَ* *Hirā* and *قُبَاءَ* *Kubā*, [which are *fem.* (Sn)] when you mean the *بُقْعَةُ* patch of ground, [in which case they are diptote (Sn),] two methods are allowable, conversion and preservation ; but the latter is more approvable, in order that the *n.* may be distinguished from *صَحْرَاءَ* [above] : whereas, if you make *حِرَاءَ* and *قُبَاءَ*

masc., [from regard to the مَكَانُ *place*, in which case they are triptote (Sn),] they are like كِسَاءٌ and دَاةٌ [305] (A); so that preservation and conversion into , are allowable, but preservation is more approvable, as before; and therefore this distinction is meaningless, since there is then no difference between the *fem.* and *masc.* [in the formation of the *rel. n.*] (Sn). As for the Hamza after an *unaug.* ا, as in مَاءٌ and شَاءٌ, where the ا is converted from the , and the Hamza is a substitute for the ة [275, 278, 683], it ought not to be altered; so that the *rel. n.* of مَاءٌ is مَائِيٌّ without alteration; and by analogy the *rel. n.* of شَاءٌ ought to be similar, since the Hamza in it is a substitute for the ة, as in مَاءٌ (R). But the Arabs say [مَائِيٌّ and (A)] شَائِيٌّ (IY on § 305, R, A), contrary to analogy (R), converting the Hamza into , (A), whence the saying [of the Rājiz (Jh)]

لَا يَنْفَعُ الشَّائِيُّ فِيهَا شَائَةٌ * وَلَا حِمَارُهُ وَلَا عِلَاتُهُ

In it his sheep profits not the owner of sheep, nor his two nether stones, nor his thin upper stone, whereon curd is put to dry (IY, A). IHsh says that (Sn) the *rel. n.* of مَاءٌ is [like that of كِسَاءٌ; so that you say (Sn)] مَائِيٌّ [with the Hamza (BS)] and مَائِيٌّ (BS, Sn) with the , like كِسَائِيٌّ and كِسَائِيٌّ (BS), because the Hamza is a substitute: and YS says that the only objection to this

is that the original letter is different in the two, being a , in كِسَاء, and a s in مَاء (Sn). If, however, [مَاء or (A)] شَاء be used as a name, the *rel. n.* is (1) [مَائِي or (A)] شَائِي (R, A), which, according to analogy, is more approvable, because the name is a secondary application, [so that the Hamza is, as it were, *rad.*] (R) ; (2) مَائِي or (A) شَائِي (R, A), which is allowable, as it was before the use as a proper name (R), according to the rule (A) that both methods are allowable in the *n.* whose Hamza is a substitute for a *rad.* [above]. Thus IHsh allows the two methods unrestrictedly : whereas A makes a distinction between what is not used as a name, in which conversion is necessary, in conformity with hearsay ; and what is used as a name, in which both methods are allowable (Sn).

§ 305. The *rel. n.* [in the *cat.* (SH)] of سَقَايَة [and عَطَايَة (M)] is (1) سَقَائِي (M, SH) and عَطَائِي (M), with the Hamza (SH), like كِسَائِي and رِدَائِي ; (2) سَقَاوِي and عَطَاوِي like كِسَاوِي and رِدَاوِي : for, when you form the *rel. n.*, you drop the s [295], and then convert the J into Hamza ; so that the *rel. n.* is, as it were, formed from سَقَاء and عَطَاء, like كِسَاء and رِدَاء [304] (IY). The *rel. n.* [in the *cat.* (SH)] of شَقَاوَة [and غَبَاوَة (IY)] is شَقَاوِي (M, SH) and غَبَاوِي (IY), with the , (IY, SH)

unaltered (IY). And the *rel. n.* [in the *cat.* (SH)] of [^ارَاى and (SH) ^ارَايَة is (1) ^ارَايى (M, SH), with the ^ا left unaltered, which is the form most agreeable with analogy (IY); (2) ^ارَايى (M, SH), with the Hamza, by assimilation to ^ارَايى and ^ارَايى (IY); (3) ^ارَايى (M, SH), by conversion of the ^ا into ^ا, as in ^ارَايى and ^ارَايى (IY): and similarly in ^ارَايى [723], ^ارَايى *a fold*, [^ارَايى *a flat roof* (IY),] and the like (M). The *cat.* of ^ارَايى [and ^ارَايى (R) and the like (IY)] is the *n.* that ends in [the ^ا of feminization, and whose ^ا is (IY)] a ^ا or ^ا, preceded by an *aug.* ^ا, but not converted [into ^ا, and then (R)] into Hamza, because [the *n.* is formed *fem.*; so that (IY)] the ^ا or ^ا, is not final (IY, R), in consequence of the unadventitious ^ا [266, 721]. The *cat.* of ^ارَايى and ^ارَايى is the *n.* that ends in a ^ا third, preceded by an *unaug.* ^ا [723]. And [the formation of the *rel. n.* in] the whole of that has been already explained [301, 302] (R).

§ 306. The second [letter] of the *bil.* having no third is either a sound [275] or an unsound letter (IA). The *bil. n.* is of two kinds, what has *orig.* no third; and what has a third, which is elided. The first kind must be *uninfl.* in original constitution, because the *infl.* is not *orig.* constituted of less than three [letters]. When therefore you [proceed to] form a *rel. n.* from it, you begin by making it a proper name, either for its expression;

or for something else, as when you name a person **مَنْ** or **كَمْ** (R). The second letter [of the constitutionally *bil.* (A)], if sound, as in **كَمْ**, may be doubled in the *rel. n.*, as **كَمِي** [294]; or not doubled, as **كَمِي** [below] (IA, A). When the *bil.* word is made a proper name for its expression, [and is intended to be *infl.* (Sn),] you must double its second letter, [as **أَكْتَرْتُ مِنْ أَلْكَمِ وَمِنْ أَلْوَرِ** *I made much use of كَمْ and of كَو*, in order that the word may be on the smallest measure of *infl. ns.* (Sn),] whether the second letter be sound or unsound (R, Sn): and in that case the doubling is necessary in its *rel. n.* (Sn), as **كَمِيَّة** and **لَمِيَّة** [from **كَمْ** and **لَمْ**], with the double **م** in both; and as **لَوِي** applied to him that often utters the word **كَو** [300]; and **مَائِيَّة** from **مَا** [300], and **لَائِي** from **لَا** [294, 300], because, when you double the **ل**, and need to mobilize the second, the best way is to make it a Hamza, as in **صَحْرَاءَ** and **كِسَاءَ** [683]. Similarly you say **لَائِي** from **أَلَاتُ** *AlLāt*, [a certain idol, **فَعَلْتُ** from **لَوِي** *went round about* (K, B, on LIII.19, KF), according to F(KF), because they used to *go round about it*, and be devoted to its worship (K),] the **ت** denoting femininization, since some of the Arabs pause upon it with **هـ**, saying **أَلَاهُ** [646]; and **كَيْرِي** and **فَيْرِي** from **كَي** [301] and **فَي**, [300, 301], because you make them **كَي** and **فَي**, and then form their *rel. ns.*

like those of طَى and حَى [302]. That is founded upon the fact that the ي of relation is virtually a separate word [below] (R). When the *bil.* word is made a proper name for something else than its expression, [and is intended to be *infl.* (Sn),] you do not double its second letter, when sound (R, Sn), as جَاءَنِى كَمْ *Kam came to me* and رَأَيْتُ مَنْأ *I saw Man*; and in that case there must be no doubling in its *rel. n.* (Sn), as مَنِى and جَاءَنِى كِمَى *A descendant, or partisan, of Kam, and Man, came to me*, with the single م and ن [307] (R), lest alteration in form and sense together should ensue without necessity (Sn): but, when the second is an unsound letter, [as in لَو and فِى, and لَ (Sn),] you double it (R, Sn) before forming the *rel. n.* (R), although alteration in form and sense together ensues, because the addition is compulsory, since the want of it would lead to elision of the unsound letter on account of its concurrence, when quiescent, with the Tanwīn; so that the *infl. n.* would remain *unit.*, which is [a formation] rejected in their language. When, however, the *bil.* made a proper name, either for the expression or for something else, is not intended to be *infl.*, there is no addition at all. This is the sum of what is in the R, with some addition; and, when you know that, then the saying of [IA and] A [above] that the second, if a sound letter, may be doubled or not doubled,

appears to require consideration (Sn). If the second [letter] of the [word (Sn) constitutionally (Aud, A, Mkh)] *bil.* [used as a name (Aud)] be a soft letter, you [must (IA)] double it [308] (IM) before forming the *rel. n.* (Aud), whether the *bil.* be a man's name, from which you mean to form a *rel. n.*, or you intend to affirm the relation of a person to its expression because of his making much use of it (MKh), as لَآ, [proper name لَآ (Aud),] *rel. n.* لَآئِي (IM) or لَآوِي (IA, Aud, A), like كِسَائِي or كِسَارِي [304] (Aud), the Hamza being convertible into و (IA, A), because it is a substitute for a *rad.* (Sn); and as لَو [and كَي (Aud, A, MKh), proper names لَو and كَي (Aud)], *rel. ns.* لَوِي (IA, Aud, A) and كَيَوِي (Aud, A, MKh), like دَوِي and حَيَوِي [302] (Aud). But, says Kh in the Tsr, on the authority of IKhz, those who say "We add a Hamza from the first" say only لَآئِي; and, according to them, لَآوِي is not allowable, except according to the saying of some قَرَاوِي [304] (Sn). As for the second kind, I mean what has a third, which is elided, that third is restored to it, if you intend to complete it to three [letters], and then to form a *rel. n.* from it, because restoring an original part of the word is better than putting an extraneous letter (R). The elided [letter (IY)] is (1) the ف; (2) the ع, [which is the rarest (IY)]; (3) the ج (IY, R, A), which is the most frequent (IY). The

[*infl.* (IY)] *bil.* [*n.* (IY)] is of three kinds, (1) that whose elided [ج (IY)] is restored [in the *rel. n.* (IY)], as أَبْرَى : (2) that whose elided [ف or ع (IY)] is not restored [in the *rel. n.* (IY)], as عَدَى and سَهَى , except [in a case of necessity, *vid.* (IY)] when its ج is unsound, as in شَيْءَ [and دِيَّةَ, *orig.* وَشَيْءَ and وَدِيَّةَ (IY)], where you [restore the elided ف , and (IY)] say وَشَرَى [and وَدَرَى (IY)] ; while Akh says وَشَيْءَ [and وَدَيْءَ], according to the *o. f.* (M), like ظَبْيِي [302] (IY) : (3) that in whose elided [ج (IY)] both matters are permissible, as عَدَى or غَدَى (M). If the elided be the ف , [which is always the case in the *inf. n.* whose ف is و , and whose *aor.* is curtailed of the ف , as عَدَا and مَقَا , and سَعَا and دَعَا (R),] then, if the ج be sound, [as in عَدَا (IA, Aud, A), رَنَا (Jh), and صَفَا (IA, A),] the elided is not restored [in the *rel. n.* (R, A)], as عَدَى (R, IA, Aud, A), زَنَى (Jh), صَفَى (IA, A), and سَعَى (R), not رَعَدَى (Aud), because the elision is regular, on account of a cause, *vid.* the conformity of the *inf. n.* to the *v.* [482, 699], and the elided is not restored without necessity while the cause of its elision exists ; and also because the ف is not the seat of alteration [below], like the ج , so that one should allow oneself to vary it by restoring the elided without any necessity, such as there is in the *dim.* [275] (R). But, if the *bil.* [whose ف is

wanting (IM)] be [unsound in the J (R, IA, Aud, A),] like ^ةشَيْء [and ^ةدِيَّة (A)], the ف must be restored (IM, R) ; and the ع pronounced with Fath (IM), unrestrictedly (A), i. e., whether it be *orig.* quiescent or pronounced with Fath (Sn), as ^ةوَشَرِي (IA, Aud, A) and ^ةوَدَوِي (A) with Kasr of the [first (MKh)], [as in the *o. f.* (MKh),] and Fath of the ^ةش [and د] (Sn, MKh), according to [the opinion of (Aud)] S [below] (IA, Aud, A) ; while, according to the opinion of Akh, you say ^ةوَشِي (Aud, A) and ^ةوَدِي (A), with Kasr of their first, and quiescence of their second (Sn). For the ^ةي of relation is quasi-separate[above], as repeatedly mentioned [301, 302] ; and is more slightly attached than the ^ة [of femininization], because you say ^ةسَقَايَ with the ^ةي, not otherwise [266, 721], but ^ةسَقَاتِي with the Hamza, according to some [302, 305] : so that, when the ^ة drops off in ^ةشَيْء [295], and is succeeded by the ^ةي [of relation], which is more slightly attached than it, the *infl.* word remains of two letters, the second of which is a quasi-final soft letter, since the ^ةي [of relation] is like the non-existent ; whereas in the *infl. n.* the soft letter, when second, may not be final, since it would drop off because of the concurrence of two quiescents, on account of the Tanwīn or something else, so that the *infl. n.* would remain of one letter ; and, that not being allowable, we restore the elided ف, i. e., the , , in order that the word may become

a *tril.* ending in a soft letter, like عَصَا [300] and عَم [301]. And, when the ف is restored, the Kasra of the ع is not removed, according to S ; nor is the ع made quiescent, as it *orig.* was ; because the ف , though original, is not taken into account, since its restoration here is because of a necessity, which is accidental in the *rel. n.*, not permanent : so that the Kasra inseparable from the ع on elision of the ف is not elided ; and, the *rel. n.* thus becoming وَشِيٌّ , like اِبِلِيٌّ . the ع is pronounced with Fath, as in اِبِلِيٌّ and نَمَرِيٌّ [296] : and therefore the ي is converted into ا [684, 719], and afterwards into و [300] ; or is converted into و from the first, as we mentioned in the case of حَيَوِيٌّ [302]. But Akh restores the ع to its original quiescence, when he restores the ف , as وَشِيٌّ , like ظَنَبِيٌّ [302], not deeming the ي s too heavy when the letter before them is quiescent. And Fr puts the ف elided in this *cat.*, whether from the [*bil.*] sound in the ل , like عَدَّةٌ and رَنَّةٌ , or from the unsound, like شَيْئَةٌ , after the ل , in order that it may be in the seat of alteration [below], i. e., the end, and thus be restorable, as عَدَوِيٌّ [below], رَنَوِيٌّ , and شَيَوِيٌّ . He is induced to do this by the circumstance that عَدَوِيٌّ is transmitted from some of the Arabs ; and he forms the others by analogy to it (R). If the elided be the ع (R, Aud, A), which occurs in two *ns.* only, سَعَةٌ

[260, 667], by common consent, and مَذْ [203], according to some (R), its predicament, which is not mentioned by IM, [because of its extreme rarity in the language of the Arabs, but is analogous to that of the elided ف (Sn),] is that (A) it is not restored (R, Aud, A) in the *rel. n.* (R), when the ج is sound, as in سَخْ [and مَذْ (A)], *orig.* سَخْ (Aud, A) and مَذْ (A), because the ع is not the seat of alteration, like the ج, and the *n.* is capable of being *infl.* independently of that elided (R) ; so that, [when they are used as names (A),] you say سَخِي (Aud, A) and مَذِي (A), not سَخِي [and مَذِي] (Aud). Thus loosely do many of the GG lay down the rule, which is not so, but is subject to the restriction that the *bil.* should not be [contracted] from the reduplicated, like رُبْ [275, 505] contracted by elision of the first ب ; for, when used as a name, it forms the *rel. n.* رُبِي [below], by restoration of the elided [ع (Sn)] : that is unequivocally declared by S, and no dispute about it is known (A). But, when the ج is unsound, as in يَرِي [658] (Aud, A) *aor.* of رَايَ (Sn), and أَلْرِي (A) *act. part.* of أَرَايَ, *orig.* يَرَايَ and أَلْرِي, the vowel of the Hamza being transferred to the ر, and the Hamza, which is the ع, being then elided (Sn), it is [necessarily (Aud)] restored (Aud, A) ; while as to the Fatḥ or quiescence [of the ف, as in the Tsr and other works, not (Sn)] of the ع, [unless by the ع he means

the ر , which be names ع because it is medial (Sn),] there are the two opinions (A) of S and Akh (Sn) : so that, [when يَرَى and أَلْمَرَى are used as names (A),] you say (1) يَرَى (Aud, A) with two Fathas, [and then a Kasra (Aud),] according to the opinion of S, that the vowel [of the ف] is retained after the restoration [of the elided (Sn)], because, يَرَى then becoming يَرَى upon the measure of جَمَرَى [300], the | must be elided (Aud, Sn) ; and يَرَى (Aud, A) or يَرَايَ , according to the opinion of Akh, like مَلَهَى or مَلَهَرَى [300] (Aud, Sn) : so in the [Aud and] Tsr (Sn) : (2) أَلْمَرَى , [according to S] ; and أَلْمَرَى (A) or أَلْمَرَايَ , [according to Akh,] because أَلْمَرَى is like أَلْقَامَى [301] (Sn). If the elided be the J (IM, R), then, (1) if it be elided on account of the [concurrence of] two quiescents, as in عَصَا [300] and عَم [301], it is restored without dispute, because the Tanwīn before the ي of relation is removed : (2) if it be elided as forgotten, not on account of an universal cause (R), then, (a) if the ع be an unsound letter, [not replaceable by a sound letter before the formation of the *rel. n.* (R),] the J must be restored, [as IM mentions in the Kāfiya and Tashīl, even if it be not restored in the *du.* and sound *pl.* (A),] as شَاءَ , *rel. n.* شَاهِي [300] (R, Aud, A), or, according to [the principle of (A)] Akh [explained below (A)], شَاهِي .

(Aud, A), because شَاةٌ is *orig.* شَوْهَةٌ [260] (Aud, Sn) with quiescence of the , (Sn); and as ذُو [i. q. صَاحِبٌ (A)], *rel. n.* ذَوْرِي [300] (R, Aud, A), by common consent, because its measure, according to Akh, is فَعْلٌ with Fath [Note on p. 854, ll. 4-5] (A) : (b) if the ع be [an unsound letter] replaceable by a sound letter, the J is not restored, as فَرَزِيدٌ, *rel. n.* فَرِي [300] (R) : (c) if the ع be a sound letter (R, A), then, [say the GG (R),] (α) if the J be restored [without the ى of relation (R)] in [any of the following positions (R, A),] the *du.*, or the sound *pl.* [*masc.* or (IM)] *fem.*, [or the state of prefixion in the case of the six *ns.* (R),] it must be restored (IM, R) in the *rel. n.* (R, IA, A), because in the *rel. n.* what was not in the *o. f.* is [sometimes] added in the position of the J, as we said on كَبِيَّةٌ and لَآئِي [above], and much more than a J that was in the *o. f.*, and that actually returns into use after elision (R), as أَبٌ, *rel. n.* أَبِي (IA, Aud, A), and أَخٌ, *rel. n.* أَخِي (IA, A); and as سَنَةٌ, *rel. n.* سَنَرِي or سَنَهِي [below] (Aud, A), and عِضَةٌ, *rel. n.* عِضْرِي [below] or عِضْهِي, according to the different opinions on the elided [letter] (A) : while you say ذَاتٌ, *rel. n.* ذَوْرِي, because of two matters, the unsoundness of the ع, and the restoration of the J in the *du.* ذَوَاتَا [231] (Aud) : (b) if the J be not restored in any of these positions, it may be

restored (IM, R) or omitted [in the *rel. n.* (R, IA, A)], as ^{دَمْرِي} [below] or ^{يَدِي} [300] (R, IA, Aud, A) and ^{دَمْرِي} [below] or ^{دَمِي} [300] (R, Aud, A, MKh), from ^{يَد} [719] (IA, Aud, A) and ^{دَم} (Aud, A, MKh), according to those who say ^{يَدَانِ} [and ^{دَمَانِ} (A, MKh)] in the *du.* [231] (IA, A), and ^{يَدُونَ} [in the *pl.*] when ^{يَد} is a proper name of a [rational] male [234] (IA), no regard being paid to the sayings ^{جَرَى الدَّمِيَانِ} and ^{يَدَيَانِ بَيْضَاوَانِ} [231], because they are anomalous (R); while, according to those who say ^{يَدَيَانِ} [and ^{دَمِيَانِ} (A)] restoration is necessary (A, MKh); and as ^{جَرَحِي} [below] or ^{جَرِي} and ^{غَدْرِي} [below] or ^{غَدِي} (R, A), from ^{حَر} [275] and ^{غَد} [231, 275] (A); and as ^{شَفْهِي} [below] or ^{شَفِي} [and ^{ثَبْرِي} or ^{ثَبِي} (A)], from ^{شَفَّة} [260] (Aud, A) and ^{ثَبَّة} [234, 244] (A); and as ^{بَنَوِي} [667] or ^{اِبْنِي} [and ^{سَمْرِي} or ^{اِسْمِي} (Aud)] from ^{اِبْن} (IA, Aud) and ^{اِسْم} [below] (Aud), because they say ^{اِبْنَانِ} [and ^{اِسْمَانِ}] in the *du.* (IA). So say Jh and others [on the *rel. n.* of ^{شَفَّة}]; and the saying of IKhz that only ^{شَفْهِي} has been heard, even if we admit it, does not refute what we have said, because the question relates to analogy, not to hearsay. Those, however, who say that its *l* is a , say ^{شَفْرِي} when they restore [it]; but the correct form is what we have given

above, as is proved by شَفَاء [260] (Aud). Therefore, say the GG, those who say هُنْكَ [16], هَنَانِ [231], and هَنَاتُ [234] allow هَنْوِي or هَنِي ; but those who say هُنُوكَ [16], هَنَوَانِ [231], and هَنَوَاتُ [234] hold هَنْوِي to be necessary (R). The use of [IM's] mentioning the sound *pl. masc.* is, however, not apparent (A), because what is restored in it is restored in the *du.* ; while the converse does not hold good, like the *J* of أَبٌ and أَخٌ, which is restored in the *du.* [231], but not in the *pl.* [234], unless one assert that it is restored, and afterwards elided (Sn) : and in the Tashil and the CK he confines himself to the *du.* and the *pl.* with the *ʔ* and ت (A). But IH says that referring to the *du.* and *pl.* is drawing on ignorance : and, meaning, therefore, to devise a formula without that, he says that, if the ع be a sound letter (R), when the elided is the *J*, then, if the *bil.* be *orig.* mobile in the medial, and a *conj.* Hamza be not put as a compensation [for the *J* (R)], the elided must be restored, as أَبِي and أَخِي (SH), lest mutilation ensue in the *rel. n.* through elision of the *J* and elision of the vowel of the ع, notwithstanding that the [latter] elision is not at the end, which is the seat of alteration [283] : whereas, if the *bil.* be *orig.* quiescent in the ع, the elided may be restored or omitted, as غَدِي or غَدِي.

and حَرَجِيّ or حَرِيّ [312], since no mutilation ensues : and similarly, if the [conj.] Hamza be put as a compensation for the ج, one may restore the ج, and elide the Hamza, as بَنَرِيّ and سَتَهِيّ [below]; or confine oneself to the compensation, as اِنَبِيّ and اِسْتِيّ [below]. But we say that the device adopted by IH, from fear of making a demand on ignorance, is not behind what the GG say in drawing on it, because many of the *ns.* whose ج is gone are in dispute among the GG, as to whether they be فَعْل or فَعَل, like يَد and دَم [260]; while the state of most *ns.* on the model of طَبَّة and سَنَّة [234, 244], as to whether they be quiescent in the ع or mobile, is unknown. The ج of some of these *ns.* curtailed of the ج is biform, as in سَنَّة and عَصَّة [234, 244, 260, 275, 277] : Sf says, Those who say سَانَهَتْ say سَنَهِيّ [above] and سَنِيّ, because the س does not return in the *pl.*, since سَنَهَات [234] is not said ; while those who say سَنَوَات must say سَنَوِيّ [above] : and similarly those who say عَصِيَهْ [275] say عَصِيّ and عَصِيّ, since عَصَهَات does not occur ; while those who say عَصَرَات say only عَصَرِيّ [311] (R), with Fath of the ع, irregularly (Jh). S says that (R) the *rel. n.* of فَم [orig. فَوَّة (S)] is فَمِيّ or فَمِيّ, according to those who say فَمَان [in the *du.* (R)]; but only فَمِيّ

according to those who say **فَمَرَانِ** as in **هَبَا نَفَثَا أَلَحَ** [231] (S, R) : while Mb says that, if you do not say **فَبِي**, you ought to restore it to its *o. f.* [16, 278, 687], and say **فَوَهِي** (R). The opinion of S [and most GG (A)] is that the ع of the *n.* whose **ج** is restored, [whatever class the *n.* be of, unless it be reduplicated (R),] is pronounced with Fath, even if it be *orig.* quiescent, as **يَدَوِي** and **دَمَوِي**, [the elided **ي** being restored, and converted into **ا**, and then into **و**, from dislike to the combination of the Kasra and the **ي** s (Tsr),] and **غَدَوِي** and **حَرَجِي** (R, A), from **دَم** and **يَد** [260], and **غَد** and **حَر** [275] (A), for a reason like what we mentioned for the mobilization of the ع in **شَيْء** [above], because the ع [on elision of the **ج**] is inseparable from the inflectional vowel ; so that, when you restore the departed letter, you intend to leave the ع invested with one of these vowels, as a notification of its inseparability from them ; and, Fatha being, as is said, the lightest of them, you pronounce the ع with Fath (R). Akh, however, holds that what is *orig.* quiescent should be made quiescent, as **يَدَوِي** and **دَمَوِي**, and **غَدَوِي** and **حَرَجِي**, with quiescence [of their ع s (R)], because it is [a restoration to (R)] the original state (R, A) of the ع in these words (A), as we mentioned in **شَيْء** [above] (R). But the sound opinion is that of S ; and hearsay accords with it ; while some relate of Akh that he

reverted to the opinion of S (A). The Glossators, indeed, following [R and] Dm, object that (Sn), if the *n.* be reduplicated, its ع is not pronounced with Fath, as in (1) the contracted رُب [above], where you say رُبِّي [with quiescence of the ع, because of the incorporation (R)], by common consent (R, Sn), for avoidance of the heaviness that would result from dissolution of the incorporation; and (2) قُرَّة, who are a tribe of 'Abd AlKais, *orig.* قُرَّة, but contracted, where they say قُرِّي [Damm and (Dh, LL)] double, (R). But their objection falls to the ground, because the contracted رُب is curtailed of the ع, as A distinctly states [above]; so that in the *rel. n.* its ع, is restored, not its ج; whereas the discussion is about restoration of the ج (Sn). In [the *rel. n.* of (A)] every *tril.*, where the ج is elided, and the *conj.* Hamza [667] is put [at the beginning (R) as a compensation for it (A), the Hamza alternates with the ج, for which it is a quasi-compensation; so that (R)] you [may (A)] restore the ج, and elide the Hamza, or retain the Hamza, and elide the ج, as اِبْنِي or بَنَوِي [above]; سَمِي [with Kasr or Damm of the س (R, Sn), and also سَمِي with Fath (R),] or اِسْمِي (R, A); and اِسْتِي or سَتَهِي [312] (A). If you named a man اِثْنَان or اِثْنَا عَشَرَ [308], you would say in the *rel. n.* اِثْنِي or ثَنَوِي [295] (Jh). As for اِمْرُو [16],

its *rel. n.*, [says S (R),] is [only (R)] ^{أَمْرِي}, [like ^{أَمْرِي}, according to analogy (S),] because [it is not a *bil.*, and (S)] the Hamza [here (S)] is not a compensation (S, R) for the *ل*, which is present (R); while ^{مَرَّتِي}, [says he (R),] from ^{أَمْرُو الْقَيْسِ} [294, 308, 309] is anomalous (S, R). But, says Sf, this is a form deduced by him from analogy; otherwise the *rel. n.* heard is ^{مَرَّتِي} [with Fath of the *ر*, (Jh)] from ^{أَمْرُو}, not ^{أَمْرِي} [above]. The *ر* in ^{مَرَّتِي} *rel. n.* of ^{أَمْرُو} is pronounced with Fath, because, when you elide the *conj.* Hamza contrary to analogy, the vowel of the *ر* remains in its state of alliteration to the vowel of the [final] Hamza, which is the *ل* [16]; and, Kasr being inseparable from the Hamza on account of the *ي* of relation [294], the *ر* also is pronounced with Kasr, as ^{مَرَّتِي}, like ^{نَمَرِي}; and is afterwards pronounced with Fath, as in ^{نَمَرِي} [296]. But Fr transmits Fath of the *ر* in ^{أَمْرُو} in every case, and Damm of it in every case. As for ^{أَبْنَم} [16], the Hamza and the *م* are compensations for the *ل*; so that, when you restore the *ل*, you elide them (R). I asked Khl the *rel. n.* of ^{أَبْنَم}: and he said, You may elide the *aug.*, saying ^{بَنَرِي}, as though it were *rel. n.* of ^{أَبْن}; or may leave it unaltered, saying ^{أَبْنَمِي}, like ^{أَبْنِي} and ^{أَسْتِي} (S). But, says S, ^{أَبْنَمِي} is a form deduced from analogy by Khl, not spoken by the Arabs (R).

§ 307. The *rel. ns.* of **بِنْتُ** and **أُخْتُ** are disputed. And the predicament of **فُتْنَانٍ**, [below], **ذَيْتٌ** and **كَيْتٌ**, and **كِلْتَا**, which correspond to **بِنْتُ** and **أُخْتُ**, is the same as theirs (A). But the dispute as to the *rel. n.* of **فُتْنَانٍ** [above] is apparent only before it is used as a name; and similarly afterwards, according to the *dial.* of imitation; whereas, according to the *dial.* that treats it like **حَمْدَانُ** or **سِرْحَانُ**, its *rel. n.* ought by common consent to be **فُتْنَانِي** [295] (Sn). If the **ت** be substituted for the **ج** in the *tril.*, which occurs in the few *ns.* enumerated in the chapter on the Diminutive [277], such as **بِنْتُ** and **أُخْتُ** [above], **هَنْتٌ** [below], **فُتْنَانٍ**, and **كَيْتٌ** and **ذَيْتٌ**, then (R), according to [Khl and (IA)] S (R, IA, A), the **ت** is elided, and the **ج** restored (IY, R, IA, A). That [elision] is because the **ت** [263, 689], though a substitute for the **ج**, contains a tinge of feminization, since it is peculiar to the *fem.* in these *ns.*: and the proof that it does not stand in the place of the **ج** in every respect is their eliding it in the *dim.*, as **بْنِيَّةٌ** and **أُخْيَةٌ** [277]; and similarly in the *pl.* [below], as **بَنَاتٌ** [689], **أَخْرَاطٌ**, and **هَنَاتٌ** [234]. And, when the **ت** is elided, the *tril.* reverts to the formation of the *masc.* [below]. For all these *ns.* are *orig. masc.*: but, when the **ت** is substituted for the **ج**, they are altered to the formation with **Ḍamm** of the **ف**

in أُخْتُ, Kasr of it in بِنْتُ and ثِنْتَانِ, and quiescence of the ع in all, as a notification that this femininization is not regular, as it is in ضَارِبٌ and ضَارِبَةٌ [265]; and that the ت does not denote pure femininization, but contains a tinge of it (R). The o. f. of بِنْتُ and أُخْتُ is بَنَوْتُ and أَخَوْتُ [234, 667, 689]. Then they transfer بَنَوْتُ and أَخَوْتُ, the measure of which is فَعَلٌ, to فَعَّلٌ and فَعَّلٌ, co-ordinating them with the measures of جَذَعٌ and قَفَّلٌ by means of the ت substituted for their ل [689]. And the ت in them is not really for femininization, because the letter before it is quiescent. This is the opinion of S, which he unequivocally declares in the chapter on the Diptote (IY). And therefore [he says that بِنْتُ or (IY)] أُخْتُ, when a [proper (R)] name [for a man (IY)], is triptote (IY, R); whereas, if the ت were for femininization, it would be diptote (IY). According to Khl (S, M) and S (M), you say بَنَوْتُ from بِنْتُ, [as from ابْنٌ (S, IY, IA, Aud, A), when you restore its elided (Aud)]; and أَخَوْتُ from أُخْتُ (S, M, R, IA, Aud, A), as from أَخٌ [306] (R, IA, Aud, A). That is because they say بَنَاتٌ and أَخَوَاتٌ [234] by elision of the ت and restoration [of the *fem.*] to the original formation of the *masc.* (Aud). And [similarly (S), according to S (A),] you say ثَنَوْتُ [with Fath of the ت (Sn)] from ثِنْتَانِ; and كَبَوْتُ [and (R, A)] ذَبَوْتُ from

[*كَيْت* and (R, A)] *ذَيْت* (S, R, A), because, when you restore the *ج*, the *n.* becomes *كَيْة* and *ذِيَّة* [227], like *حَيْة*, *rel. n.* *حَيَوِي* [302] (R); and *كَلَوِي* [below] from *كَلْنَا* (S, A): their *rel. ns.* being like those of their *masc.* (A). A's saying "their *masc.*" necessarily implies that *كَيْت* and *ذَيْت* also have a *masc.* [above]; but perhaps he means their *o. f.* before affixion of the *ت* (Sn). The secret of it is that these formations, being all *fem.*, must be restored to the formation of the *masc.* [above], as the *ة* must be elided in *مَكَّة*, and the [*ا* and] *ت* in *مُسْلِمَات* [295] (Aud). Khl asserts that (S) the *masc.* of (R) *بِنْت* [or *ابْنَة* (S)] is *orig.* *فَعْل* (S, R), with Fath of the *ف* and *ع*, as is proved by the *perf. pl.* *بَنَوْنَ* [234], and the broken *pl.* *أَبْنَاء* [667] (R). Similarly [the *masc.* of] *أُخْت* is [*orig.*] *فَعْل*, as is proved by *أَخَوَك* [16], *أَخَاكَ*, and *أَخِيكَ*; and by the saying of some of the Arabs, as Y asserts, *آخَاء* [260], this being the *pl.* of *فَعْل* [237, 239] (S). Similarly (R) *إِثْنَتَانِ* [313, 314, 667], which corresponds to *ابْنَة*, [because the *sing.* of *إِثْنَانِ* and *إِثْنَتَانِ*, if they were allowed one, would be *إِثْن* and *إِثْنَة*, like *إِبْن* and *ابْنَة* (Jh),] is *orig.* *فَعْل*, since (S) they say *أَثْنَاء* as *pl.* of *الْإِثْنَانِ Monday* (S, R). And *هَنْت* [below] is *orig.* *فَعْل*, as is proved by the saying of some of the Arabs *هَنْوَك* [16]. And not one of

these *ns.* occurs whose ع is not *orig.* mobile, except [كَيْتٌ and] ذَيْتٌ , [each of] which is an *indecl. n.* [227]. And, as for كَلْتَا , the [original] mobility of its ع is proved by كَلَا [below], like مَعَا *a gut, sing.* of أَمْعَاء [237] (S). But the restoration of the ل [in the *rel. n.*], which is allowable in إِبْنٌ [and اِثْنَانٍ], is necessary in بِنْتٌ [and ثِنْتَانٍ], as in أُخْتُ (Sn). S says, If it be said that, the ل not being restored in بَنَاتٌ [234], analogy requires that بَنِيٌّ and بَنَوِيٌّ should be allowable in the *rel. n.*, because of the principle, which you have just mastered, that in restoring [the ل] in the *rel. n.*, the *du.* and the *pl.* with the ل and ت are considered [306], the answer is that, although they do not restore the ل in بَنَاتٌ , they do in بَنُونَ [234], and the object is restoration of the ل in some of the word's variations other than the *rel. n.* (R). According to Y, however, [in addition to بَنَوِيٌّ and أَخَوِيٌّ (R),] you [may also (R)] say بِنْتِيٌّ and أُخْتِيٌّ (S, M, R, IA, Aud, A), forming the *rel. n.* of بِنْتٌ and أُخْتُ from their expression (IA, A), and not eliding the ت (A). He argues that the ت is not for femininization [263] (R, Aud), since it is preceded by a sound quiescent, and is not changed into ة in pause [646] (Aud); but that it is a substitute for the ل (R). And that is admitted; but they treat [the ت in] this formation like the ة of femininization, as is proved by [its elision in] the *pl.* [above] (Aud). He ought, therefore,

[as Khl objects (S, R, A),] to say [also (R)] هَنْتِي^٣ and مَنَّتِي^٣ [from هَنْت^٣ and مَنَّت^٣ (IY, A)]; whereas no one says that (S, IY, R, A); but one says هَنْرِي^٣, and, according to A's declaration that the sound second of the *bil.* may be doubled or not, مَنَّتِي^٣ or مَنِّي^٣ [306]. The language of A, like that of others, necessarily implies that هَنْت^٣ [above] and مَنَّت^٣ are among the *ns.* in which the *ل* is elided, and the *ت* put as a compensation for it; and this is obvious in هَنْت^٣, because it, like هَنْ^٣, is *orig.* هَنْو^٣; but, as for مَنَّت^٣, it, being *orig.* مَن^٣ [183], is *bil.* by constitution [277] (Sn). Y, however, may draw the distinction that the *ت* in these two is not inseparable, contrary to the *ت* in بَنْت^٣ and أُخْت^٣, since the *ت* in هَنْت^٣ is found in continuity exclusively, [being changed into *س* in pause (Sn)]; and in مَنَّت^٣ is found in pause exclusively (A), being absent in continuity (Sn). And, according to Y, you say ثَنْتِي^٣; and كَيْتِي^٣ and ذَيْتِي^٣; and كِلْتِي^٣ [below], كِلْتَرِي^٣, or كِلْتَاوِي^٣, like the *rel. ns.* of حَبَلِي^٣ [300] (A). Z says that (IY), according to both the opinions [of S and Y (IY)], you say كِلْتَرِي^٣ and كِلْتِي^٣ from كِلْتَا^٣ (M); but it is not true, because S says كِلَرِي^٣ [above] (IY). Y says nothing about كِلْتَا^٣; nor does he say that its *rel. n.* is formed by retention of the *ت*, like the *rel. ns.* of بَنْت^٣ and أُخْت^٣; nor is his

allowance of retention of the ت in their *rel. ns.* universal, according to him, in the *rel. n.* of every *tril.* for whose ل a ت is substituted, so that we should pronounce that he must say كِلْتِي [above], كِلْتَوِي, and كِلْتَاوِي, like حَبْلِي [300], حَبْلَوِي, and حَبْلَاوِي; and, if that were universal, according to him, he would say هَنْتِي and مَنْتِي, and Khl would not make the objection that he does; and therefore IH's saying that (R), according to Y, the *rel. ns.* of كِلْتَا are كِلْتِي [above], كِلْتَوِي, and كِلْتَاوِي (SH), requires consideration, unless he mean that, if you were to form an assumed *rel. n.* for it by analogy to Y's formation of the *rel. n.* from بِنْت and أُخْت, the three ways would be allowable (R). And Akh adopts a third method with بِنْت and أُخْت and the *ns.* corresponding to them, eliding the ت, [and restoring the elided ل (Sn)]; but maintaining the quiescence of the letter before it, [if the rules do not require this letter to be mobilized, as in the *rel. ns.* of كَبْت and ذَيْت, as explained by A below (Sn),] and the vowel of the letter before the quiescent; as ثَنْبِي, أُخْرِي, بِنْرِي, and كِلْرِي: and, according to his method, the *rel. ns.* of كَبْت and ذَيْت, when the elided [ي (Sn)] is restored, ought by analogy to be like that of حَي [302], as كَبْرِي and ذَيْرِي [above] (A). According to [the apparent opinion of (A)] S (R, A), the ت in كِلْتَا is like the ت of بِنْت and

(IY, A)] أُخْتُ (IY, R, A), since it [is not merely for feminization, but (R)] is a substitute for the ج (IY, R), for which reason the letter before it is quiescent (R); while the ا is for feminization (IY, A), the *o. f.* being كِلَوِي like ذِكْرِي [272] (IY): and upon this [apparent opinion (Sn)] is founded the preceding statement (A) that S says كِلَوِي [above] (Sn). For that the ج is unsound is shown by the *masc.* كِلَا, [*orig.* كِلَو (Jh),] which is فَعَلٌ; and that the ج is ا, is more likely than that it should be ا ي, because substitution of the ت for the ا, is much more frequent than its substitution for the ي [689] (IY). And the ت may have the ا of feminization put after it, and become intermediate; nor is that [considered] a combination of two signs of feminization; because the ت, as we mentioned, is not for mere feminization, but contains a tinge of it (R). When, therefore, you form the *rel. n.*, you [restore the ج, and (R)] reduce the word to the [original (IY)] formation [of the *masc.* (R)], as in بِنْتُ and أُخْتُ; [so that it becomes كِلَوِي with Fath of the ع, the Fath of the ع being obvious in its *masc.* (R);] and then the ا of feminization must be elided (IY, R), as in جَمْرِي [300] (R); so that كِلَوِي is said (IY). According to Jr, however, the measure of كِلَتَا is فَعَلٌ (IY, R, A), the ا being the ج of the word, and the ت (R, A) a [co-ordinative (Jh)] *aug.* (A), not

being a substitute for [a *rad.*, vid. (Sn)] the *J* (R, Sn), nor containing the sense of feminization (R); so that he says *كِنْتَرِي* (IY, R, A), like *مِلْهَرِي* from *مِلْهِي* [300] (IY). But this is bad (IY, R, A), because *فَعْتَلٌ* is [a paradigm (IY)] not found [at all (IY)] in their language (IY, R), since the *ت* is not used as an *aug.* in the middle [678] (A). *كِنْتَا*, then, [if used as a name for a man (S, IY),] is diptote, when *det.* and when *indet.* (S, IY, R), according to [the opinion of (IY)] *S* (IY, R), because its *ا* is the *ا* of feminization (S, IY, R), as in *حَبْلِي* [18, 248, 272] (R), while its *ت* corresponds to the *و* in *شَرَرِي* [272] (S); but is triptote when *indet.*, according to the opinion of Jr (IY). The well-known opinion, however, transmitted from the majority of the BB, and even from *S* by IH in the CM, is that the *ت* in *كِنْتَا* is a substitute for the *و*, [or *ي* (Sn)], which is the *J* of the word, [orig. *كِنْتَوِي* or *كِنْيَا* (Sn),] the measure of which is *فَعْلِي*, the *و*, [or *ي*] being changed into *ت* as an intimation of the feminization (A). This is different from the opinion described above as apparently held by *S*, because the *J*, according to this, is present, being *orig.* a *و*, [or *ي*], which has been changed into *ت*; but, according to the former, is elided, the *ت* being a compensation (Sn). And, since this is the opinion of the majority, the *rel. n.* ought to be *كِنْتِي* [below] (A), like *حَبْلِي* [300] (Sn).

Sf says that those who hold the ت not to contain the sense of femininization, but to be a [mere] substitute for the و, as [it is for the س] in سِتٌ, orig. سِدْسٌ [689, 758], and [for the و] in فُكَلَةٌ and فُرَاتٌ [689], say كِلْتِي [above] (R). And, [according to what Sf says (R),] كِلْتَوِي and كِلْتَوِي also are allowable (R, Sn), like حَبْلَرِي and حَبْلَوِي [300] (R). And, according to this saying also, كِلْنَا ought not to be reckoned among the ns. whose ل is elided, because the n. whose ل is changed is not said, in conventional language, to have its ل elided; otherwise one would be obliged to say that مَاءٌ has its ل elided [683]. The rel. ns. of ابْنَةٌ are ابْنِي and ابْنِي, like those of ابْنٌ [306], by common consent, since the ة [295] in it is not a substitute, like the ت in بِنْتُ [689] (A).

§ 308. The rel. n. is formed from the first member of the comp. (M, SH, IA, Aud, A) of all [four (Jrb)] kinds (R, Jrb), (1) aprothetic (Jrb), (a) att. (Jrb, IA, Aud, A), an [imitated (IY, R)] prop. (IY, R, A) used as a name (IY, A), like تَابَطُ شَرًّا [4] (M, R, IA, Aud, A) and بَرَقُ نَحْرُهُ *His breast gleamed* (M, Aud, A), a man's name (IY on §. 4): (b) not a prop. (R), [but] synthetic (IY, Jrb, IA, Aud, A), (a) not implying [the sense of] the p. in the second member [209] (R), like بَعْلَبُكُ (R, IA, Aud, A), whence مَعْدِيكَرُبُ (IY, Aud, Sn) and حَضْرَمُونُ (IY,

A) : (b) implying [the sense of] the *p*. (R, Jrb) in the second member (R), a *num.* [210], which is shown by IUK to be a branch of the synthetic (Sn), like **خَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ** (M, SH, A), when a [proper (SH)] name [below] (M, SH, Sn), and similarly **اِثْنَا عَشَرَ** when a [proper (IY)] name [below] (M); and [not a *num.*,] like **بَيْتَ بَيْتَ** [211] (R) : (2) prothetic (R, Jrb, IA, Aud), according to a detail peculiar to it [309] (R), like **اِمْرُو الْقَيْسِ** [4] (IA, Aud). And the second member, [which Khl treats as corresponding to the ة of feminization (IY),] is elided (IY, Jrb, IA), like the ة [295] (Jrb). You say (1, a) **تَأَبَّطِي** (M, SH, IA, Aud, A) and **بَرَقِي** (M, Aud, A) : (1, b, α) **بَعْلِي** (SH, IA, Aud, A); **مَعْدِي** (M, Aud, Sn) or **مَعْدَوِي** (Aud, Sn), because **مَعْدِي** is like **قَامِي** [301] (Sn); and **حَضَرِي** (M, A) : (1, b, b) **خَمْسِي** (M, SH, A); and [hence (IY)] **اِثْنِي** or **ثَنَرِي** [306] (M, R); eliding **عَشَرَ** (IY, R), as is the rule (R), like the ن in **اِثْنَانِ** [295], because they assimilate **عَشَرَ** in **اِثْنَا عَشَرَ** to the ن in **اِثْنَانِ**, as they assimilate **عَشَرَ** in **خَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ** to the ة of feminization, since **عَشَرَ** occupies the place of the ن in **اِثْنَانِ** and **اِثْنَيْنِ** [290, 318], for which reason you do not combine them (IY): (2) **اِمْرَتِي** (IA, Aud) with Kasr of the ر (MKh), or **مَرَّتِي** (Aud, MKh) with Fath of the م and ر [294, 306, 309] (MKh). The reason why one of the two members is elided from all the *comps.*

in the *rel. n.* is dislike to superimposing the letter of relation, with its heaviness [309], on what is already heavy because of the composition. And the reason why the second [309], not the first, is elided is that the heaviness proceeds from it (R). In the synthetic *comp.* this way [of forming the *rel. n.*] is regular, by common consent (A). And [there are four additional ways, for (A)] sometimes the *rel. n.* is formed from (1) the [first or (R)] second member, [whichever you please (R),] as [بَعْلِي^٢ or (R)] بَكِّي^٢: this is allowed by Jr (R, A) alone, and [according to A] by no one else (A); but Jh says that the *rel. n.* of رَامَهْرْمُزْ [below] is رَامِي^٢ or هُرْمُزِي^٢, allowing an option without anomaly (CD): (2) each of (R) the two members [together, their composition being removed (A)], as [بَعْلِي^٢ بَكِّي^٢, by analogy to (A)]

تَزَوَّجْتُهَا رَامِيَّةَ هُرْمُزِيَّةَ * بِفَضْلِ الَّذِي أَعْطَى الْأَمِيرُ مِنَ الرِّزْقِ
[below] I wedded her, a native of Rāma Hurmuz, by the aid of the abundance of the maintenance that the Commander gave (R, A) from رَامَهْرْمُزْ [above] (R, Sn), a city in the confines of Khūzistān (Sn): this is allowed by [some, and among them (A)] AHm (D, A); but [according to H] no one agrees with AHm in this; nay, the rest of the GG forbid it, lest two signs of relation be combined in the *rel. n.*; and they account for the verse as anomalous (D): (3) the aggregate of (A) the *comp.*,

[without any elision, when the expression is light (R),]
as بَعْلَبَكِّي (R, A): (4) a *n.* upon the measure of فَعْلَلْ
constructed from the two members of the *comp.*, as حَضَرَمِي
[309]. But these [last] two ways are anomalous, not to
be copied (A); while the regularity or anomalousness of
the first two is disputed (Sn). No *rel. n.* is formed from
[اِثْنَا عَشَرَ and the rest of the *comp. nums.*, such as (IY)]
خَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ when a *num.* (M, SH), because, both members
being then intended, if you elided one of them, the sense
would be marred (Jrb), since اِثْنِي or ثَنَرِي would be con-
founded with the *rel. n.* of اِثْنَان [306] (IY). The reason
why the *comp. num.*, when not a proper name [above],
may not have a *rel. n.* is that to form the *rel. n.* without
elision would conduce to heaviness, as above shown;
while neither of the two members of the *comp.* intended
to be a *num.* may be elided, since in sense they are cou-
pled together, the sense of خَمْسَةَ عَشَرَ being خَمْسَةٌ وَعَشْرَةٌ
five and ten [210], and neither of two *ns.* coupled to-
gether can supply the place of the other (R). But AHm
allows the *rel. n.* [of the *comp. num.* not a proper name
(R)] to be formed from each of its two members [sepa-
rately, to avoid confusion (IY)], as اَحَدِي عَشْرِي, like
رَامِيَّةٌ هَرَمِيَّةٌ above; and, in the case of the *fem.* (R),
اِحْدِي عَشْرِي [with quiescence of the ش of عَشْرَةٌ (R)], said
of a cloth [*eleven ells long* (R)], or, according to [the *dial.*

of (R)] those who pronounce the ش of عَشْرَةَ with Kasr, إِحْدَى عَشْرَةَ [with Fath of the ش (R)], like نَدْرَى [296] (IY, R): and similarly اثْنَى عَشْرَةَ or ثَنَوَى عَشْرَةَ to the end of the *comps.* (R). In the *prop.* Jr allows the *rel. n.* to be formed from the [first or (R)] second member, as [تَابَطِي or (R)] شَرِي (R, A), and [بَرَتِي or] نَحَرِي (A). And AHm allows it to be formed from the two together, as تَابَطِي شَرِي, as in the synthetic and the *num.*: so in the Ham ' (Sn). And [Jr says that (R)] they sometimes call the old man كُنْتِي (IY, R, A) from كُنْتُ *I was* (IY A), because he [often (Sn)] says "I was (R, Sn) such and such in my youth" (R), whence
 فَاصْبَحْتُ كُنْتِيًا وَاصْبَحْتُ عَاجِنًا * وَشَرُّ خِصَالِ الْبَرِّ كُنْتُ وَعَاجِنُ
Then I became a dotard and decrepit; and the worst of the qualities of the man is being a sayer of "I was" and decrepit (IY, A); for, since the *pron.* of the *ag.* is [amalgamated with, and (IY)] inseparable from the *v.*, the two become like one word (IY, R). But this is anomalous (A). And [S says that (R)] they say كُرْنِي (S, IY, R, A), which is the regular form (A), eliding the ت of the *ag.* (IY, R), and then forming the *rel. n.* from كُنْ, but (IY) restoring the , (S, IY, Sn), which is the ع of the *v.* (IY), since the cause of its elision, *vid.* its concurrence when quiescent with the ن made quiescent on account of the attachment of the mobile *nom. pron.*

to it, is removed (Sn), because the ن is now mobilized (S, IY) with Kasr, on account of its combination with the ي of relation (IY); and pronouncing the ن with Damm transferred to it from the و, after transfer of the و, when meant to be attributed to the mobile *nom. pron.*, from فَعَلَ with Fath, the original measure of كَانَ, to فَعَلَ with Damm [403] (Sn). They ought to say كَانِي, because the *prons.* in such as قُلْنَا and قُلْتُ are attached to قَالَ, the ا being then elided on account of the two quiescents; but the ن in كُونِي is allowed to retain its original Damma anterior to the formation of the *rel. n.*, as a notification of what the *rel. n.* is formed from (R). And some say كُنْتِي, introducing the ن of protection [170], in order to preserve the expression كُنْتُ [with Damm of the ت (R) from the Kasr (IY)], as

وَمَا أَنْتَ كُنْتِي وَمَا أَنَا عَاجِنُ * وَشَرُّ الرِّجَالِ الْكُنْتِي وَعَاجِنُ
And thou art not a dotard, nor am I decrepit; and the worst of men are the dotard and a decrepit (IY, R),
 cited by Th, who disapproves of كُنْتِي, saying that it is a mistake (IY). The predicament of لَوْلَا, [إِنَّمَا (S),] حَيْثُمَا, [and the like (S, Sn), as لَوْمًا and أَيْنَمَا (Sn), when used as names (A),] is similar (S, A) in the *rel. n.* to that of the *att. comp.* (A): for you form the *rel. n.* from the first member (S); so that you say لَوْلَى with a single و, and حَيْثَى (A). A's saying "with a single و" is not

inconsistent with IM's saying "Double the second of a *bil.*" [306], because what is meant by the *bil.* there is the constitutionally *bil.*, as A distinctly states; while here the word that the *rel. n.* is formed from is constitutionally *quad.*, but becomes accidentally *bil.* on formation of the *rel. n.* (Sn). The elision in the *rel. n.* is not confined to the last member of the *prop.*, but extends to whatever exceeds the first member; so that, if you used ^{زَيْدٌ}خَرَجَ الْيَوْمَ *Zaid to-day went out* as a name, you would say خَرَجِي (A).

§ 309. When you form the *rel. n.* of a prothetic *comp.* [below], one of the two 'members must be elided, (1) because of the heaviness [308]: and (2) because, if you retain both, then, (a) if you affix the *ى* of relation to the *post.*, the result is that, (α) if the inflection of the *n.* related to be transferred to the *ى* of relation [294], as in other *rel. ns.*, the *ى* will be impressible by the *ops.* governing the *pre.*, and unimpressible by them because of its affixion to the *post.*, which is permanently governed in the *gen.*; (b) if the inflection be not transferred, the *rel. n.* will be mistaken for a *non-rel. n. pre.* to a *rel. n.*, as غُلَامٌ بَصْرِيّ *a man-servant of a Basri*: (b) if you affix the *ى* to the *pre.*, as عَبْدِي الْقَيْسِ *the 'Abdi of AlKais*, the *rel. n.* will be imagined to be *pre.* to that *gen.*, whereas your intention is to affirm the relation of something to the *n.* compounded of the *pre.* and *post.* (R). They

mean by the "prothetic comp." here what is a proper name, [i. e., a surname (Sn),] or [a proper name by (Sn)] prevalent [application (Sn)], not such as غُلامٌ زَيْدٌ *the man-servant of Zaid* [below], because its aggregate has no single meaning, to which relation could be affirmed; and, though a *rel. n.* can be formed from زَيْدٌ or غُلامٌ, that is a *rel. n.* of a single word, not of a prothetic comp.

(A). The reason why the *rel. n.* may be formed either from the *pre.* or from the *post.*, as will be seen, although each of them has *orig.* a meaning, is that the *rel. n.* is not formed from the prothetic comp., except when a proper name, like ابْنُ الزَّيْبِرِ and أَمْرُو الْقَيْسِ; and the members of a comp. proper name, of whatever composition it be, have no [separate] meaning. Since, then, it is settled that one of the two members must be elided, it is better to elide the second, because of what we mentioned [308]: and also because, if a *rel. n.* were formed from a prothetic comp. before it became a proper name, the *n.* really related to would be the *pre.*, because the *post.* is really like a qualification of the *pre.*, since the sense of غُلامٌ زَيْدٌ [above] is غُلامٌ لَزَيْدٍ *a man-servant belonging to Zaid* [111]; so that, when the comp. becomes a proper name, it is better to form its *rel. n.* from the *pre.*, not the *post.* (R). You say عَبْدِي [below] from عَبْدُ الْقَيْسِ, and [أَمْرَتِي or (S, IY, A)] مَرَّتِي [with Fath of the م and ر (AAz, LL, Sn), as in the

verse below (AAz),] from ^{أَمْرُو الْقَيْسِ} [294, 306, 308] (S, M, R, A), 'Abd alKais [Ibn Afṣā, a great clan (KAb) of Asad (KF) in Rabī'a Ibn Nizār (LL),] and Imra alKais [Ibn Zaid Manāt Ibn Tamīm (IKb), a sub-tribe of Muḍar (Dh),] being two clans (A). Dhu-rRumma says

يَعُدُّ النَّاسِبُونَ إِلَى تَمِيمٍ * بَيْتَ الْمَجْدِ أَرْبَعَةً كِبَارًا
يَعُدُّونَ الرَّبَابَ وَآلَ سَعْدٍ * وَعَمْرًا ثُمَّ حَنْظَلَةَ الْخِيَارَا
وَيَذْهَبُ بَيْنَهَا الْمَرْتَبِيُّ لَغْوًا * كَمَا أَلْغَيْتَ فِي الدِّيَةِ الْحَوَارَا

(M, A) *The tracers of lineage to Tamīm reckon the houses of glory to be four great ones. They reckon ArRibāb [310], and the line of Sa'd, and 'Amr, then the goodly Hanzala. And the descendant of Imra alKais goes among them left out of account, as thou leavest the new-born camel out of account in calculating the blood-wit (AAz). But, if much ambiguity be produced by forming the rel. n. from the pre., which occurs where there is a regular series of names, in all of which the pre. is one, but the post. is different, as in the surnames [4], like أَبُو زَيْدٍ and ابْنُ زَيْدٍ, and أَبُو الْكَسَنِ and ابْنُ الْكَسَنِ, and similarly in ابْنُ زَيْدٍ and ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ [10], then the rel. n. must be formed from the post., as أَبُو بَكْرٍ from بَكْرِي [4] and زَيْنَرِي from زَيْنَرٍ, since the heading of surnames by أَبٌ and أُمٌّ is regular, and of proper names by ابْنٌ is quasi-regular; so that, if you said أَبُو [306], أُمِّي, or ابْنِي from the whole,*

the ambiguity would be universal. If, however, that [series of names] be not regular, but [only] numerous, like عَبْدُ الدَّارِ, عَبْدُ مَنَايَ, and عَبْدُ الْقَيْسِ, then the rule is to form the *rel. n.* from the *pre.*, because of what we have mentioned, as عَبْدِي [above]; but here also it is sometimes formed from the *post.*, to remove the ambiguity, as دَارِي [and (KAb, LL)] مَنَايَ. This is a statement of S's language, and is the truth (R). But Mb [followed here by Z (IY)] says that, when the *pre.* is made *det.* by the *post.*, then, if the *post.* be known [by itself (R)], as in ابْنُ الرَّبِيعِ (IY), and ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ (R), the rule is to [elide the first, and (R)] form the *rel. n.* from the second; but, if the *post.* be not known, as in عَبْدُ الْقَيْسِ and امْرُؤُ الْقَيْسِ, the rule is to form the *rel. n.* from the first, because عَبْدُ الْقَيْسِ is not a known thing (IY, R), whereby عَبْدُ and امْرُؤُ become *det.* But an adversary may disallow this, saying "How do you know that الْقَيْسِ is not a clan, or a man, or something else, to which امْرُؤُ or عَبْدُ was *orig. pre.* for particularization and determination [111], as in the case of عَبْدُ الْمُطَّلِبِ, عَبْدُ شَمْسٍ, عَبْدُ الْغَرَى, and عَبْدُ اللَّاتِ?" (R). And [Sf points out that (R)] Mb is refuted by the surnames (IY, R), like أَبُو مُسْلِمٍ and أَبُو بَكْرٍ [above] (IY), where he ought to form the *rel. n.* from the first (R), because مُسْلِمٌ and بَكْرٌ are not [necessarily]

known names, to which the first is *pre.* (IY), since the [young (IY)] boy is sometimes given a surname, [such as أَبُو جَعْفَرٍ or أَبُو مُسْلِمٍ (R),] before he has any child (IY, R) named جَعْفَرٌ or مُسْلِمٌ ; and in such a case the *post.* is not known, since it is a name for a non-existent [person]; but nevertheless the *rel. n.* is formed from it (R). It is therefore plain that the rule is to form the *rel. n.* from the first, and not to deviate to the second except on account of ambiguity (IY). IH, however, answers Sf, on behalf of Mb, saying that the second in such surnames as these is *orig.* intended, because these surnames are prognosticative, as though the boy had already lived until a child so named was born to him; so that the second, though not now intended, nor determinative of the first, was *orig.* intended, because أَبُو زَيْدٍ , e. g., is not *orig.* said except of one that has a child named *Zaid*. But Sf may say that عَبْدُ الْقَيْسِ is not *orig.* said except of a person who is a *slave, servant, or worshipper* of some being named *Kais*. And therefore IH's saying that, if the second be not *orig.* intended, as in عَبْدُ الْقَيْسِ and أَمْرُو الْقَيْسِ , the *rel. n.* is formed from the first, is refuted by the same objection as Mb's saying (R). Sometimes [a *n.* on the measure of (R) the formation (A)] فَعَلَلٌ compounded of the *pre.* and *post.*, [by taking the ف and ع from each of them (R),] occurs anomalously (R, A), as matter of hearsay (R), in the

rel. n. of the prothetic *comp.* (A), in the case of عَبْدٌ [or its *syn.* تَيْمٌ] *pre.* to another *n.*, as عَبْشِي from عَبْدٌ شَمْسٍ; while, if the ع of the second be unsound, [it is omitted, and] the formation is completed by its ل, as عَبْقَسِي and عَبْدَرِي from عَبْدُ الْقَيْسِ and عَبْدُ الدَّارِ [311] (R). And مَرْقَسِي is formed from the اِمْرُؤُ الْقَيْسِ of Kinda; but the *rel. n.* of every other اِمْرُؤُ الْقَيْسِ among the Arabs is مَرْتِي [above] (IHb, R). The instances remembered are (1) تَيْمِلِي from تَيْمُ اللَّاتِ; (2) عَبْدَرِي from عَبْدُ الدَّارِ; (3) مَرْقَسِي from Imra alKais Ibn Hujr alKindi; (4) عَبْقَسِي from عَبْدُ الْقَيْسِ [311]; and (5) عَبْشِي from عَبْدٌ شَمْسٍ [311]. They do that only to avoid ambiguity (A). The excuse for this composition, notwithstanding its anomalousness, is that the *rel. n.*, if formed from the *pre.* without the *post.*, is ambiguous; and, if from the *post.*, is formed from what cannot supply the place of the *pre.*, nor have the name of the *pre.* tropically applied to it without restriction, contrary to اِبْنُ الرَّبْرِ, because the name of one parent is often applied to the children without restriction, as قُرَيْشٌ and خَنْدِفٌ (R), the children of AlYās Ibn Muḍar being called خَنْدِفٌ, because their mother, the wife of AlYās was so called [679] (IKb). And they say تَعَبَشَمَ and تَعَبَقَسَ (A), meaning *He claimed*

to be descended from 'Abd Shams and 'Abd al-Kais (Sn). But, as for عَبْشَمْسٌ [with quiescence of the ب (IHb, Sn)], son of [Sa'd Ibn (IHb, IKb, ID, T)] Zaid Manāt [Ibn Tamīm (IHb, IKb, ID)], it is *orig.*, as IAl says, عَبُّ شَمْسٍ, i. e. حَبُّ, meaning *Sunlight*, the ع being substituted for the ح; or, as IAr says, عَبْدُ شَمْسٍ, meaning *Sun-like* (A).

§ 310. The word that indicates plurality, if it be a [collective] generic *n.*, like تَمْرٌ and ضَرْبٌ [254], or a *quasi-pl. n.*, like نَفَرٌ [below], رَهْطٌ, and إِبِلٌ, forms its *rel. n.* from its own expression, as تَمْرِيٌّ and إِبِلِيٌّ [296], whether the *quasi-pl. n.* have an expression of its own crude-form, applicable to its *sing.*, like رَكْبٌ, *sing.* رَاكِبٌ; or have not, like إِبِلٌ [257] (R). You say نَفَرٌ, *rel. n.* نَفَرِيٌّ, and رَهْطٌ, *rel. n.* رَهْطِيٌّ, because, if you said رَجُلِيٌّ [257], you would say وَاحِدِيٌّ as *rel. n.* of جَمْعٌ; whereas this is not said (S). The *pl.* forms its *rel. n.* from (1) its *sing.*, when the *sing.* is (a) regular, as كُتُبٌ [246, 256], *rel. n.* كِتَابِيٌّ (R, A); فَرَائِضُ *ordained portions, or shares, of inheritances*, [sing. فَرِيضَةٌ (Sn),] *rel. n.* فَرَضِيٌّ [below]; and قَلَانِسُ, [sing. قَلَانِسَةٌ (Sn),] *rel. n.* قَلَانِسِيٌّ (A), by elision of the , as the rule is when the *n.* contains a , fourth [301] (Sn): (a) they say صُحُفِيٌّ of a learner from صُحُفٍ books [246],

by analogy to ^{أَنْصَارِيٌّ} and ^{أَعْرَابِيٌّ} [below]: but, according to the BB, the correct [practice] is to throw the formation of the *rel. n.* on the *sing.* ^{صَحِيفَةٌ}, and say ^{صَحَفِيٌّ} [297], like ^{فَرَضِيٌّ} [above] from ^{فَرَائِضُ}, and ^{مِقْرَاضِيٌّ} from ^{مِقْرَاضُ} *shears, scissors* (D), *sing.* ^{مِقْرَاضٌ} (Jh, KF); while the people's sayings ^{فَرَائِضِيٌّ} [below], ^{كُنْتِيٌّ}; and ^{قَلَانِسِيٌّ} are wrong (A): (b) this, however, requires consideration in reference to the first, because, according to some of the learned, ^{الْفَرَائِضُ} *the science of the distribution of inheritances* belongs to the class of the proper name, like ^{أَنْصَارٌ} and ^{كَلَابٌ} explained below: nay, Syt says in the Ham' that some allow the *pl.* to form its *rel. n.* from its own expression unrestrictedly, i. e., whether it have a regular *sing.* of its own crude-form or not; and so explain the people's sayings ^{فَرَائِضِيٌّ} [above], ^{كُنْتِيٌّ}, and ^{قَلَانِسِيٌّ} (Sn): (c) IBr says "That the *pl.* does not form a *rel. n.* is the saying of the BB, and is the well-known [doctrine]; but the KK differ from them, allowing the *pl.* to form a *rel. n.* unrestrictedly (CD): (b) a *quasi-pl. n.*, as ^{نِسَاءٌ} [255], *rel. n.* ^{نِسْرِيٌّ}, because its *sing.* is ^{نِسْوَةٌ}, which is a *quasi-pl. n.* [21, 257]; and similarly ^{أَنْفَارٌ} *people* and ^{أَنْبَاطٌ} *Nabathæans*, *rel. ns.* ^{نَفَرِيٌّ} and ^{نَبْطِيٌّ}: (2) the *sing.* of its *sing.*, when its *sing.* is a *pl.* that has a *sing.*, as ^{أَكَالِبٌ} [256], *rel. n.* ^{كَلْبِيٌّ} (R): (a) the reason

why the *pl.* is restored to the *sing.* in the *rel. n.* is that the *sing.* is [lighter in expression, besides being (AArb)] the original [and most prevalent (R)] form (AArb, R), the *n.* related to being thus made to accord with the most prevalent form ; or, as is said, in order to make known that the *pl.* is not a proper name, since the *pl.* used as a name forms its *rel. n.* from its own expression, as مَدَائِنِي^٢ and كِلَابِي^٣ below (R) : (3) its own expression, when it [resembles a *sing.* in constitution : that includes four kinds, what (A),] (a) has no *sing.*, [regular or irregular, in use (R),] as عَبَادِيْدُ [255, 257], *rel. n.* عَبَادِيْدِي^٢ (R, A), because the disuse of its *sing.* makes it resemble such as قَوْمٌ [below] and رَهْطٌ [above], which have no *sing.* [257] (A) : S says (R), This is stronger than that I should originate something, which the Arabs do not say (S, R), even if it be regular, as عَبْدُوْدِي^٢ or عَبْدِيْدِي^٢ or عَبْدَادِي^٢ (R) : and similarly (a) اَعْرَابٌ [257] (R, Sn), *rel. n.* اَعْرَابِي^٢, because اَعْرَابٌ is a *pl.* that has no *sing.* of its own crude-form, عَرَبٌ not being its *sing.* now, since the اَعْرَابُ are the inhabitants of the desert, whereas عَرَبٌ is applied to the people of the desert and of civilized parts ; though اَعْرَابٌ appears to have been *orig. pl.* of عَرَبٌ, and to have afterwards become particular (R) ; while some say that اَعْرَابٌ is *pl.* of عَرَبٌ : (b) اَبَابِيْلُ [257] (Sn) : (b) has an

irregular *sing.* (R, A), as ¹مَلَامِح, *sing.* لَمَحَةٌ [286]; but this kind is disputed (A): AZ says that it [is like the first kind, and (A)] forms its *rel. n.* from its own expression, as [²مَلَامِحِي; and he relates that the Arabs say (A)] مَحَاسِنِي (R, A) from مَحَاسِن [255, 257] (A), and ²مَشَابِهِي and مَذَاكِيرِي (R): but others form its *rel. n.* from its *sing.*, even though it be irregular (R, A), saying ²لَمَحِي (A), like ²حُسْنِي, ²شَبَهِي, and ²ذَكَرِي (R); and IM follows that opinion in the rest of his books, expressing himself thus in the Tashil "The *pl.* of the anomalous is like the *pl.* of the regular, not like the *pl.* of the disused *sing.*, contrary to the opinion of AZ"; and here too his language admits of this interpretation (A): (c) is used as a [proper] name (R, A), in which case, (a) if it be a broken *pl.*, you form the *rel. n.* from that expression (R), as ⁹أَنَمَار, [a man's name (R),] and [similarly (R)] كِلَاب [and ⁹ضِبَاب (R)], مَدَائِن (R, A), the name of a town in Al-'Irāk (Sn), and مَعَاوِر (A), a sub-tribe of Kaḥṭān (Dh, LL), *rel. ns.* ²أَنَمَارِي [below], ²كِلَابِي [and ²ضِبَابِي (R)], مَدَائِنِي [below] (R, A), and مَعَاوِرِي; though sometimes the [broken] *pl.* used as a name is restored to the *sing.*, when there is no fear of ambiguity, as الْفَرَاهِيدُ, the proper name of a sub-tribe of Al-Azd, *rel. n.* فَرَاهِيدِي from its expression, or فَرَهَرْدِي from its *sing.*, because there is no fear of

ambiguity, since we have no clan named ^{أَلْفَرَهُودُ} (A) : (a) so say A and others : but Dm objects that ^{أَلْفَرَهُودُ} is transmitted by more than one Lexicologist as being *the lion's cub* and *the mountain-kid* [and *the lamb* (Akh)] ; while ambiguity results whenever there is a word ^{فَرَهُودُ} used to denote *another thing*, even if it be not *a clan*, since there is nothing to indicate that ^{فَرَهُودِي} relates to the clan, because it may relate to something else, and in that case the ambiguity remains : and the author of the Tsr. also objects that the Ṣahāḥ gives ^{أَلْفَرَهُودُ} [called also ^{أَلْفَرَاهِيدُ} (Mb, ID, Jh), whence Khl (Jh),] as *a sept* of Yaḥmad, which is a sub-tribe of AlAzd ; so that ambiguity does result (Sn) : (β) you say ^{فَرَاهِيدِي} (Akh, Jh) from *the tribe* (Akh), though Y used to say ^{فَرَهُودِي} (Jh) ; but only ^{فَرَهُودِي} from *the lambs* (Akh) : (b) if it be a sound *pl.*, then, as we have mentioned [295], the ^ا and ^ت are elided from the *pl. fem.*, as ^{ضَرَبَاتُ} a man's name, *rel. n.* ^{صَرَبِي} with Fath of the ع [240], because you do not restore it to its *sing.*, but only elide from it the ^ا and ^ت, contrary to ^{عَبَلِي} [below], which is pronounced with quiescence of the ^ب, because it is the *rel. n.* of the *sing.* : and similarly the ^و and ^ن are elided from the *pl. masc.*, when a proper name, if the ^ن be not made the seat of inflection ; but the *pl.* is not restored to the *sing.*, as ^{أَرْضُونَ} [below], *rel. n.* ^{أَرْضِي} with Fath of the ^ر (R) : (α) the *rel. ns.* of ^{تَمَرَاتُ} [240], ^{أَرْضُونَ}

[234, 255], and سُنُون [234, 236, 244], when these words remain *pls.*, are تَمَرِي [295], أَرْضِي; and سَنَهِي or سَنَوِي [306] (A), with quiescence of the ع in the first two, and Fath of the ف in the third, because the formation of the *rel. n.* restores the *pl.* to the *sing.* (Sn); but, when they are proper names, the ع must be pronounced with Fath in the first two, and the ف with Kasr in the third (A): and similarly the *rel. ns.* of سِدْرَات and غُرَفَات [240], when these words remain *pls.*, are سِدْرِي and غُرْفِي with quiescence; but, when they are proper names, are سِدْرِي, like إِبْلِي [296], and غُرْفِي: so in the Ham' : (β) this is when you inflect [أَرْضُونَ or سُنُون as a *pl.* (Sn): whereas, if you make the ن the seat of inflection [236] (R, Sn), as in حِينَ (Sn), nothing is elided from the *n.*, as before stated [295] (R); [but] you form its *rel. n.* from its expression, as سِنِينِي, because, being then *sing.* in form, *pl.* in sense, it becomes like قَوْم [above] (Sn): (d) is so prevalently applied that it is treated as a proper name, like الْأَنْصَارُ the *Auxiliaries*, [who were AlAus and Al-Khazraj (ID),] *rel. n.* أَنْصَارِي; and الْأَبْنَاءُ the *Sons*, who were certain clans of the Banū Sa'd Ibn Zaid Manāt Ibn Tamīm, *rel. n.* أَبْنَاوِي [below] (A). As for الرِّبَابُ *ArRibāb* [309], vid. [five clans (R),] Dabba, 'Ukl, Taim, Thaur, and 'Adi, who, forming a confederacy, became

one power, [and were then called **الْأَرْبَابُ** *the Parties* (A),] because [the *sing.*, which is (R, Sn)] **رَبَّةٌ**, [like **قُبَّةٌ** *a dome or cupola*, *pl.* **قُبَابٌ** (R),] means *a party* [of men (R)], its *rel. n.* is (1) **رَبِّي** (R, A), (a) because **الْأَرْبَابُ** is not a name for one [individual] (A), but for a collection of five clans; so that it resembles what does not become a proper name, but remains a *pl.*, and is therefore treated as such (Sn); for, when you form the *rel. n.* of a *pl.*, you restore it to the *sing.*, as **مَسَاجِدُ**, *rel. n.* **مَسْجِدِي** [294], unless you make it a name for [one individual or object, like] a man, in which case you do not restore it to the *sing.*, as **أَنْبَارٌ**, *rel. n.* **أَنْبَارِي**, and **كِلَابٌ**, *rel. n.* **كِلَابِي** [above] (Jh): but this is open to the objection that **الْأَرْبَابُ** is then of the fourth kind, like **الْأَنْصَارُ** and **الْأَبْنَاءُ**; so that they ought to say **رَبَابِي**, like **أَنْصَارِي** and **أَبْنَارِي** (Sn): (2) **رَبَابِي**, formed from the expression of the *pl.*, like **مَدَائِنِي** [above], because **رَبَابٌ** is literally on the measure of a *sing.*; and because, being prevalently applied to a collection of specified *parties*, out of those to whom it is lexicologically applicable, it becomes like a proper name. And, as for **أَبْنَارِي** *rel. n.* of **الْأَبْنَاءُ** [above], who are *the Sons* of Sa'd Ibn Zaid Manāt, and **أَنْصَارِي** *rel. n.* of **الْأَنْصَارُ** [above], they are so formed because of the prevalence of application just mentioned,

and because the expression **أَفْعَالٌ** resembles the *sing.* so strongly that S even calls it a *sing.* [146, 256]. One may, however, say that the **ي** in **أَنْصَارِيٌّ** [above], **أَبْنَارِيٌّ**, and **رِبَابِيٌّ** denotes *unity*, as in **رُومِيٌّ** [294], not *relation*, for which reason it may be affixed to the *pl.*; so that, if you afterwards say, e. g., **ثَوَابٌ أَنْصَارِيٌّ** an *Anṣārī recompense* and **فَتَى أَبْنَارِيٌّ** or **رِبَابِيٌّ** an *Abnāwī*, or a *Ribābī*, youth, the *rel. n.* is formed from these *sings.* by elision of the **ي** of unity, as the *rel. n.* of **كُرْسِيٌّ** is formed by elision of the **ي** [303], the *rel. n.* being then uniform with the *n.* related to. But an objection may be raised that the **ي** of unity also *orig.* denotes *relation*, because **رَذَجِيٌّ** [253, 294] means *a person related to this collection by being one of them*; so that it is not excluded from the essence of *relation*, although the sense of *unity* supervenes upon it: and, according to this, the excuse for the affixion of the **ي** to these [*pl.*] *ns.* is what was first stated. The *rel. n.* of **أَبْنَاءُ فَارِسَ** the *Sons of the Persians* [or **أَبْنَاءُ الْفَرَسِ** (Dh, LL)], who [settled in Al-Yaman out of the force furnished by the Kisrā, which (Dh)] accompanied [Abu Murra (Tr)] Saif Ibn Dhī Yazan [alHimyari (Tr)] to [the kingdom of the Abyssinians in (Dh)] AlYaman, [and then drove out the Abyssinians from AlYaman (Dh).] is (1) **بَنَوِيٌّ** [306],

according to analogy, notwithstanding that they are a particular collection, like the Sons of Sa'd Ibn Zaid Manāt [above] (R): (2) أَبْنَارِيٌّ, whence [the Follower (Nw, TH) Abū 'Abd ArRaḥmān (Nw, IHjr, TH)] Ṭā'ūs (Dh, LL) Ibn Kaisān (LL) alFārisi (IHjr) alYamanī alḤimyarī (Nw, IHjr, TH), their freedman (Nw, IHjr), or, as is said, alHamdānī, their freedman (Nw); and [the Follower (Nw, TH) Abū 'Abd Allāh (Nw, IHjr, TH)] Wahb Ibn Munabbih alAbnāwī (Dh) alYamanī (Nw, IHjr, TH) aṣṢan'ānī (TH) adhDhīmārī (Nw, TH). The *rel. n.* of الْعَبْلَاتُ the 'Ablas [240], vid. Umayya the younger, 'Abd Umayya, [who died when he was eight years old (IKb),] and Naufal, [three of the (IKb)] sons of 'Abd Shams [Ibn 'Abd Manāf (IKb)], is عَبْلِيٌّ with quiescence of the ب [above], because each of them is named عَبْلَةٌ after his mother, [a slave-girl called (Jh, KF)] 'Abla Bint Ubaid, of the Banū Tamīm, and afterwards the *pl.* is formed. The *rel. n.* of الْمَهَالِبَةُ and الْمَسَامِعَةُ [253] is مَهْلَبِيٌّ and مَسْعِيٌّ, because you restore them to their *sing.*, elide the ي of relation that is in the *sing.*, and then form the *rel. n.* [303]. Or it may be said that every one of them is named مَهْلَبٌ and مَسْعٌ after his ancestor, and then the *pl.* is formed [253], as every one of the 'Ablas is named after his ancestress, and then the *pl.* is formed; so that مَهْلَبِيٌّ is the *rel. n.* of the *sing.*, which is مَهْلَبٌ, not مَهْلَبِيٌّ [253] (R).

§ 311. Whatever [*rel. n.* (IA, A)] contravenes the preceding [rules (A)] is anomalous (SH, IA, Aud, A), to be remembered, not copied (IA, A). IH here indicates what contains the irregular alterations [294] (Jrb). This irregularity is of several kinds, as deviation from a heavy to a lighter form, distinction between two things denoted by one expression, and assimilation to some thing having the same meaning (IY). Many expressions occur contravening the rules for the formation of the *rel. n.* (R). Some of these [expressions (A)] have been mentioned before (R, Jrb, A) in the course of the chapter (A), like جَدْمِي [297] and قُرَشِي [299]; and we now mention the rest (R). The following are *exs.* of the irregular alterations (S, M, Jrb):—they say (1) بَصْرِي (S, M, R, IA, Aud, A), with Kasr (IY, R, Aud, A) of the ب (IY, R, A), from أَبْصَرَةُ *AlBaṣra* (S, IA, A), because أَبْصَرَةُ is so named on account of some [soft (Bk)] white stones called بَصْرَةٌ and بَصْرٌ (IY, R), which are found in AlMirbad, [one of the best known Wards of AlBaṣra (MI),] and of which *gypsum* is made (IY); and, since بَصْرَةٌ, before its use as a proper name, is pronounced with Kasr of the ب when the ة is elided, while in the *rel. n.* the ة is elided [295], therefore in the *rel. n.* the ب is pronounced with Kasr: or, as is said, the ب is pronounced with Kasr in the *rel. n.* for alliteration to the Kasr of the , (R): (a) by rule the ب should

be pronounced with Fatḥ (IY, R), which also is allowable (R) : (2) ^٢بَدَوِي [302] (S, M, R, Jr̄b, Aud), from ^٢الْبَدْوُ *the desert*, by rule quiescent in the ع, but pronounced with Fatḥ in order to be like ^٢حَضَرِي, which is its correlative (R) ; [or] from ^٢الْبَادِيَةُ *the desert* (S, IY, Jr̄b), by elision of the ا (Aud), by rule ^٢بَادِي or ^٢بَادَوِي, like the *rel. ns.* of قَامِي and ^٢قَامِيَّة [301], but made to accord with its *opp.* ^٢حَضَرِي from ^٢الْحَضَرُ *civilized parts* (IY) : (3) ^٢عَلَوِي (S, M, R), from ^٢الْعَالِيَةُ (S, IY, R), certain places in the countries of the Arabs, vid. AlHijāz and the adjoining parts (IY), [or] a place near AlMadīna (R) ; making it accord with the *rel. n.* of its *opp.* ^٢السُّفْلُ [below] (IY), as though it were the *rel. n.* of ^٢الْعُلُو, which is *the high place*, *opp.* of ^٢السُّفْلُ *the low place*, since the Āliya mentioned is a high place ; so that it is used as the *rel. n.* of ^٢الْعَالِيَةُ by syllepsis, the regular form being ^٢عَالِي or ^٢عَالَوِي [301] (R) : (4) ^٢دَهْرِي (S, M, R, IA, Aud, A), with Damm (R, Aud, A) of the د (R, A), said of a *very old man* (IY, Aud), from ^٢دَهْر *time, an age* (S, IA, A), to distinguish it from ^٢دَهْرِي (IY, R) with Fatḥ (IY), said of a kind of *infidel* (R), one who asserts the eternity of time, and does not believe in the resurrection (IY) ; and ^٢سُهْلِي (S, M, R, A), with Damm of the س (R, A),

from سَهْلٌ *smooth ground* (S, IY, R, A), opp. of حَزَنٌ *rough ground*, to distinguish it from [سَهْلِيٌّ with Fatḥh (IY),] the *rel. n.* of سَهْلٌ *Sahl*, a man's name (IY, R) : (5) مَرَوِيٌّ (R, Jrb, IA, Aud, A), from مَرَوٌ *Marv* (R, Jrb, IA, A), by addition of the و (Aud) : (a) this is said of a *man* ; but they say مَرَوِيٌّ, according to rule, of a *cloth*, as though they made a distinction between man and other objects (Jrb) : (6) رَايِيٌّ from أَرَايِيٌّ *ArRayy* (R, Jrb, A) : (7) طَائِيٌّ [298] (S, M), from طَايِيٌّ (S), and دَاوِيٌّ from دَوٌ [302], converting the ي and و into ا, because they are preceded by a letter pronounced with Fatḥh, although they are quiescent [684] (IY) : (8) أَمَوِيٌّ [299] (S, M, Aud, A), heard [by us (S)] from some of the Arabs (S, IY), with Fatḥh (IY, Aud, A) of the Hamza, from أُمَيَّةٌ *Umayya* (IY, A), as though they restored it to the *non-dim.*, because أُمَيَّةٌ is *dim.* of أَمَةٌ *a handmaid*, orig. أَمَوَةٌ, the و being elided for lightness ; and أَمَوِيٌّ also, which is the regular form (IY) : (9) طَهْرِيٌّ, [with quiescence of the ه (R),] from طَهِيَّةٌ (S, R), a sub-tribe of Tamīm (LL) ; and طَهْرِيٌّ with Fatḥh of the ط, and quiescence of the ه, which is more anomalous (R) ; and طَهْرِيٌّ, according to rule (S, R), like [قَرَبَشِيٌّ in] بَكَلٍ قَرَبَشِيٍّ أَلْح [below] (S) : (10) ثَقَفِيٌّ [299] (S, M, R), from ثَقِيفٌ (S, IY, MAR),



the father of a clan of Hawāzin (IY, MAR), which is anomalous, according to S, by rule ثَقِيفِيّ²; but is the *dial.* of some of the Arabs in Tihāma and its vicinity, among whom [such a formation as] that is so frequent as to be almost regular (IY): (11) خَرْنِيّ² (M, R), from خَرِيف² autumn (R), said of a young animal when brought forth in the time of autumn (IY), like ثَقِفِيّ² (IY, R) from ثَقِيف² [299] (R); and خَرْنِيّ² [with quiescence of the ر (IY)], which is more frequent in their language than خَرِيفِيّ² (S, IY) and خَرْنِيّ², though خَرِيفِيّ² is the regular form (IY): (a) those who say خَرْنِيّ² [either (S)] form it from [the *inf. n.* (IY)] خَرَفَ (S, IY), from خَرَفَتِ الرُّطَبُ meaning *I gathered the fresh ripe dates in this time* (IY); or form خَرِيف² upon the measure فَعْل (S): (b) similarly [خَرْنِيّ² is said of] every thing relating to autumn, as مَطَرُ خَرْنِيّ² autumnal rain and فَاكِهَةٌ خَرْفِيَّةٌ² autumn fruit (IY): (12) هُدَيْلِيّ² [299] (S, M, R) and قُرَشِيّ² (M, R), from هُدَيْل (S, IY, R) and قُرَيْش, by rule, according to S, هُدَيْلِيّ² (IY), whence

هُدَيْلِيَّةٌ تَدْعُو إِذَا هِيَ فَاخَرَتْ * أَبَا هُدَيْلِيٍّ مِنْ غَطَارِفَةٍ نَجْدِ
(M) *A Hudhaili maid that calls, when she boasts, upon a Hudhaili sire come of valiant chiefs, the ج of نَجْدِ pl. of نَجِيد² being made quiescent by poetic license (AAz), and قُرَيْشِيّ², whence*

بِكُلِّ قُرَيْشِي عَلَيْهِ مَهَابَةٌ * سَرِيعٌ إِلَى دَاْعَى الْاَنْدَى وَالْتَّكْرُمِ

With every Kuraishī, on whom is dignity, swift to satisfy the claim of liberality and generosity [above] (IY): and فُقَيْمٌ ² and مُلَيْحِي ² [299] from the [clan (IY)] فُقَيْمٌ of [the Banū Mālik Ibn (IKb)] Kināna, [who were the post-poners of the months (IY) in the time of heathenism (KF),] and the مُلَيْحِ of Khuzā'a (S, M, R), because the *rel. n.* of Fuḳaim Ibn Jarīr Ibn Dārīm among [the Banū (IY)] Tamīm is فُقَيْمِي ², [according to rule (R),] and of Mulaiḥ Ibn [AlHaun or (ID)] AlHūn [Ibn Khuzaima (R), among AlHaun Ibn Khuzaima (IHb),] is مُلَيْحِي ² (IY, R), according to rule, and similarly of Mulaiḥ Ibn 'Amr Ibn Rabi'a in AsSakūn, and the intention is to distinguish them all: (a) Sf says "This *cat.*, according to me, by reason of its frequency, is quasi-regular; and that is among the Arabs in Tihāma and its vicinity exclusively, because they say قُرَيْشِي ² and هُدَالِي ², and فُقَيْمِي ² and مُلَيْحِي ²" (R): and [similarly (R)] they say سَلِيمِي ² [299] and خُثَيْمِي ² from سَلِيم ² and خُثَيْم ² (IY, R), and قُرْمِي ² [299] and حُرْمِي ² from قُرَيْم ² and حُرَيْث ², who are of Hudhail; and all of these are neighbours in Tihāma and its vicinity (R): (13) سَلِيمِي ² [297] and عَمِيرِي ² from the سَلِيمَة of AlAzd and the عَمِيرَة of Kalb, and سَلِيقِي ² from سَلِيقَة nature (M, R), said of a man who speaks [grammatically (IY)]

by nature (IY, R), without being taught (MN); and recites the *Kur'ān* in the same way, without following the Readers in the readings transmitted by them, as

وَلَسْتُ بِنَحْوِي يَلُوكُ لِسَانَهُ * وَلَكِنْ سَلِيْقِي أَتَوَلُّ فَأَعْرَبُ

[*And I am not a grammarian, who mumbles his tongue; but a natural speaker—I speak, and speak grammatically* (MN)] i (a) this means that, if there be among the

Arabs a *سَلِيْمَة* in any tribe other than *AlAzd*, and an *عَمِيْرَة* in any tribe other than *Kalb*, or, if a person, tribe,

or anything else be now named *سَلِيْمَة* or *عَمِيْرَة*, you say *سَلِيْ* and *عَمْرِي*; according to rule, what is anomalous

being the *rel. n.* of *سَلِيْمَة* a clan of *AlAzd*, and *عَمِيْرَة* a clan of *Kalb*, as though they intended to distinguish between these two clans and the *سَلِيْمَة* and *عَمِيْرَة* of other

folk (R): (14) *خَزِيْبِي* from *خَزِيْبَة* *Khuzai'ba* (M, R), a clan (IY, R), by rule *خَزِيْ* (IY), the intention being to

make a distinction, as we mentioned, since a place named *خَزِيْبَة* also occurs (R); and [similarly (R)] *رِمَاحٌ رُدَيْنِيَّةٌ*

Rudainī spears [297], from *رُدَيْنَة* *Rudaina*, wife of *Samhar* (IY, R), or *AsSamharī* (Jh), in relation to whom *spears* are called (R), because both of them used to straighten *spears* [in *Khatt Hajar* (Jh)]: (a) this anomaly is contrary to *تَقْفِي* and *هُدَلِي*, because there the *ي* is elided, when the indication requires its retention;

while here the *ى* is retained, when the indication requires its elision : and the reason is that each of them is made to accord with the other by assimilation (IY) : (15) زَبَانِيّ (15) from زَبِينَة (S, M, R), a clan of Bāhila, by rule زَبْنِيّ (IY, R), like حَنْفِيّ [297] (R) : (a) this admits of two explanations, either that, since the rule is to elide the *ى* together with the *ة* of femininization, they imagine it to have dropped off, and pronounce the *ب* with Fath, and then convert the *ى* into *ا* because of the Fatha before it, as in طَائِيّ [above]; or that they implete the Fatha of the *ب*, so that an *ا* is produced after it, as in بَيْنَا [497], whence بَيْنَا بَعْنُ بَرْقَبَةُ الْحِمْيَرِ [204], and in آمِينَ [187] (IY) : (16) عَبْدِيّ [with Damm of the ع (S)], from عَبِيدَة, [a tribe of 'Adi (S, IY, R),] and, [we have been told by a trustworthy person (S, R), says S (R),] جَدْمِيّ [with Damm of the ج (S, R)], from جَذِيْبَة (S, M, R) of 'Abd AlKais; by rule, according to me, عَبْدِيّ and جَدْمِيّ with Fath of the ع and ج, like حَنْفِيّ [297]; but pronounced with Damm, as though they sought (IY) to distinguish between those two clans and other persons named عَبِيدَة and جَذِيْبَة (IY, R) : (a) those who say عَبْدِيّ and جَدْمِيّ with Damm, as though formed from *dims.*, are few, the pronunciation often met with being Fath (IY) : (17) حَبْصِيَّة

(S, IY, R), with Fath of the م (IY, R), said of camels when they eat حَبْصٌ salt plants; but حَبْصِيَّةٌ is better (S, IY) and more regular, and is more frequent in their language (S): (a) Mb says that حَبْصٌ and حَبْصٌ are said; and, [if what he says be true, then (IY), according to this (R),] حَبْصِيَّةٌ is (IY, R) regular (IY), not anomalous (R): (18) طَلَاحِيَّةٌ, [with Damm of the ط (R),] said of camels browsing on the طَلْمُح [254] (S, R); and formed on the measure فُعَالِي, because this is an intensive formation in the *rel. n.*, like اُنْفِي, as explained below: and طَلَاحِيَّةٌ, with Kasr of the ط, from the *pl.* [254], like عِصَاهِي from عِصَاهُ *pl.* of عِصَةٌ a great thorn-tree (R): (a) some say that عِصَاهِي is from عِصَاهَةٌ [i. q. عِصَةٌ (R)], the *n. un.* of عِصَاهُ, like قَتَادَةٌ a tragacanth tree and قَتَادٌ tragacanth trees (S, R); but عِصَاهَةٌ is seldom used (R): (b) those who hold the *pl.* of عِصَةٌ to be عِصْرَاتٌ, and the departed letter to be و, say عِصْرِي [306]; but those who hold عِصَاهُ to be like مِيَاهُ, and the *n. un.* to be عِصَاهَةٌ, say عِصَاهِي: (19) قَفِي from قَفَا [300] (S): (20) اُنْفِي, [transmitted by ANB (Jh), with Fath (IY, R) of the Hamza and ف (R),] from اُنْفٌ region, horizon or اُنْفٌ (S, IY, R), which is contracted from اُنْفٌ, like عُنُقٌ from عُنُقٌ neck: (a) they allow اُنْفِي (R) because نُعَلٌ and نُعَلٌ

are often associated, as in عَجَم and عَجَم foreigners, عَرَب and عَرَب Arabs (IY, R), and سَقَم and سَقَم sickness (R) : (b) some say [أَفْقَى or (S)] أَفْقَى, [either of (S)] which is regular (S, IY), because the second of فَعَلَ may be made quiescent regularly, universally [246] (IY) : (21) حَبْلِي from the بَنُو الْحَبْلِي, [a tribe (IY, R, A)] of the Anṣār (S, IY, R, A), whose ancestor [Sālim Ibn Ghanm Ibn 'Auf Ibn AlKhazraj (SR, Dh)] was named الْحَبْلِي the pregnant, because of the bigness of his belly (IY, R, A), whence [the enemy of God (SR),] 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ubayy [alKhazrajī, called (Nw)] Ibn Salūl, [Salūl being his mother (ID, Nw, Sn),] the hypocrite (A), or, as in A's handwriting (Sn), the chief of the hypocrites (ID, Nw, Sn) : (a) حَبْلِي is pronounced with Fath of the ب (IY, R, A), as though (IY) for distinction (IY, R) from the *rel. n.* of the حَبْلِي woman [300] (R) : (22) شَتَوِي, [with quiescence of the ب (R), and شَتَوِي (Jh, KF), like خَرَفِي and خَرَفِي (Jh),] from شِتَاء winter (S, IY, R), as though from شَتْرَة (IY) i. q. شِتَاء (KF) : (a) شِتَاء is said [by Mb (R)] to be *pl.* of شَتْرَة, like مِصْحَاف *pl.* of مِصْحَف a bowl (IY, R), and قِصَاع *pl.* of قِصْعَة [238] (IY) ; and, according to this, شَتَوِي is regular, because in the *rel. n.* the *pl.* is restored to the *sing.* [310] (IY, R) ; but his saying is invalidated by the unrestricted applicability of شِتَاء

wherever ²شَتْوَةٌ is applicable (R): (23) ²صَنْعَانِي [from ²صَنْعَاءَ (S, IY, R), a city in AlYaman (R)], and [similarly (IY)] ²بَهْرَانِي and ²رَوَّحَانِي from ²بَهْرَاءَ, [a clan of Kudā'a (S, IY, R),] and ²رَوَّحَاءَ (S, M, R), a place near AlMadīna (R): (a) Y told us that (S) some of the Arabs say [²صَنْعَارِي (IY),] ²بَهْرَاوِي, and ²رَوَّحَاوِي (S, IY), which are the regular forms [304] (IY); but ²رَوَّحَاوِي is more often used (S, IY) than ²بَهْرَاوِي (S): (b) the conversion of the Hamza into ن, [although anomalous (R),] is explained by the resemblance of the two ʾs of femininization to the ʾ and ن [250] (IY, R): (24) ²دَسْتَوَانِي, [with Damm of the ن (LL), and ²دَسْتَوَانِي (KF),] from ²دَسْتَوَا (S, R), with abbreviation (KF), a town of Al'Irāk, by rule ²دَسْتَوِي [300] (Bk): (25) ²جَلُولِي and ²حَرُورِي (S, M, R, Aud, A), from ²جَلُولَاءَ [246] and ²حَرُورَاءَ [273] (S, M, R, A), two places (R, A) in Al'Irāk (R), eliding the ʾ and Hamza (IY, R, Aud), on account of the length of the n., by assimilation of the two ʾs to the ʾ of femininization (IY, R): (a) the regular form is ²جَلُولَاوِي and ²حَرُورَاوِي, like ²حَبْرَاوِي [304] (IY): (b) the ²حَرُورِيَّةُ are schismatics, who were so named by the Commander of the Believers, 'Alī (peace be upon him!), when they settled at Harūrā on seceding from him (R): (26) ²خُرَاسِي and ²خُرْسِي (S, M, R, A), from ²خُرَّاسَانُ (S, IY,

A), assimilating the **ا** and **ن** [at its end either (IY)] to [the **ا** of feminization, which is sometimes assimilated to (R)] the **ا** of feminization (IY, R), and is therefore elided, although its elision is anomalous, as in **جَلَوِيٌّ** and **حَرَوِيٌّ** [above] (R); or to the augment of the *du.*, and therefore eliding them (IY): while those who say **خُرْسِيٌّ** elide all the *augs.* (IY, R), and make the **و** quiescent (R), forming the *n.* upon the measure **فَعْلٌ** (IY), for the sake of lightness (R): (27) **بَحْرَانِيٌّ** (S, M, R, A), from **أَلْبَحْرَيْنِ** [236] (IY, R, A), when its **ن** is made the seat of inflection, in which case neither the **ن** nor the **ا** of the *du.* is elided [296]; as though it were from **أَلْبَحْرَانُ** [236], because this is the regular form, although seldom used; by rule **بَحْرَيْنِيٌّ** (R): (a) Khl asserts that they form **أَلْبَحْرُ** upon the measure **فَعْلَانُ** (S): (b) by rule they should say **بَحْرِيٌّ** (S, IY), eliding the sign of the *du.* [296]; but, disliking ambiguity, they distinguish between the *rel. n.* of **بَحْرُ**, which is **بَحْرِيٌّ**, and the *rel. n.* of **أَلْبَحْرَانِ**, because AlBahrain is itself a place (IY), on the shore of the sea (MI), between AlBaṣra and 'Umān (Bk, ZJ, MI, LL): (28) **هِنْدَوَانِيٌّ** *Indian*, with Kasr or Damm of the **ا**, from **أَلْهِنْدُ** *India*, said of a sword (Jrb), the **ا** being pronounced with Damm by alliteration to the **د** (Jh): (29) **أَزَلِيٌّ** *existing from eternity*, [this word being

orig. (Jh, KF), as some of the learned mention (Jh),] *rel. n.* from لَمْ يَزَلْ *He has not ceased*, [said of the Ancient (Jh),] by abridgment: for they say يَزَلِي; and then substitute an † for the ي [683], saying أَزَلِي, [for the sake of lightness (KF),] as they say أَزْنِي [of a spear (Jh, KF)] from ذُو يَزِين the name of a king (Jrb), and أَثَرِي [296] of a blade (Jh): (30) ثَلَاثِي from ثَلَاثَة *three*, not from ثَلَات [18, 325.A], because the meaning is not *related to three each*, but *related to three*; and similarly رُبَاعِي, خُمَاسِي, and the others: (31) عَبَشِي [309], تِهَامِي, and شَامِي [294], يَمَانِي (31): (31) عَبَشِي, and عَبَشِي (S, R, A), which have no fourth (R), from أَلْيَمَن *AlYaman*, الشَّام *Syria*, and تِهَامَة *Tihāma* (S, A), but all pronounced with Fath of the initial (A); *orig.* يَمَنِي [256], شَامِي (R, Sn), and تِهَامِي, because أَلْتِهَم is *Tihāma* (R), [or] تِهَامِي with Kasr of the ت (Sn): (a) one of the two ي s of relation is elided; and, [as Khl asserts (S),] the † is put as a compensation for it (S, R, Sn) in all three (R), [or only] in the first two, and the Fatha of the ت in the third, where putting the † as a compensation would lead to a combination of two † s, one of which would have to be elided, so that there would then be no sense in putting it as a compensation (Sn): (b) you may say يَمَنِي [and شَامِي, according to rule (R),] and تِهَامِي (S, R),

with Kasr of the ت (S), from تَهَامَةٌ (R); and Akh asserts that he heard some of the Arabs say شَامِيَّ (S): (c) some say يَمَانِيَّ and شَامِيَّ (S, R, Sn) and تَهَامِيَّ (S), anomalously (Sn), (α) because they combine the compensation and original (R, Sn); though that, says Dm, quoting IUK, occurs only in poetry (Sn); while an instance of the anomalous form is the saying of 'Umar Ibn Abi Rabi'a

إِنِّي أُتِيكَتُ لِي يَمَانِيَّةٌ * إِحْدَى بَنِي الْكَارِثِ مِنْ مَذْحِجٍ

Verily for me was a Yamānī maid designed, one of the Banu-l-Hārith, of Madhḥij (D): or (b) because these rel.

ns. are, as it were, formed from the rel. ns. يَمَانٍ and شَامٍ [and تَهَامٍ] by elision of the ي of relation, but not of its ا; since they are not deemed heavy, as the rel. n. of the n. containing the double ي would be deemed, if the ي were not elided [303]; while the meaning of يَمَانٍ and شَامٍ [and تَهَامٍ] in this case is [a place] belonging to *Al Yaman* and *Syria* [and *Tihāma*], the thing being then declared to relate to this place: or (c) because the ا in يَمَانِيَّ [and تَهَامِيَّ] is for impletion [497], as in

يَنْبَاعُ مِنْ ذِفْرِي غَضُوبٍ جَسْرَةٌ * زَيَافَةٌ مِثْلُ الْفَنِيقِ الْمَكْدَمِ

[by 'Antara, *That flows from the projecting bone behind the ear of an enraged bulky she-camel, stepping proudly, like the pampered stallion bitten by the stallions* (EM, AKB), meaning يَنْبَعُ (IK, EM, AKB)]; while شَامِيَّ is

made to accord therewith (R) : (d) IBr says that الشَّامُ with prolongation is a *dial. var.* of الشَّامُ, as in شَفَى اللَّهُ مَرَضِي بِالشَّامِ فَأَنْتَنِي * عَلَى كُلِّ شَاكٍ بِالشَّامِ شَفِيقٌ by the Majnūn of 'Āmir, *God heal sick persons in Syria ! For verily I am moved by compassion for every person ailing in Syria*; and then cites other well known verses : for it has three *dial. vars.*, the chastest of which is الشَّامُ with the quiescent Hamza, then الشَّامُ with the Hamza converted into ا, then الشَّامُ with prolongation ; and all of them have been heard (CD) : (32) جَمَانِي having a long جَمَّةٌ head of hair [below], لِحْيَانِي having a long لِحْيَةٌ beard, رَقَبَانِي having a thick رَقَبَةٌ neck (S, IY, A) and شَعْرَانِي having much شَعْرٌ hair (A) on the head (LL), adding the ا and ن to denote intensiveness (IY) : while Akh asserts that he heard some of the Arabs say رُوحَانِي spiritual of the Angels and the Jinn; and that the Arabs say it of every thing containing رُوحٌ a soul or spirit [below], whether men, beasts, or Jinn (S). Some of these expressions are more anomalous than others (A), from the violence or multiplicity of the irregular alteration : for مَرُورِي is more anomalous than بَصْرِي, since alteration by a consonant is more violent than alteration by a vowel ; and رَقَبَانِي is more anomalous than either, since the alteration in it is by the addition of two consonants (Sn). If these ns. be used as [proper (R)] names.

(S, IY, R) in any case other than this (S, IY), where we have mentioned that their *rel. ns.* are anomalous (IY), [i. e.] when they are either not proper names already (R), like ^{دَهْرٌ} [and ^{طَلْحٌ} (R)], or [when they are applied to denote something other than what they denoted at first (R),] like ^{زَيْنَةٌ} when a name (S, IY, R) for a man (S, IY), [e. g.] for a son of yours (R), you form their *rel. ns.* according to rule, [and do not use the anomalous forms (IY),] as ^{دَهْرِيٌّ} (S, IY, R) and ^{طَلْحِيٌّ} (R), not ^{دُهْرِيٌّ} (S), because they say ^{دُهْرِيٌّ} [only (IY)] of the man (S, IY) advanced in years (S), whose life is long, and over whom ages pass (IY); and as ^{زَيْنِيٌّ} (S, IY, R), not ^{زَبَانِيٌّ} (S, IY), because they use the anomalous form [only] in the case of the tribe called ^{زَيْنَةٌ} (IY); and similarly, when you remove ^{ثَقِيفٌ} from this case, you say ^{ثَقِيفِيٌّ} (S): for these *ns.* are anomalous [only] in the cases mentioned; while making them proper names for what you intend is a secondary application of them, so that in this application they revert to the regular form. The two *ى* s of relation are sometimes affixed to the names of *parts of the body*, to indicate their *bigness*, they being then either upon the measure ^{فَعَالٌ}, like ^{أُنَانِيٌّ} [above] for the *big in the* ^{أَنْفٌ} nose; or augmented at their end by an *ʔ* and *ن*, like

لَحْيَانِي, رَقَبَانِي, and جَمَانِي [above]. These two formations, however, are not regular; but are confined to hearsay (R). They say فَاكِهَانِي [fruit-seller (CD)], بَاتِلَانِي; and سِسْمَانِي for the *rel. ns.* of فَاكِهَةٌ fruit, بَاتِلٌ beans, and سِسْمٌ sesame: but in this they mistake, because the Arabs affix the ل and ن in the *rel. n.* to only a limited member of *ns.*, in which these two letters are added to denote *intensiveness*, as رَقَبَانِي [above], لَحْيَانِي, and جَمَانِي; and as رُوحَانِي [with Damm (CD)] from رُوح [above], رَبَّانِي [from رَبُّ a master (CD)], said of him that رَبُّ masters learning, and صَيْدَلَانِي or صَيْدَنَانِي druggist from صَيْدَل or صَيْدَن, *orig. silver ore*, and afterwards made a name for *drugs*: and the proper way is to say فَاكِهِي [312], بَاتِلِي, and سِسْمِي (D). Such *rel. ns.* are used only in the sense in which the Arabs use them (IY); and, when you do not mean that, they are treated like their counterparts, which do not contain that sense (S); so that the *rel. n.* of the رَقَبَةُ neck itself is only رَقَبِي cervical (IY). And, [when these *ns.* are used as names, their *rel. ns.* revert to the regular form, since *intensiveness* is then not intended: so that (R),] from [جُمَّة (S),] لَحْيَةٍ, [or رَقَبَةٍ (S), when a name (S, IY) for a country or a man (IY)], you say [only (IY) جَمِي

(S),] لَبِئِي (S, IY, R), according to (IY, R) Khl (R) [and] S (IY), or لَحَوِي (S, IY, R), according to Y [302] (IY, R), and رَقَبِي, because the sense is altered (S).

§ 312. What contains the sense of relation is sometimes formed upon the measure (1) فَعَالٌ, as بَتَّاتٌ *a maker or seller, of cloaks* [below], عَوَّاجٌ *a dealer in ivory*, ثَوَّابٌ *a clothier*, [بَرَّازٌ *a draper* (IY),] جَمَّالٌ *an owner, or attendant, of camels*, [حَمَّارٌ *an owner of asses*, صَرَّافٌ *a money-changer*, which are innumerable, like عَطَّارٌ *a perfumer* and نَقَّاشٌ *a decorator or engraver* (IY)]; or (2) فَاعِلٌ, as لَابِنٌ *a possessor of milk*, تَامِرٌ *a possessor of dried dates*, دَارِعٌ *a possessor of a coat of mail*, نَابِلٌ *a possessor of arrows*, [نَاشِبٌ *a possessor of* نَشَابٌ *arrows*, سَالِحٌ *a possessor of a weapon*, and فَارِسٌ *a possessor of a horse* (IY)]; without affixion of the two ي s (M) of relation (IY). And فَعِلٌ is [sometimes (IA, Aud)] accepted, with فَاعِلٌ and فَعَالٌ, as a substitute for the ي (IM) of relation, as طَعِمٌ *well-off for food* (IA, Aud, A), لَبِسٌ *having plenty of clothing* (IA, A), عَمِلٌ *doing much work* [below] (A), كَبِنٌ *having plenty of milk*, and نَهَرَ [below] (Aud). فَاعِلٌ here is not participial, but is a n. formed to denote *possessor of the thing*; for you do not

say دَرَعَ (IY, Jrb), nor لَبِنَ (IY), nor تَمَرَ (Jrb). But, if any of these things be [the material or implement of] a craft or trade, and [of] a livelihood, in which its possessor is continually engaged, its *rel. n.* is فَعَالٌ, like كَبَّانٌ and نَبَّارٌ for the seller of milk and dried dates, and نَبَّالٌ for the shooter with arrows (IY). The poet [AlḤuṭai'a (S, IY)] says

*
وَوَرَّرْتَنِي وَزَعَمْتَ أَنَّكَ لَابِنٌ بِالصَّيْفِ قَامِرٌ

And thou didst beguile me, and assert that thou wast a possessor of milk in summer, a possessor of dried dates, i. e., [says S (A),] ذُو كَبِنٍ and ذُو تَمَرٍ (S, IY, A), meaning that he had got milk and dried dates, not that he sold them (Sn); and hence ذِي نَصَبٍ لَهُمُ الْخ [149], i. e., ذِي نَصَبٍ (S, A), meaning productive of weariness, not an act. part. [from نَصَبَ he was weary], because grief is wearying, not weary (Sn). And Imra alKais [Ibn Ḥujr al-Kindi (MN)] says

وَلَيْسَ بِي ذِي رَمَحٍ فَيَطْعُنَنِي بِهِ * وَلَيْسَ بِي ذِي سَيْفٍ وَلَيْسَ بِنَبَّالٍ
[below] (IY) And he is not a possessor of a spear, so that he should pierce me with it; and is not a possessor of a sword, and is not an archer, i. e., not a shooter of arrows (MN). And the poet says

لَسْتُ بِلَيْلِي وَلَكِنِّي نَهْرٌ * لَا أُدْلِحُ الْلَيْلَ وَلَكِنِ ابْتَكِرُ
(S, IA, Aud. A), cited by S (IA, A), but not attributed

by him to its author, *I am not a worker by night, but a worker by day. I journey not in the night, but start early in the morning* (MN), i. e., نَهَارِي (S, IA, A), meaning *a worker by day* (IA, A). فَاعِلٌ [or فَعِلٌ (IA, Aud, A)] is used to signify *possessor of such a thing*: while فَعَّالٌ is used in the case of *crafts or trades* (SH, IA, Aud, A), to signify *working at, or following, them* (A); but is sometimes used to signify *possessor of such a thing* (IA). Sometimes فَاعِلٌ takes the place of فَعَّالٌ, as حَاكِكٌ *a weaver*, in the sense of حَوَّانٌ, because it is a *craft*; and sometimes the converse occurs, as وَلَيْسَ بِيَدِي وَلَيْسَ بِيَدِي زُمَحِ الْحِ [above], i. e., بِيَدِي نَبِلٌ *a possessor of arrows* (A). But, [according to some,] وَلَيْسَ بِيَدِي زُمَحِ الْحِ [above], meaning بِيَدِي نَبِلٌ, is anomalous (Aud). AFR says that نَبَّالٌ here is not good, because the نَبَّالٌ is the *maker, or seller, of arrows*, while the *shooter of them* is نَابِلٌ; but AHm says that the like of this sometimes occurs, as سَيَّافٌ *swordsman* [below], meaning the *striker with the sword*, and زَرَّاقٌ *javelin-man*, meaning the *stabber with the مِرْزَاقٌ javelin* (MN). And [IM says that (A)] to this is attributed [by critical judges (A)] the text وَمَا رَبُّكَ بِظَلَّامٍ لِّلْعَبِيدِ XLI. 46. *Nor is thy Lord a doer of injustice to the servants* (IA, Aud, A), i. e.,

بِذِي ظَنِّم (IA, A). Thus some *ns.* upon the measure of فَاعِلٌ and فَعَّالٌ occur in the sense of ذُو كَذَا without being *act. parts.*, or intensive forms of such, as the *act. part.*, like غَاثِرٌ *Author of forgiveness*, and the intensive form of it, like غَفَّارٌ *Author of much forgiveness*, are i. q. ذُو كَذَا, except that فَعَّالٌ, being *orig.* an intensive form of فَاعِلٌ, is used only for a *possessor of a thing, who deals in, or manipulates, or attends upon, that thing*, in some way, vid. *selling*, like بَقَّالٌ *a green-grocer*; or *tending*, like جَمَّالٌ and بَعَّالٌ *an attendant of camels and mules*; or *using*, like سَيَّافٌ [above]; or otherwise: while فَاعِلٌ denotes the *possessor of a thing* without intensive-ness. They are made to accord [in form] with the *act. part.* and intensive formation. One says لَابِنٌ of the *possessor of milk*, and لَبَّانٌ of the *dealer in it*, by sale or otherwise (R). Sometimes both the expressions are used for one thing, as سَائِفٌ and سَيَّافٌ [above] (IY, R), and رَجُلٌ تَارِسٌ and تَرَّاسٌ meaning *a man having with him a shield or buckler* (IY). Sometimes one of them is used without its companion, like تَرَّاسٌ *a maker of bows* and تَرَّاسٌ *a maker of shields or bucklers* (R). And sometimes the *ى* of relation is put, as عَطَّارٌ [above] and عِطْرِيٌّ for the *seller of عِطْرٌ perfume*, and بَتَّاتٌ [above]

and ²بَتَّى for the *the seller of* بُتْرُتْ *cloaks* [below] (A). The GG say that فَاعِلٌ and فَعَالٌ in the sense mentioned are i. q. the *rel. n.*, because the *possessor* of the thing is *related* to that thing; and also because فَعَالٌ and the *rel. n.* formed with the ²ي occur in one sense, like بَتَاتٌ and ²بَتَّى for the *seller of the* بَتُّ *cloak* [above]. They are known not to be *act. parts.* or intensive forms of such by their (1) having no *v.* or *inf. n.*, as جَامِلٌ *possessor of a he-camel* and بَغَالٌ [above] and مَكَانٌ أَهْلٌ *an inhabited place*, i. e., دُوَّ أَهْلٍ : (2) having a *v.* and *inf. n.*, but being (a) i. q. the *pass. part.*, as مَاءٌ دَافِقٌ *water poured out*, [i. e., مَذْفُوقٌ (Jh, KF)], like سِرٌّ كَانِمٌ *a hidden secret*, i. e., مَكْتُمٌ, because it is from دَفِقَ الْمَاءُ *the water was poured out*, and دَفِقَ الْمَاءُ is not said (Jh), since دَفِقٌ is *trans.*, according to the majority (KF)]; and as عَيْشَةٌ رَاضِيَةٌ *a pleasant life*, [i. e., مَرْضِيَّةٌ *found pleasant*, because one says رَضِيَتْ مَعِيشَتُهُ *his life was found pleasant*, not رَضِيَتْ (Jh, KF) with Fath (KF)]: (b) a *fem. bare* of the ³ as حَاضٍ and طَالِقٌ [247, 268]; and for this reason they say that such as مَرْضِعٌ [252, 268] and مُنْفِلٌ [252] and [مُنْفِطِرٌ in] LXXIII. 18. [268] are i. q. the *rel. n.*: (c) an intensive *ep.* of what it implies, as عَزَّ عَزِيزٌ *mighty*

power, ذُلُّ ذَلِيلٍ *abject meanness*, شِعْرُ شَاعِرٍ *an exquisite poem*, مَوْتُ مَاتٍ *a violent death*, and نَاصِبٌ هَمٌّ *a weary grief*; for each of those *eps.* implies a *meaning*, which it, though [properly] denoting the *subject of that meaning*, since the عَزِيزٌ and ذَلِيلٌ and شَاعِرٌ and مَاتٌ and نَاصِبٌ are [properly] the subjects of the عِزٌّ and ذُلٌّ and شِعْرٌ and مَوْتُ and نَصَبٌ [142], is hyperbolically applied to denote, as the *n.* denoting a *meaning* is [sometimes] hyperbolically applied to denote the *subject of that meaning*, as رَجُلٌ صَوَّمٌ and عَدْلٌ [142, 143] and مَاءٌ غَوْرٌ *water sinking into the ground* [247, 333]; the *poem* being made to be, as it were, *author of another poem*, as says AlMutanabbi وَمَا أَنَا وَحْدِي قُلْتُ ذَا الشِّعْرِ كُلَّهُ * وَلَكِنْ لِشِعْرِي فِيكَ مِنْ نَفْسِهِ شِعْرٌ [Nor have I alone produced this poem, all of it; but my poem on thee has a poem of its own, meaning I have not been alone in composing this poem; but my poem has helped me to praise thee, because it desires, as I desire, to praise thee (W)]; and the *death* to be, as it were, accompanied by another death; and the *weariness* to be, as it were, necessarily followed by another weariness: i. e., the poem not being a single poem, nor the death a single death, nor the grief a single grief; but each of them being doubled, repeated. The *v.* also is sometimes used in this sense, as جَدَّ جَدُّهُ *His toil was redoubled* and تَمَّ تَمَامُهُ *It was completely finished*. But, as for

[^{شَاغِلٌ} in] ^{شُغْلٌ} ^{شَاغِلٌ} *an engrossing, or absorbing, occupation*, it is not of this kind; but is really an *act. part.*, the phrase meaning *an occupation such that one occupied by it is distracted from every other occupation*, so that he has no leisure for anything else. And, as ^{فَعَالٌ}, which is *orig.* an intensive form of the *act. part.*, is used in the sense of *possessor of the thing*, so ^{فَعِلٌ}, which also is an intensive formation of the *act. part.*, as ^{عَبِلٌ} meaning ^{كَثِيرُ الْعَبَلِ} [above], and ^{طَعِمٌ} [above], ^{كَبِشٌ}, and ^{كَبِنٌ}, is used in the sense of the *rel. n.*, even in the case of *prims.*, as ^{رَجُلٌ نَهْرٌ} a *diurnal man*, meaning a worker by day [above]; and ^{رَجُلٌ حَرْحٌ} and ^{سَتَةٌ} a *man addicted to the vulva and the anus*, i. e., ^{حَرِيٌّ} and ^{إِسْتِيٌّ} [306], meaning *constantly engaged in that pursuit*. According to this, then, the sense of the *rel. n.* is not confined to ^{فَاعِلٌ} and ^{فَعَالٌ}: but is found in the *act. part.* of the *tril.* un-augmented, [as exemplified,] and •augmented, as ^{مُرْضِعٌ} and ^{مَنْفَطِرٌ} [above]; and in the intensive forms ^{فَعَالٌ}, ^{فَعِيلٌ} and ^{فَعِلٌ} of the *act. part.* [343] (R). And hence, [says Khl, they say (S, M, R)] (1) ^{رَاضِيَةٌ} ^{عَيْشَةٌ} a *pleasant life*, [above] (S, M, SH), i. e., ^{ذَاتُ رِضَى} possessing *pleasantness* (S, M, Jrb), because *عَيْشَةٌ* life is not qualifiable by *رَاضِيَةٌ*

finding pleasant, i. q. *فَاعِلَةٌ* ; but by *ذَاتُ رِضَى*, in order that it may be i. q. *مَرْضِيَّةٌ* *found pleasant* (Jrb) : (a) this is rendered dubious by the introduction of the *ṣ* (IY, Jrb), since they say that the *ṣ* drops off from *حَائِضٌ* and *طَالِقٌ* [268], because they are not participial ; while they mention that *رَاضِيَةٌ* is not participial, because *عَيْشَةٌ* is *مَرْضِيَّةٌ*, its *v.* being *رُضِيَ* [above] (IY) : but the *ṣ* may be [introduced (Jrb)] to denote *intensiveness*, as in *عَلَامَةٌ* *a very learned man* [294] (IY, Jrb) and *نَسَابَةٌ* [265] (IY) ; or you may hold *عَيْشَةٌ* *life* to be *رَاضِيَةٌ* by a trope, the really *رَاضٍ* being the *person leading it* (Jrb) : (2) *طَاعِمٌ كَاسٍ* [below] (S, M, SH), i. e., *ذُو كِسْرَةٍ وَطَعَامٍ* (S, IY, R), which is vituperative, meaning *having no excellence other than that he eats* (IY, R) and *drinks* (IY) and *dresses* (R). The poet [AlḤuṭai'a (IY, AAz)] says *دَعِ الْمَكَارِمَ لَا تَرْحَلْ لِبَغْيَتِهَا * وَاتَّعِدْ فَإِنَّكَ أَنْتَ الطَّاعِمُ الْكَاسِي* (IY, R, A), satirizing AzZibriḳān, *Leave noble feats alone ; journey not in quest of them ; but stay at home, for verily thou art the possessor of food, and of dress* (AAz), not meaning *eating and dressing* (Sn). This verse, though not in the text of the M, is intended by Z's saying *طَاعِمٌ كَاسٍ* [above] (AAz). But we need not hold *طَاعِمٌ* to be i. q. the *rel. n.* ; nay, we had better call it an

act. part. from طَعِمَ *he ate*, *aor.* يَطْعُمُ, deprived of the sense of *origination*, [i. e., meaning *eater*, not *eating*]: whereas كَاسٍ may be said to be i. q. the *rel. n.*, because it is in the sense of the *pass. part.*, [meaning *dressed*,] like مَاءٌ دَانِقٌ [above]; or to mean كَاسٍ نَفْسُهُ *dressing (himself)*, though the first is more obvious, because, when the *trans. act. part.* is unrestricted [by the mention of an *obj.*], its action mostly falls upon another (R). مِفْعَالٌ also is sometimes used as a substitute for the ع of relation, as اِمْرَاَةٌ مِعْطَارٌ *a woman having perfume on*, i. e., ذَاتٌ عِطْرٍ (A), this not being inconsistent with its meaning also *using much perfume* [269] (Sn): and مَفْعِيلٌ, as فَاقَةٌ مَفْعِيلَةٌ, as ذَاتٌ حُضْرٍ *a running she-camel* [252], i. e., ذَاتٌ حُضْرٍ *capable of a run or of running* (A); and مِعْطِيرٌ *a perfumer*, which is mentioned in the Ṣaḥāḥ as being i. q. عِطَّارٌ, besides meaning *using much perfume* [269] (Sn). Some of (A) these formations are numerous (IY, A), extensive (IY); and فَعَالٌ in the sense mentioned is more often used than فَاعِلٌ (R). But, [notwithstanding that (R),] they are not regular (IY, R, A), but confined to what has been heard (IY, R). This is the opinion of S, who says that (A) you do not say بَرَّارٌ of the *possessor of* بَرٌّ *wheat*, nor نَكَّارٌ of the *possessor of* نَكْهَةٌ *fruit* [311] (S, IY, R, A),

nor شَعَارُ of the *possessor of* شَعِيرُ barley, nor دَقَّاقُ of the *possessor of* دَقِيقُ flour or meal (S, IY, A); but دَقِيقِي, though دَقَّاقُ is sometimes said (IY). But Mb allows these by analogy (A) to what has been heard, like عَطَّارُ and بَرَّازُ [above] (Sn). Similarly الْكِسَائِيُّ the *maker, seller, or wearer of wrappers or a wrapper* is a *rel. n.* formed according to rule [304]; while الْفَرَّاءُ the *furrier* is formed by analogy to الْبَرَّازُ and الْعَطَّارُ [above] (IY).

mentioned by IHjr in the *Is* among the Converts (AKB). One of the two *س* is *red.*, as in *لَا تَجْزِي الْح* [62, 540] (AAz)—*l.* 20. alKalbi, an Islāmī poet (AKB).

P. 856, *l.* 17. By AlFarazdaq, satirizing Jarīr, whom he ridicules, and makes out to be a woman. He likens each half of the *جَهْم* [mentioned two verses before, and] here meaning *vulva*, to the *face of a Turk*, the Turks being coarse, broad, and red in the face (AKB)—*ll.*

The Mother of the Believers (*Is*), Ḥafṣa Bint ‘Umar Ibn AlKhaṭṭāb, is said to have been born [when Qurāish were building the House (Nw),] five years before the Mission [of the Prophet (Nw)]; was married by the Apostle of God [after ‘Ā’isha (*Is*)] in the year 2 or 3, [the latter date being preferable (*Is*)] ; and died in the year 27, [28 (Nw),] 41, 45 (Nw, *Is*), 47, or 50, at the age of 60 (Nw). Between the *Hijra* and the birth of the Apostle of God were 53 years 2 months and 8 days ; between the *Hijra* and the Mission of the Apostle of God were 13 years 2 months and 8 days ; and between the *Hijra* and the death of the Apostle of God were 9 years 11 months and 22 days (LM). The *Hijra* is the beginning of the Islāmī era (Nw, LM) ; and the first [person] that dated by the *Hijra* was ‘Umar Ibn AlKhaṭṭāb in the year 17 of the *Hijra* (Nw). The *Hijra* occurred (LM, TKh) in the 14th year of the Mission (TKh), when AlMuḥarram, Ṣafar, and 8 days of Rabi‘ alAwwal had elapsed. So, when they resolved upon founding [the era of] the *Hijra*, they went back 68 days, and made the beginning of the era the 1st of AlMuḥarram of this year. Then they computed from the 1st of AlMuḥarram to the last day of the Prophet’s life, and it was 10 years and 2 months ; whereas, when his age is really reckoned from the *Hijra*, he is found to have lived 9 years 11 months and 22 days after it, [the difference between the two periods being 2 months and 8 days,

i. e. 68 days] (LM). But [the assertion that the period from the 1st of AlMuḥarram in the year of the *Hijra* to the last day of the Prophet's life was 10 years and 2 months is difficult to reconcile with the statement that] he died (God bless him, and give him peace!) in the forenoon, [or, as is said, at midday (LM),] on Monday the 12th of Rabī' alAwwal in the year 11 (Nw, LM) of the *Hijra*, [i. e. 10 years 2 months and 12 days from, and including, the 1st of AlMuḥarram in the year of the *Hijra*] (Nw). He died at the age of 63, the [most correct and (Nw)] best-known [opinion]; or, as is said, 65 or 60 (Nw, LM). The preferable opinion is that he was sent [on his Apostolic Mission] at 40 years, and abode in Makka calling [the unbelievers] to AlIslām 13 years and a fraction, and abode at AlMadīna after the *Hijra* nearly 10 years; and that is 63 years and some fractions (LM). If, then, Ḥafṣa was born 5 years before the Mission, she was 18 or a little more at the beginning of the *Hijrī* era; so that, if she lived 60 years, she died in 41.

P. 857, ll. 25-26. Of Himyān Ibn Ẹuḥāfa (S). The truth is that these two verses are from a *Rajaz* by Khiṭām alMujāshī'i, an Islāmī poet; not by Himyān Ibn Ẹuḥāfa (AKB), the *Rajiz* (ID).

P. 859, l. 8. Abū 'Atā was a contemporary of the two dynasties: he praised the Banū Umayya and the Banū Hāshim (KA). Yazīd Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubaira [alFazārī (ITB), b. 87 (IKhn)], governor of the two 'Irāqs for Marwān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Marwān Ibn AlḤakam [alḲurashī (TKh) alUmawī (IKhn, TKh) adDimashkī (TKh), known as alJa'dī and nicknamed AlḤimār (IKhn), the last Khalifa of the Banū Umayya (IKhn, TKh), b. 72 (TKh) or 76 (Tr, IATH, ITB)], a. 127, k. 132 at the age of [58 (MDh),] 59, [62 (IATH, MAB), 69 (MDh, IATH), or 70 (MDh)], was put to death by Abū Ja'far alManṣūr, [afterwards Khalifa,] at Wāsiṭ in 132 in violation

of a capitulation (IKb). The advice of Abū Ja'far was to keep faith with him ; but Abū Ja'far's brother Abu-l'Abbās 'Abd Allāh asSaffāh Ibn Muḥammad [alḲurashī (TKh) alHāshimī (ITB) al'Abbāsī (ITB, TKh), the first Khalifa, of the Banu-l'Abbās (FW, ITB), *b.* 108 (FW, TKh)], *a.* 132, *d.* [135 or (TKh)] 136 [at the age of 27 (TKh), 28 (Tr, IATH, FW, TKh), 29 (MDH), 32 (TKh), 33 (Tr, MDh, IATH, MAB, ITB, TKh), or 36 (Tr, IATH)], insisted upon Abū Ja'far's putting him to death (IKhn). Marwān was called AlJa'dī [because he had learnt (IATH, MAB)] from [his preceptor and master (TKh)] AlJa'd Ibn Dirham (IATH, MAB, TKh) the doctrines of the Creation of the Ḳur'ān and of Predestination (IATH, MAB), etc. (IATH) : and he was known as AlHimar because of his bravery, from the saying *فَلَانٌ أَصْبَرُ مِنْ حِمَارٍ فِي الْحَرْبِ* *Such a one is more patient than a he-ass in war* ; for he used not to flag in waging war upon the rebels against him, and was the bravest of the Banū Umayya (TKh). It is said that AlJa'd Ibn Dirham published his doctrine of the Creation of the Ḳur'ān in the days of Hishām Ibn 'Abd AlMalik, under whose order he was put to death by Khālid alḲasrī, governor of Al'Irāk (IATH). The Wāsiṭ of Al'Irāk was founded by AlHajjāj Ibn Yūsuf athThakāfi between AlKūfa and AlBaṣra ; and for that reason was named Wāsiṭ, because it was *intermediate* between the two cities, [the distance from it to each being fifty parasangs (MI), i. e. leagues] : it was begun by him in 84, and finished in 86 (Mk)—*l.* 12. The first hemistich is

حَشَايَ عَلَى جَمْرِ ذِكِّي مِنَ الْغَضَا

My heart is on glowing embers of the wood called غَضَا ; and the verse is from an ode by AlMutanabbi : W says (AKB), He says *My heart is on glowing embers from passion*, i. e. on account of their bidding

farewell and their departing ; and mine eye is revelling in the face of the beloved in a garden of beauty (W, AKB). (W) مِنْ آلْهَرَى for مِنْ الْغَضَا.

P. 860, ll. 2-3. بَطْنُ عَاتِلِ The bottom, or low land, of 'Ākil is [a place (MI)] on the road of the pilgrims of AlBaṣra between Rāmātān and (Mk, MI) Āmirra (Mk) [or] Immara (MI)—l. 4. 'Ākil is said to be a mountain (Bk, ZJ) that Ḥujr, the father of Imra alKais, used to dwell in (Bk). The author of the Mk, after enumerating eight places named 'Ākil, the second of which he describes as "a mountain that the children of [Ḥujr (KA)] Ākil "alMurār, the ancestor of Imra alKais, used to stop in", adds "But I do not find myself confident that they "are eight [separate] places ; and perhaps there is some intermixture in them"—l. 8. See Md. II. 182 and P. II. 598—ll. 16-17. The R (vol. II, p. 142. ll.) has "either because repetition of the v. is made a substitute for dualization of the ag.", which, though it occurs in all three eds., I have ventured to invert—ll. 19-20. The two Indian eds. of the R (vol. ii, p. 143, l. 2) have صاحِبِه his companion ; but the Persian ed. has صاحِبِيه his two companions.

P. 861, l. 1. تَسْمِيَةُ جُزْءٍ بِاسْمِ كُلِّ naming a part by the name of a whole (R), i. e., putting a whole for a part, as penes for penis and testicles for two testicles in the exs. given.

P. 862, ll. 3-4. I. e., to two or more of its kind. See p. 863, ll. 6-7. The definition is inverted, pluralization being the addition of two or more to one, not of one to two or more. See p. 863, ll. 22-23.

P. 864, l. 9. Read "Nawādir."

P. 868, l. 1. The poet of ẖuraish in AlIslām. He rebelled with Muṣ'ab Ibn AzZubair against 'Abd AlMalik [Ibn Marwān]; and, when Muṣ'ab was killed [in 71 (Tr, IATH, ITB) or 72 (Tr, ITB)], and 'Abd Allāh [Ibn AzZubair] was killed [in 73 (Tr, IATH, ITB)], he took refuge with 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ja'far Ibn Abi Ṭalib [alẖuraishī alHāshimī aṣṢaḥābī (Nw), d. 80 (IATH, Nw, Is, ITB) or 82 (Is) or 84 or 85 (IATH, Is) or 86 (IATH) or 87 (Is) or 90 (IATH, Nw, Is), at the age of 80 (Nw, Is) or 90 (Is)], who petitioned 'Abd AlMalik about his affair, and secured his pardon, [at which time he appears from a long story told in the KA to have been 60 years old] (KA). His brother 'Abd Allāh Ibn ẖais left issue; but 'Ubaid Allah left none (AKB). The poet's name is often given as 'Abd Allāh, probably from mistranscriptions. *Delete* "['Abd-Allāh or]" before " 'Ubaid Allāh" in the Note on p. 18, l. 5—ll. 2-3. Ṭalḥa was governor of Sijistān (IHjr, AKB) in 61 (IATH), [or] in 63 (ITB); and there he died (AKB)—l.l. The author of this verse is Abū ẖais Ibn Rifā'a (Jh, Jsh, MN) alAnṣārī (Jsh, MN), whose name was Dinār (Jsh): so says ISf in his exposition of the verses of the *Iṣlāḥ* by ISk. And Bk [also] says that he was named Dinār, and was one of the poets of the Jews; and, says Bk, I think that he was a heathen. But K1 says that the author is ẖais Ibn Rifā'a; and AFI says that the author is Abū ẖais Ibn AlAslat alAusī, his name having been altered (MN). See the Note on p. 738, l. 19.

P. 869, l. 25. Read نَعْلَانْ.

P. 870, l. 1. Lane (p. 812, col. 1) asserts, on the authority of the *Tāj al'Arūs*, that "خَصَانٌ" has no *pl.* formed by the addition of , and نْ", contrary to what is stated here by R, and at p. 1020,

l. 4, by S—l. 3. Read نَعْلَان—l. 19. لَعْبَةٌ (Fk), a medley of III. 11 and XXXIX. 22.

P. 871, l. 17. A tribe of AlYaman (MAd).

P. 872, ll. 5-6. I have transposed زَيْدُونَ and عَلِيُّونَ in accordance with the suggestion of YS, the former being an instance of the *perf. pl. masc.*, and the latter of the co-ordinate—l. 14. From the same poem as a verse given on p. 96A—l. 17. Tumāḍir was his wife (AKB).

P. 873, l. 19. I. e., *pl.* of أَبْيَكْرٌ *dim.* of أَبْكُرٌ [285]. On the diptote declension of أَبْيَكْرٌ in l. 15 see p. 1182, l. 12—p. 1183, l. 4.

P. 874, l. 12. Of [the Banu-l-Hārith Ibn Rabī'a Ibn (AKB)] AlAwās Ibn AlHajr Ibn AlHanw Ibn AlAzd (KA, T, AKB) Ibn AlGhauth (KA, T) Ibn Nabt [Ibn Mālik (IHb)] Ibn Zaid Ibn Kahlān Ibn Saba (T) Ibn Yashjub Ibn Ya'rub Ibn Kaḥṭān (IHb). AlAwās is with Fath of the Hamza; AlHajr with Fath of the undotted ح, and quiescence of the ج; and AlHanw with all three vowels of the ح, and quiescence of the ج. Some assert that Ash-Shanfarā, meaning *big-lipped*, was his cognomen, his name being Thābit Ibn Jābir; but this is a blunder, like Al'Aini's blunder in asserting that his name was 'Amr Ibn Barrāk, these being his two comrades in robbery (AKB).

P. 875, l. 15. See Md. I. 334 and P. I. 691—l. 17. In the *nom.* عَفْرُونَ or عَفْرَيْنَ. Lane (p. 2090, col. 2) gives عَفْرَيْنَ as the name of a place abounding with lions, on the authority of the KF and other works; but the KF (p. 303) has عَفْرَيْنَ, and there is no

reason why it should be diptote, unless we assume it to be *fem.*, since the form عَفْرَيْنَ may be accounted for as *gen.* of عَفْرُونَ .

P. 876, l. 7. After ظُبُونَ insert "[244]"—l. 12. أَثَابِي has no *sing.*; or, as is said, its *sing.* is أَثَبِيَّةٌ on the measure of أَفْعَلَةٌ (T). A better *ex.* would be ظَبَّةٌ, *pls.* ظُبُونَ [above], ظَبَّى, and أَظْب [244].

p. 877, ll. 1-2. See p. 1361, l. 4, and the Note on p. 854, ll. 4-5—l. 24. شَابَ قَرْنَاهَا *Her two ringlets have become white* is one of the *props.* used as names: the poet says
كَذَبْتُمْ وَبَيَّتَ اللَّهُ لَا تَنْكِحُونَهَا * بَنَى شَابَ قَرْنَاهَا تَصَرُّ وَتَحْلُبُ
Ye have lied, by the House of God! Ye shall not wed her, sons of Shāba Karnāhā, tying up the udder, and milking (IY on §. 4).

P. 878, ll. 20-23. There is no difference in that between the generic *n.* not a proper name, like ابْنُ لَبُونٍ *a two-year-old he-camel*, and the [generic (Sn)] proper name, like ابْنُ آوَى *the jackal* [and ابْنُ عُرْسٍ *the weasel*], the difference between them being that the second member of the generic proper name does not receive اَلْ [7, 194], contrary to the generic *n.* (A).

P. 811, l. 23. بَايَاتٌ (YS. I. 143) : بَيَاتٌ (Sn. IV. 288.)

P. 882, l. 24. If it were a name for the *fem.*, it would come under the rule in p. 881, ll. 7-10.

P. 883, ll. 9-11. Lane (p. (1703, col., 1) has "صَافِنٌ.....*pl.*
صُفُون (M, TA) and صَرَاْفِنُ and [the *pl.* of صَافِنَةٌ is] صَافِنَاتٌ (TA)".

It seems doubtful whether he was justified in inserting the words in brackets—*l.* 14. جَيْلَات appears from the context to be *pl.* of جَيْل *dim.* of جَد [274]. It might be *dim.* of جَمَال *pl.* of جَد [285]. See *IY.* 700, *l.* 17. In the former case it means *little*, or *small*, *he-camels*; and in the latter *a few he-camels*. Read “[270, 289]”.

P. 884, *l.* 22. *Ns* says that Kais Ibn Jābir is the man of whom Zaid says كُنْيَةُ جَابِرِ الْخَم [170], naming him by the name of his father—*l.* 25. This Sa’d is said to have been one of the chiefs and cavaliers of Bakr Ibn Wā’il in heathenism, and to have been a poet (AKB).

P. 885, *l.* 6. *I. e.*, *had already split up into factions each claiming to be the tribe Ka’b*. With Ka’b and Ki’āb *cf.* Kalb and Kilāb, names of tribes—*l.* 13. After “formations” insert “[253]”.

P. 886, *l.* 4. *IM*’s text is given at *p.* 1114, *l.* 22; and the *Aud*’s enumeration of the broken *pls.* in *pp.* 1032-1033.

P. 887, *l.* 4. After “formations” insert “[253]”—*l.* 26. If بَانَفْسِهِنَّ be a corrob. [503], the paradigm أَفْعَل is the only one allowed [132].

P. 888, *l.* 18. An Islāmī poet of the Marwānī dynasty, and a Badawī (AKB)—*l.* 22. From the same poem as verses cited on *pp.* 454, 651, and 854, and as a verse ascribed by *H* (*D.* 151) to AlMuthakḳḳib al’Abdī. See the Note on *p.* 651, *l.* 1—*l.* 27. An Islāmī poet of the Marwānī dynasty (AKB).

P. 889, *l.* 1. Coupled to بِأَنَا لَا نَرَالِ الْخَم in the preceding verse, as here appears

أَلَا أَبْلَغُ مُعَاوِيَةَ بْنَ حَرْبٍ * وَرَجْمُ الْغَيْبِ يَكْشِفُهُ الْيَقِينُ
بِأَنَّا لَا نَزَالُ لَكُمْ عَدُوًّا * طَوَالَ الدَّهْرِ مَا سَمِعَ الْكَنِينُ

Now tell thou Mu'āwiya Ibn Ḥarb (and the guess at the unknown is cleared up by certainty) that we shall not cease to be foes to you, throughout the length of time, so long as the moan of the she-camel for her young one is heard; but IA and IHsh in their Commentaries on the IM transmit it كَانَ لَنَا أَبُو حَسَنِ عَلَى أَبَا بَرٍّ *And Abū Ḥasan 'Alī was a good father to us (AKB). According to the MN and FA, it is cited by BD (not IA) and IHsh. It is in the Aud (p. 12), with the version mentioned by AKB; but is not in the IA or J, nor in the EC. Perhaps IUK should have been named, instead of IA, by AKB—l.l. One of the companions of 'Alī. I have not seen any mention of him in the Book of the Companions [of the Prophet]; and he is only a Follower (AKB)—l. 11. I have not met with the name of its author (MN).*

P. 890, ll. 3-9. Cf. p. 888, l. 11, and p. 1262, ll. 8-12—ll. 9-18. This explanation fails to account for صَارَيْنَ الْقَبَابِ *[above].*

P. 891, l. 3. The poet is eulogizing the two Muḥammads mentioned in vol. II, p. 468, l. 1—ll. 12-14. Because the ن stands in the place of the Tanwin. See p. 342, ll. 4-6, and p. 863, ll. 23-24—l. 28. "this sort" is the irregular pl. with the و, and ن p. 888 l. 11; and "the regular pls." are such as صَارُونِ.

P. 893, l. 6. السَّبْعَانُ on the measure of فَعْلَانُ, so mentioned by S, is a mountain in front of AlFalj (Bk). It is orig. du. of سَمِعَ; but is treated by the poet like سَلْمَانُ, since, if he treated

it like the *du.*, he would say **بِالسُّبُعَيْنِ** (MN)—*l.* 13. After **قِنَسْرَيْنِ** insert "[295]"—*ibid.* **يَبْرُونِ** or **يَبْرُونِ** is a well-known tract of sand in the abodes of the Banū Sa'd of Tamim (Bk)—*ll.* 23-24. Mb says in the Kāmil (HH), AU says that there is a dispute about this poem, which some attribute to AlAḥwaṣ, and some to Yazīd Ibn Mu'āwiya (Mb, HH); but the truth is that it is by Yazīd, describing a girl (Akh). The poetry of Yazīd, little as there is of it, is extremely beautiful (IKhn)—*l.* 25. Al Maṭīrūn is a place in Syria, near Damascus (MI).

P. 894, *l.* 1. Jiliḳ means Damascus; and is said to be a place near Damascus; or to be a statue of a woman, from whose mouth water used to issue, in one of the towns of Damascus (Jk)—*ll.* 3-14. This passage from the Aud contains a summary of the two variations of the *pl.* discussed at length from *p.* 892, *l.* 20, to *p.* 894, *l.* 3, with the addition of a third, the worst of all, with the description of which *cf.* *p.* 891, *ll.* 18-20—*l.* 11. An Islāmī poet (AKB). He composed poetry at the end of the reign of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and praised Mu'āwiya, and 'Abd Allāh Ibn AzZubair, who had made him governor over one of the provinces of AlYaman (KA). It is said that this ode is by 'Abd ArRaḥmān Ibn Ḥassān Ibn Thābit alAnṣārī; and this is the opinion adopted by Jh and others; but the truth, says IBr, is that the ode is by Abū Dahbal (MN).

P. 895, *l.* 1. But IM has reversed the practice by mentioning the *pl.* [first (Sn)], and then saying that this measure is regular in such and such [*sings.*]. And for each practice there is a reason (A), the reason for the first being that the *sing.* is anterior to the *pl.* in existence; and the reason for the second that the *pl.* is the

[formation] really intended, because the discussion is about it (Sn). S, followed by Z and IH, with their Commentators IY, R, and Jrb, details the *pls.* of each formation of *sing.*; while IM and his Commentators IA, IHsh, and A detail the *sings.* of each formation of *pl.* The present work attempts to combine the advantages of both methods; but this cross-division of the subject among the authorities involves some repetition.

P. 896, l. 3. And ^{طَبِي} [260]—l. 10. The [*fem.*] *pron.* in ^{أَزَادَهَا} relates to the ^{قَوْم} (MN), which is of common gender (Jh, KF)—l. 19. It is followed by

أَلْقَيْتَ كَاسِبَهُمْ فِي قَعْرِ مُظْلِمَةٍ * فَتَغْفِرْ عَلَيْكَ سَلَامُ اللَّهِ يَا عُمَرُ
Thou hast cast their supporter into the bottom of a dark well (the dungeons being wells). Then forgive (upon thee be the peace of God!), O 'Umar (MN). See AArb. 138—l. 22. A green valley, containing many trees [and waters (Mk)], between Fadak and AlWābishiya (Mk, MI).

P. 897, l. 14. And (c) ^{فَعَلَةٌ}, as ^{ثِيرَةٌ} *pl.* of ^{نَوْرٌ} a bull [257]—l. 19. Read ^{فَعَالَةٌ}—l. l. And (b) ^{فَعَلٌ}, as ^{قَشَعٌ} *pl.* of ^{قَشَعٌ} a worn-out skin (A).

P. 898, l. 16. And (c) ^{أَفْعَلَةٌ}, as ^{أَفْغِيَّةٌ} *pl.* of ^{قَفَا} back of the neck [328] (A).

P. 899, l. 1. Read ^{فَعَلَى}—l. 14. Lane (p. 2213, col. 1) gives ^{عَيَائِلُ}, which his authorities explain as *pl.* of ^{عَيَالٌ} *stalking majestically*; but this is strange, because ^{فَعَالٌ} has no broken *pl.* [252]. The M and Aud give ^{عَيَائِلُ}, which AAz holds to be *pl.*

of عَيْلٌ *pl.* of عَائِلٌ *stalking majestically*; while the Aud makes it *pl.* of عَيْلٌ *prowling, seeking for prey*, which has another *pl.* عَيْالٌ; and both the M, followed by IY, and the Aud hold the *ى* to be added for impletion, as in تَنْقَادُ الصَّيَارِفِ [252]. And the Jsh gives a similar explanation of the *ى*, making عَيَاتِيْلٌ *pl.* of عَيْلٌ, and allowing either sense. See the Note on p. 1036, ll. 3-16. The S and M have أُسُوْدٌ explained in the Jsh as a *subst.* for عَيَاتِيْلٌ; but IY and Lane have أُسُوْدٌ explained in the MN as a qualified *post.* to its *ep.* [121]—l. 17. فُعْلٌ is not given by any of my authorities as a *pl.* of فَعْلٌ: perhaps خُطْرٌ may be contracted from خُطُوْرٌ, like أُسْدٌ from أُسُوْدٌ; or *pl.* of خُطُوْرٌ, as اَنْجَدَةٌ is said to be *pl.* of نَجُوْدٌ [above]; or a heteromorphous *pl.* of خُطْرٌ [255]—ll. 20-21. And اَفْعُلٌ, as اَضْبَعٌ *pl.* of ضَبْعٌ a *she-hyæna* (A).

P. 900, l. 10. And اَفْعَلَةٌ, as اَفْدِحَةٌ *pl.* of فِدْحٌ (A) with Kasr of the ق, and quiescence of the د, meaning *an arrow before it is feathered* (Sn); and فَعْلَةٌ, as ثَنِيَّةٌ *pl.* of ثَنِيٌّ [257]—l. 15. This is probably the proper form of the ضرس in Lane, p. 1785, col. 3, l. 31—l. 21. And (4) فَعْلٌ, as لَثِيٌّ *pl.* of لَثَةٌ a *gum* [316] (A), which is *orig.* لَثِيٌّ, like عَنَبٌ (Sn).

P. 902, l. 21. Read "*quasi-pl.*"

P. 903, l. 5. A valiant poet, and a celebrated cavalier of Mudar. He was one of those who rebelled with 'Amr Ibn Sa'id

against 'Abd AlMalik Ibn Marwān; and, when 'Abd AlMalik had killed 'Amr [in 69 (Tr, IATH, ITB) or 70 (IATH)], he rebelled with Najda Ibn 'Āmir alḤanafī, [k. 72 (IATH)]; and afterwards he fled, and joined 'Abd Allāh Ibn AzZubair, with whom he stayed till 'Abd Allāh was killed, when he came to 'Abd AlMalik in disguise, and tricked him into giving him quarter (KA). The verse may be part of the poem given in KA. XII. 26-27. Cf. the verse of AlḤuṭai'a at p. 896, l. 19.

P. 904, l. 5. And (7) فُعَلَةٌ, as جُعَّةٌ a Friday, pl. جُجَعٌ; and (8) فُعَلَةٌ, as حَدَاةٌ a kite, pl. حَدَا [254] (A).

P. 906, l. 17. We hold أَمَةٌ a handmaid to be فُعَلَةٌ because we see them form the broken pl. أَفْعُلٌ from فَعَلَةٌ when nothing is elided from it, but do not see them form the broken pl. أَفْعُلٌ from فَعَلَةٌ when nothing is elided from it (S).

P. 907, l. 6. 'Abd Allāh, [or 'Ubaid (T), Ibn Mujīb (T, Is)] Ibn AlMaḍraḥī (KA, T, Is) Ibn 'Āmir alḤiṣṣān.....Ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Kilāb (KA, T) Ibn Rabi'a Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Ṣa'sa'a (KA), of the Banū Abī Bakr Ibn Kilāb, known as AlḤattāl alKilābī. AZ says that he was one of the poets of heathenism: but AU mentions that he was imprisoned by Marwān Ibn AlḤakam; and, according to this, says Bk in his Commentary on the *Amālī* of Kī, he was one of the Converts (Is). The KA gives the second hemistich as

إِذَا تُحَدِّثَ عَنْ نَقْصِي وَأَمْرَارِي

When my being untwisted, and my being firmly twisted, i. e. my good luck and my ill luck, are talked about—ll. 13-15. Derenbourg (S. II. 188, l. 16) prints فَعِلٌ and مَعِدٌ and نَقِمٌ.

P. 908, ll. 15-17. IM says in the CK that **فَعَلٌ** sometimes acts as a substitute for **فَعِلٌ**, as **حَلَى** *pl* of **حَلِيَّةٌ** and **لَحَى** *pl.* of **لَحِيَّةٌ** [238, 329. A]; and **فَعِلٌ** for **فَعَلٌ**, as **صَوَّرَ** *pl.* of **صُورَةٌ** a *shape, effigy* and **قَوَّى** *pl.* of **قُوَّةٌ** *force* (A).

P. 909, l. 10. See the last Note—l. 13. Cf. **نَسَاءٌ** *pl.* of **نِسْوَةٌ** [310], according to R (p. 137, l. 19), who here follows S (*vol.* II, p. 86, l. 15). But see p. 1069, ll. 12-16, and p. 1089, l. 3.

P. 910, l. 15. Read **غُرِفٌ**.

P. 911, l. 2. Read "[in them]".

P. 913, ll. 16-18. This cause seems to be stated rather too broadly, because all *eps.* on the measure of **فَعَلٌ** are not treated as substantives. See p. 912, ll. 22-23—l. 19. **شَيْخٌ** is regarded by Z as a substantive. See p. 1123, l. 1—l. 21. Read **أَفْعَالٌ**.

P. 914, l. 12. Read **أَسْمَالٌ**—l. 15. The unmarried man would go further afield, when out hunting, than the married—l. 17. He compares the mare to a staff because she is long in the body, round in the barrel, and smooth in the coat.

P. 917, l. 18. The reference is to p. 1022, l. 21—1023, l. 1.

P. 918, l. 1. Read "vowel".

P. 919, l. 9. Read **أَبَتْ**—l. 17. In "*his heart*" there seems to be an enallage from the 2nd to the 3rd *pers.*

P. 920, ll. 2-3. I. e. *with our waist-cloths tucked up in readiness for fighting*—l. 17. I am not acquainted with [the name of] its author (AKB).

P. 921, l. 1. B. 60 (IATH) or 61 (IHjr, ITB), d. [147 or (IHjr)] 148 (IATH, IHjr, ITB).

P. 923, l. 17. After الْعِبَلَاتُ insert "[§10]".

P. 924, l. 9. Kais Ibn 'Āsim was a Companion (AKB). He was Kais Ibn 'Āsim Ibn Minkar Ibn 'Ubaid Ibn Sa'd Ibn Zaid Manāt Ibn Tamīm (Is, AKB) at Tamīmī al Minkarī (Is), one of the Banū Minkar Ibn 'Ubaid (SR). He came to the Apostle of God as an envoy [in the embassy of the Banū Tamīm, and became a Muslim (Is)]; and then the Apostle of God said "This is the chief of the dwellers in tents of camels' hair" (Is, AKB)—l. 11. The verse is preceded by

أَلَمْ تَعْلَمِي يَا أُمَّ عَمْرَةَ أَنَّي * تَخَاطَانِي رَبُّبُ الرِّمَانِ لِأَكْبَرَا
وَأَشْهَدُ مِنْ عَوَفٍ حُلُولًا كَثِيرَةً * يَحْجُونَ سَبَّ الزَّبْرِقَانِ الْمَرْعَفَا

Do st thou not know, O Umm 'Amra, that the mishaps of time have missed me, in order that I might grow old, and witness many arrivals of 'Auf Ibn Ka'b Ibn Sa'd Ibn Zaid Manāt Ibn Tamīm, repairing to do homage to the turban of AzZibrikan dyed with saffron?, the chiefs of the Arabs being wont to dye their turbans with saffron. But apparently this verse is disconnected from what precedes it, by the loss of some verses between them. أَشْهَدُ is in the subj., coupled to لِأَكْبَرَا (AKB). And وَأَشْهَدُ in Lane (p. 1285, col. 1) is a mistake, which should be corrected. On the rivalry between AlMukhabbal asSa'di and AzZibrikan see pp. 31 A—32A.

P. 926, l. 23. I have not met with the name of its author (MN).

P. 930, l. 3. Put a comma after أَجْرٌ—l. 8. Read دُمِي.

P. 931, l. 9. Of the Madīd [metre] (MN). This version shortens the last syllable of the second epitrite forming the first foot of the second hemistich—l. 15. This is the version given in Tr. I. 751, except that the Tr has غَزْوَةٌ for عَوْرَةٌ. Jh and IHsh may have confused the ending of this line with that of the next

ثُمَّ أَبْنَا غَانِي نَعَم * وَأُنَاسٌ بَعْدَنَا مَاتُوا

Then we returned, making spoil of camels, while men left behind us died ; but this again is differently given in the MN, which has

ثُمَّ أَبْنَا غَانِيْنَ وَكَمْ * مِنْ أُنَاسٍ قَبْلَهَا فَاتُوا

Then we returned, making spoil ; and how many men, before it, have passed away ! ; while the AKB agrees with the Tr except in giving غَانِيْنَ making spoil together for غَانِيْ [above]. The true text seems to be uncertain.

P. 932, l. 8. Read فُعْلَةٌ. See p. 1364, ll. 10-13. The o. f. of these ns. is properly فَعْلٌ, as سَنَةٌ, orig. سَنَوٌ or سَنَةٌ ; لَيْتَةٌ, orig. لَيْتَوٌ ; and ظُبَةٌ, orig. ظُبَوٌ : and the ة, being a compensation for the lost ل, ought not to be combined with it ; so that R's expressions فُعْلَةٌ [244] and Jh's expression سَنَوٌ or سَنَهَةٌ [275] are not strictly accurate. Cf. Sn. IV. 158, l. 9. When the ة is substituted for the elided ل, the ع, if orig. quiescent, is pronounced with Fathā, because the ة of feminization is preceded by Fathā, except in the abbreviated, as قَنَاءٌ and فَتَاءٌ.

P. 934, ll. 12-15. Some allow آمَوَاتٌ (Lane, p. 103, col. 2).

P. 935, l. 9. Read "[in multitude, as is said (R),]". The clause "as is said" is intended to throw a doubt upon the qualification

"in multitude," which is based on the theory impugned by R that the *pl.* with the **ا** and **ت** serves only for paucity, not for multitude (*p.* 886, *ll.* 9-13). When the *sing.* has no **ا**, the *pl.* **فَعَالِلُ** serves for paucity and multitude (*p.* 887, *ll.* 10-11, and *p.* 934, *ll.* 18-19) : but, when the *sing.* has a **ا**, then, according to the theory mentioned, the *pl.* with the **ا** and **ت** serves for paucity, and **فَعَالِلُ** for multitude. Cf. *p.* 1037, *ll.* 1-10.

P. 936, *ll.* 11-12. IM's words are

وَمِنْ خُمَاسِي
جَرْدَ الْآخِرِ أَنْفٍ بِالتَّقْيَاسِ

which I have rendered by an Alexandrine—*l.* 18. **خَوْرَنْقُ** (A). So in the MSS ; but properly **خَدَرَنْقُ**, as in the C and the Aud, because the **و** of **خَوْرَنْقُ** is a co-ordinative *aug.* [247], whereas the discussion is about the *quin.* whose letters are *rad.* (Sn). **خَوْرَنْقُ** is [said in the KF to be (Sn)] a castle [outside AlHira (Bk)] belonging to AnNu'mān (KF, Sn, MKh), the elder (KF, Sn), son of [Imra alKais (Tr, AF), not of] AlMundhir (MKh). See the Note on *p.* 54, *l.* 11. But, according to IBd, it was AnNu'mān Ibn AlMundhir who built AlKhawarnak. See Dozy's Note on *p.* 96, *l.* 3, of the IBd, and the pedigree in the Note on *p.* 947, *ll.* 17-18 below.

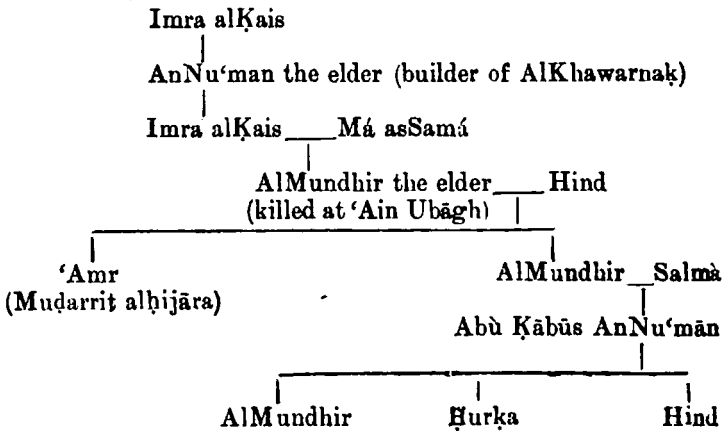
P. 939, *l.* 3. And sometimes **فَعَلَّةُ**, as **غُرَّةُ** *pl.* of **غَرَالُ** a gazelle [257]—*ll.* 14-15. Here R follows S (*vol.* II, *p.* 198, *ll.* 10-11). But Lane (*p.* 389, *col.* 3) makes **جُدْرُ** or **جُدْرُ** *pl.* of **جَدْرُ**, and **جُدْرَانُ** *pl.* of **جَدَارُ**, citing Jh and the KF among his

authorities. The KF mixes up the *pls.* of the two *sings.*: but Jh says "The *pl.* of جِدَارٌ is جُدْرٌ; and the *pl.* of جَدْرٌ is جُدْرَانٌ, like بَطْنٌ and بُطْنَانٌ" [237], which is exactly the opposite of what Lane makes him say. The words "former" and "latter" in Lane's passage should perhaps be transposed.

P. 945, l. 9. See the verse cited at p. 460, l. 21.

P. 946, l. 6. See Md. I. 401 and P. II. 86.

P. 947, l. 6. The نَقْرُق [with a ن and two ق s, upon the measure of صَبُورٌ (Sn),] is the مِفْصَعَةٌ صَيَّاحَةٌ (A. IV. 155, l. 1). Frogs are of many sorts, some that croak, and some that do not croak (HH). The نَقْرُق, which is not in the Dictionaries, nor in the HH, seems to be the female of the croaking sort—ll. 17-18. In the portion of the land of Al'Irāk adjacent to Syria. There AlHārith alGhassānī, who owed allegiance to Cæsar, made an attack upon AlMundhir [the elder, grandfather of AnNu'mān (ID)] Ibn AlMundhir, and upon the Arabs of Al'Irāk, who owed allegiance to Kisrā; and AlMundhir was killed on that day by Shimr Ibn 'Amr asSuḥaimī [alḤanafī (IAth)], of the Banū Ḥanifa (Bk).



P. 948, l. 10. Read “(IA, A)” — *ibid.* ذَرَّاعٌ in the IA (p. 332, l. ٢) I take to be a misprint, because, though *fem.*, it is an *ep.*, meaning *active in spinning*—l. 19. Read قَلُوصٌ.

P. 950, l. 1. Dele “[248]”—l. 6. Read حُجْمٌ.

P. 951, l. 5. IY here and R at p. 946, l. 8, restrict the *pl.* سُبَى to the سَبَاءٌ meaning *rain*: but there seems to be no reason for this restriction, because سَبَاءٌ meaning *sky* or *heaven* is *fem.*; and the KF does not observe it, nor does AKB (ll. 20–23 below)—ll. 10–11. An ancient heathen poet (KA). But see the Note on p. 332, l. 18—l. 13. IJ says “F used to recite it to us as فَرَقَ سَبْتِ سَبَائِيَا above six heavens, and so have I seen him write it in the *Idāh*”. And so have I too seen it in the *Dīwān* of Umayya. And in that version what is meant by the *heaven of God* is the *seventh heaven* (AKB).

P. 952, l. 11. Read فَعُولٌ.

P. 953, l. 20. I have not met with the name of its author (MN).

P. 957, l. 1. IY makes up his three formations by counting فَعْلٌ separately; while he omits فَعَالٌ, which he afterwards mentions incidentally in giving the *pls.* of فَعَالٌ [below]. But, as Z does not mention فَعْلٌ among the nine paradigms, I have treated it as a mere *var.* of فَعْلٌ—ll. 19–20. I think this means “in the *pls.* فَعْلٌ and فَعَالٌ”, not in فَعْلَاءٌ, which is not a *pl.* of the *fem.*, even in فَعِيلٌ, except in two instances (p. 969, ll. 10–11).

P. 958, l. 6. قَلِيلُ اللَّحْمِ (R): شَدِيدَةُ اللَّحْمِ *firm in flesh*, said of she-camels (KF)—l. 9. And they say رَجُلٌ لَكَانَ اللَّحْمِ *a man spare in flesh*, and we have heard the Arabs say كِنَازٌ of the

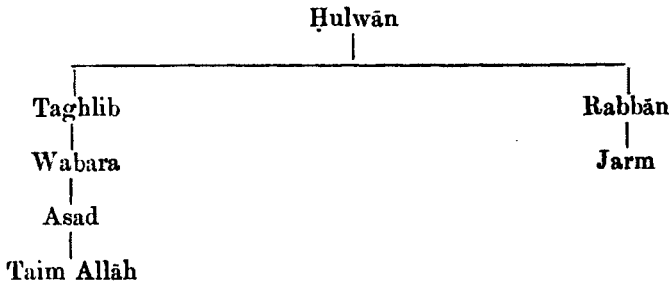
big; and, when you pluralize, you say **كُنْزٌ** and **كُنْكَ** (S). *Pls.* **كُنْكَ**, like **صَرَدٌ**; and **لِكَانَ**, like **كِتَابٌ**, uniform with the *sing.* (KF).

P. 959, l. 7. By Jarīr (Jh). Read **لَوْمِي**—l. 16. Put a full stop at the end of the line.

P. 961, ll. 13–14. **تَقْرَأُ** (R): **بُعْرَاءُ** and **بُعْيَاءُ** (IY). The former is given in the KF and in Lane; but for the latter forms I can discover no authority.

P. 962, l. 1. I have not met with the name of its author (MN). Its author has not been named (Jsh)—l. 17. The version **يُخَيِّرُ** given by Lane (p. 1332, col. 2) is incorrect. See T. 731—l. 21. Read **صُدِّقُ**.

P. 963, l. 13. The verses are by ‘Amr Ibn ‘Abd AlJinn. So say Sgh and others. And in the *Jamharat alAnsāb* by IKlb he is said to have been a Tanūkhī, Tanūkh being one of the clans of AlYaman (AKB), the descendants of Taim Allāh Ibn Asad Ibn Wabara (T). The poet was ‘Amr Ibn ‘Abd AlJinn Ibn ‘Ā’idh Allāh.....Ibn Jarm (AKB). And [his grandson] Asad Ibn Nā’iṣa [Ibn ‘Amr Ibn ‘Abd AlJinn (AKB)] was (KF, AKB) a cavalier in heathenism (AKB), [and] an ancient Christian poet (KF). The author is also said to have been a heathen man, unknown in name; but the first statement is more correct (MN). And one MS [of the Jh] adds “Ḥumaid Ibn Thaur” after “poet” (MAJh). Taim Allāh and Jarm were related:—



—l. 19. Al‘Uzzā was the name of an idol belonging to Kuraish and [the rest of] the Banū Kināna; or, as is said, a gum-acacia

tree belonging to Ghatafān, who used to worship it (MN)—*l.* 20. AnNasr was the name of an idol belonging to [the clan of (ID)] Dhu-lKalā' in the land of Ḥimyar; while Yaghūth belonged to Madhḥij, and Ya'ūk to Hamdān; [and all three were] among the idols of the people of Noah, as LXXI. 22, 23 [Note on *p.* 44, *l.* 6] (MN). ISh says that the poet prefixes the *art.* to نَسْر redundantly, by poetic license; and IJ [also] says that the ل in النَّسْر is *red.* (AKB); and so says R on the Determinate and Indeterminate.

P. 964, *l.* 3. Abū 'Umar (IY) alJarmī R). The passage رَجُلٌ رَكُوبٌ وَقَالَ أَبُو عَمَرَ أَقُولُ..... فِي مَذَاكِيرَ in S. II. 217, *ll.* 4-6, appears to be an interpolation, because Jr was junior to S, and never met him, but studied his book under the second Akh. See NA. 198—*ll.* 19-20. One says طَرِيقٌ رَكُوبٌ *a road much ridden upon* (Mb, Jh), i. e. مَرْكُوبٌ (Jh), when it is *wont to be ridden upon*; and رَجُلٌ رَكُوبٌ *a man much given to riding beasts*, when he is *wont to ride them* (Mb). Lane (*p.* 1144, *col.* 1) gives رَكِبٌ as *pl.* of رَكُوبٌ in the sense of *broken, trained, manageable, submissive, [quiet to ride,]* perhaps because it is then i. q. ذُلُولٌ *pl.* ذُلُلٌ.

P. 965, *l.* 13. عَجَائِلُ and عُجُلٌ in the passage قَالُوا عَجَائِلُ (IY. 647, *l.* 15) should be transposed, as is clear from قَالُوا صَبُورٌ وَصَبْرٌ (l. 11) and قَالُوا لِلرَّالِ عَجُولٌ وَعُجُلٌ (p. 657, *l.* 1., translated in *p.* 1010, *ll.* 9-10, below), and from the corresponding passage in S. II. 217, *ll.* 10-13, which IY is following.

P. 970, *l.* 8. خَلَائِفَ in IY. 650, *l.* 21, seems to be a misprint for خُلَفَاءَ.

P. 979, ll. 16-17. Jahn prints *وكسروا العين* (IY. 653, l. 18); but the R (p. 163, l. 6) has *كسر الفاء*, which is required by the context.

P. 980, l. 13. *Delete* the comma at the end of the line.

P. 982, l. 6. *عَدُولٌ* here is *pl.* of *عَدْلٌ*, not of *عَادِلٌ*. See the Note on p. 412, l. 1, where the version *شَهْرَدِي*, taken from IY. 371, is a mistake, as appears from the present version, and from Mb. 255.

P. 985, l. 5. See Md. II. 195 and P. II. 625—l. 18. From the same poem as the verse at p. 346, l. 19.

P. 990, l. 5. ALB composed a treatise in refutation of AU's *Gharib alḤadīth* (HKh). He also composed a *Gharib alḤadīth* of his own, in which he combined the works composed under that name by AUd, IKb, and IKhtt. See De Sacy's *Relation de l'Égypte*, pp. 537, 545, FW. II. 10, and BW. 188—l. 17. From the same poem as a verse at p. XXXIV, l. 5.

P. 992, l. 2. The *و* is elided under the rule for the *pl.* of the augmented *quad.* (p. 1050, ll. 8-20).

P. 993, ll. 19-20. See p. 998, ll. 18-20, and the Note thereon.

P. 995, ll. 9-10. Because it indicates not only a meaning, as the substantive does, but also its subject [142].

P. 996, l. 3. I. e., not liable to be confounded with anything else. See p. 997, ll. 13-14.

P. 998, l. 7. Read *عَوَارٍ*—ll. 18-20. The Dictionaries do not give *حَبَالٍ*, nor does R allow it (p. 993, ll. 20-22); but IHsh and A allow it, following IM.

P. 999, l. 3. Read مَهْرِي —ll. 12-14. R would add فَعْلَى (p. 993, ll. 20-22). See the last Note—l. 21. For “that” read “like”.

P. 1001, ll. 15-16. The KF, but not Jh, gives رَبَاعٌ as pl. of رَبْعَةٌ fem. of رُبْعٌ a young camel born in autumn; and Jh, R, the KF, and A give رَبَاعٌ as pl. of the masc. رُبْعٌ [237]—ll. 17-20. نَفَسَاءُ is like نَفَاسَاءُ on account of the mobility of the ع. But, if it were نَفَاسَاءُ, it might take the ultimate pl. نَفَاسٌ (p. 1008, ll. 17-20); so that R's reasoning here does not seem to be sound. The KF gives نَوَافِسُ, as though pl. of نَافِسٌ, like طَوَالِقُ pl. of طَالِقٌ [247].

P. 1002, l. 13. The words “and عُشَارٌ (K in art. نَفْس)” in Lane (p. 2052, col. 3, l. 2) and “except عُشَارٌ (K)” in Lane (p. 2829, col. 2, l. 2) should be omitted. The KF has غَيْرُهَا meaning غَيْرُ نَفَسَاءَ; but Lane seems to read غَيْرُهَا, i. e. غَيْرُ نَفَسَاءَ. The context [below] favors غَيْرُهَا; and, if غَيْرُهَا were the true reading, عُشَارٌ would be mentioned in the KF's article on عُشْرَاءُ among the pls. of this word. The passage in the KF's article on نَفَسَاءَ is وَعُشْرَاءُ وَعُشْرَاءُ نَفَسَاءَ وَعُشْرَاءُ نَفَسَاءَ; and, if the sense were as Lane supposes, it would have been shorter to write يُجْبَعُ عَلَى فَعَالٍ أَوْ فَعَالٍ غَيْرُ نَفَسَاءَ وَعُشْرَاءَ.

P. 1004, l. 20. I have not met with the name of its author (MN).

P. 1005, l. 1. Read ^{أَغْرَ}—ll. 4-6. Or made *det.* by prothesis [355], as in VI. 123 [below].

P. 1006, l. 1. Read ^{فَعَلَّةُ}—l. l. Read ^{فَعَلَى}—*ibid.* Read “(S, IY)”.

P. 1007, l. 22. ^{بَنَاتُ} is *ag.* of ^{وَجَدْتُ}, and ^{حَلَاكِلُ} its *obj.* (AKB). But Jahn prints ^{وَجَدْتُ} (IY. 658, l. 14), the sense being *been found to be wines of reds and blacks.*

P. 1009, ll. 14-15. The editor of the A prints ^{حَبَارِي} and ^{حَرَابِي}, (A. IV. 172, l. 8); but the author must have written ^{حَبَارِ} and ^{حَرَابِ}, because ^{حَبَارِي} would be inconsistent with his previous statement that the *pl.* of ^{حَبَارِي}, when the first of its two *augs.* is elided, is on the measure of ^{فَعَالٍ}, to the exclusion of ^{فَعَالِي} (p. 999, ll. 4-12).

P. 1012, l. 7. This was the “Alkama the braggart” mentioned at p. 150, l. 3.

P. 1013, ll. 1-2. In susceptibility of the § of femininization in the *sing.* (p. 866, ll. 24-25; p. 867, ll. 3-4; and p. 1020, ll. 8-9)—l. 6. Read ^{فَعَلَانُ}—l. 15. For “he” read “the”.

P. 1014, ll. 8-9. See Mb. 260. These two verses follow the four given in *vol.* II, p. 496—l. 9. He says ^{تَرَى}, not ^{تَرِينَ}, although the address was at first to a woman, because he afterwards transfers the address to a man; and the Arabs do that (Mb)—l. 10. ^{Ḳasà} is [a way-mark in AdDahnà (Bk),] a [small (Bk)] mountain (Bk, ZJ) belonging to the Banù Dabba (Bk)—l. 21. The Dictionaries give ^{عَدَوَانٌ} i. q. ^{نَشِيطٌ} *lively*, said of a horse; not ^{عَدَيَانٌ} i. q. ^{نَشِيطٌ}, said of a man.

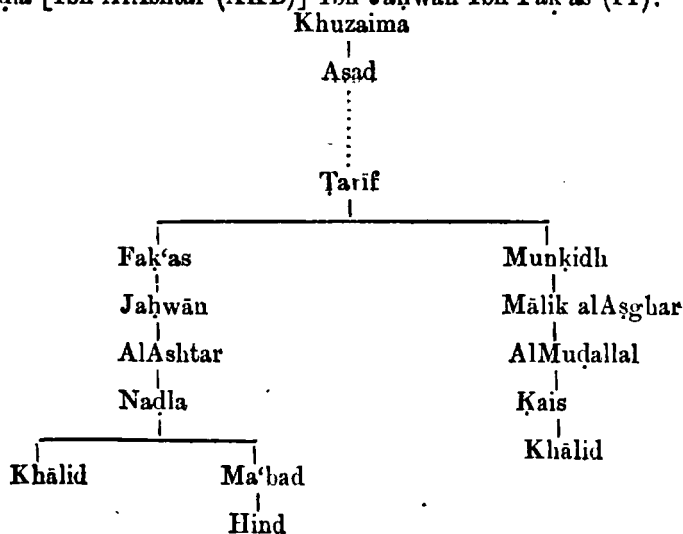
P. 1016, l. 1. See Md. I.378 and P. II. 30—l. 7. I. e., **فَعْلَانُ** as *pl.* of **فَعْلَانُ** is not strange, because it is assumed to be *pl.* of **فَعْلٌ**.

P. 1018, l. 16. The R after **فَعْلَانُ** in this passage inserts “whose *fem.* is **فَعْلَى**” (R. 169, l. 5) ; but see l. 7 above.

P. 1020, l. 10. Read **عَرَاةٌ**.

P. 1021, l. 10. Read **ضَارِبُونَ**.

P. 1022, l. 5. By Hind Bint Ma'bad Ibn Naḍla, lamenting 'Amr Ibn Mas'ūd alAsadi and Khālīd Ibn Naḍla alAsadi, her paternal uncles ; put to death by AnNu'mān Ibn AlMundhir alLakhmi, who erected over them the two monuments that are in AlKūfa (SR). Ma'bad Ibn Naḍla Ibn AlAshtar alFak'asi was brother of Khālīd Ibn Naḍla, of whom AlAswad Ibn Ya'fur says **وَقَبْلِي مَاتَ** **وَقَبْلِي مَاتَ** [13] (T), meaning, [says ISk, Khālīd Ibn (IY on §. 13)] **كَايسَ** [Ibn AlMuḍallal (IY)] **ابن مالك** [alAṣghar (IY)] **ابن موندل** **ابن طريف** (T, IY) **ابن 'Umar** **ابن كواعن** and Khālīd Ibn Naḍla [Ibn AlAshtar (AKB)] **ابن جهمان** **ابن فاكاس** (IY).



In the D^w of AlKhansá (*p.* 190) **نضلة بن خالد بن معبد** should be **معبد اخو خالد**. I suppose that 'Amr Ibn Mas'ūd must have been a cousin of Hind's father Ma'bad, and in that way one of her paternal uncles. AKB (*vol.* II, *p.* 292) traces the pedigree of the poet Muḍarris Ibn Rib'ī through Khālid Ibn Naḍla, who was his great-grandfather, up to Khuzaima.

Khālid Ibn Naḍla

|
Lakīṭ

|
Rib'ī

|
Muḍarris.

l. 21. Read **أَحْيَاء**.

P. 1023, *l.* 1. Read **أَبِينَاء**.

P. 1024, *l.* 1. Read **أَهْرَنَاء**.

P. 1027, *ll.* 20-21. Perhaps A means that **مُنْعَادٌ** and **مُخْتَارٌ** form broken *pls.* when they are used as proper names, as Sn says of the *inf. n.* at *p.* 1046, *ll.* 18-19.

P. 1028, *l.* 19. AlAkhwaṣ with the dotted **خ** (AKB). Zaid Ibn 'Amr (KF, Is, AKB) Ibn Kais Ibn 'Attāb Ibn Harmī Ibn Riyāḥ Ibn Yarbū' [Ibn Hanzala.....Ibn Tamīm (AKB)] atTamimi alYarbū'ī (Is, AKB) arRiyāḥī, called at one time ArRiyāḥī in relation to his lower ancestor, and at another alYarbū'ī in relation to his higher ancestor (AKB), an [Islāmi (AKB)] poet and cavalier (KF, AKB), mentioned [in the MSh] by AlMarzubānī, who says that he was a Convert (Is), contemporary with Suḥaim Ibn Wathil (AKB), or, in the Is of IHjr, who is followed by Syt in the SM, Wuthail (AKB on the verse cited at *p.* 454, *l.* 20). See the Note on *p.* 454, *l.* 1.

P. 1029, ll. 4-8. IY and R make ^{مَنْكِرٌ} *pl.* of ^{مَنْكِرٌ} *pl.* of ^{مَنْكِرٌ}, but do not say in what sense. S makes it *pl.* of ^{مَنْكِرٌ}; but, like IY and R, omits to indicate the sense. Lane makes it *pl.* of ^{مَنْكِرٌ} in the sense of *cunning* or of a *bad deed*.

P. 1030, l. 15. He adds the ^ي in ^{الدَّرَاهِمِ} and ^{الصِّيَارِ} (IK)—
l. 19. The Banū Ḥarām are Madanis; and this is a name current among the inhabitants of AlMadīna (Dh). They are of the Anṣār, whence Jābir Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Amr Ibn Ḥarām [Ibn Tha‘laba Ibn Ḥarām (SR, Tr) Ibn Ka‘b Ibn Ghanm Ibn Ka‘b Ibn Salima (SR, Tr, AGh, Is) Ibn Sa‘d.....Ibn AlKhazraj (IHb, Tr, Nw) alAnṣārī asSalamī (AGh, Nw, Is)] alḤarāmī (KAb) alMadanī (Nw) aṣṢaḥābī (ITB), *d.* 68 (Nw) or 73 (Nw, Is) or 74 (AGh, Is) or 77 (AGh, Is, ITB) or 78 (Tr, Nw, Is, ITB), at the age of 94 (Tr, AGh, Nw, Is), said to have been the last of the Companions of the Apostle of God to die at AlMadīna (Is). His pedigree is otherwise stated [by Nw, who has Jābir Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Amr Ibn Ḥarām Ibn ‘Amr Ibn Sawād Ibn Salima]; but this is the best known (AGh).

P. 1032, ll. 5-6. ^{يُشَابُ} is a *d. s.* to ^{جَنَى} *the honey*; while ^{تُشَابُ} *that is mixed*, the version in the Jh, is an *ep.* of ^{أَلْبَانٍ} *milk*.

P. 1034, l. 8. Add (28, 29) ^{فَعَالَةٌ} and ^{فُعُولَةٌ} [237, 265], (30) ^{فَوَاعِيلُ} [247, 253, 255, 261], and (31) ^{فَعَائِلُ} [256], variations of ^{أَفَاعِلُ} and ^{فُعُولُ}, and ^{فَوَاعِلُ} respectively; and (32-34) ^{أَفَاعِلُ} [249, 253, 254, 256], ^{أَفَاعِلَةٌ} [249, 256], and ^{أَفَاعِيلُ} [254, 256, 257], (35, 36) ^{فَوَاعِلُ} and ^{فَعَائِلُ} [252, 715], (37, 38) ^{فَيَاعِلُ} and

فَيَاعِلُ [252, 253, 715], (39) فَعَالَيْنُ [250, 256], and (40, 41) مَفَاعِلُ and مَفَاعِيلُ [252, 255-257], included by IM in the like of فَعَالِلُ [below]. Other collective, *pl.*, or *quasi-pl.* formations will be found in §§. 253-258, 265, 267, 272, and 273—*l.* 21. IA (*p.* 337, *ll.* 6, 15) has “augmented *quad.*” and “augmented *quin.*”, meaning “*tril.* augmented to four letters” and “*quad.* augmented to five letters” respectively. The Aud (*p.* 219) and A (*vol.* IV, *p.* 176, *l.* 1.) here have “*tril.*” ; but the A similarly uses “*quad.*” on *p.* 177, and “*quin.*” on *pp.* 179, 180, to signify “augmented *tril.*” and “augmented *quad.*” respectively. In order to avoid confusion I have here confined the terms “*tril.*”, “*quad.*”, and “*quin.*” to words of three, four, and five *rad.*s. respectively. Jrb also uses “*quad.*” for “augmented *tril.*” ; and so does IY (*p.* 666, *ll.* 12 and 23, and *p.* 667, *l.* 1).

P. 1035, *ll.* 6 and 19. The mention of عَلَقَى and عَلَاقِي requires consideration, because عَلَقَى is one of the aggregate previously mentioned, in which there exist broken *pls.* of other formations, since A has previously mentioned it among the *ns.* whose [broken] *pls.* are فَعَالِلُ and فَعَالِي [248] (Sn). See *p.* 998, *ll.* 15-16. But this objection seems to be groundless, because these two *pls.* are not “of other formations,” being *orig.* فَعَالِي, like فَعَالِلُ [248].

P. 1036, *l.* 1. Derenbourg (S. II. 204, *l.* 14) prints عَشَائِرُ, which is contrary to rule [717], because the *ى* in the *sing.* is not a letter of prolongation—*ll.* 3-16. Under this rule فَيَعِلُّ, like جَيِّدٌ [251], is as much entitled to the broken *pl.* فَيَاعِلُ as فَيَعِلُّ, like

صَيِّفٌ [above]. Jh, in saying that جَيَّائِدُ and سَيَّائِدُ, *pls.* of جَيِّدٌ and سَيِّدٌ, are contrary to analogy, perhaps refers to the Hamza, adopting the opinion of Akh [715]. Other *pls.* of this form are mentioned in § 715. And the KF is mistaken in calling عَيَّائِلُ a *pl. pl.*, i. e. *pl.* of عَيَّالٌ *pl.* of عَيْلٌ, because فَعَالٌ does not make a broken *pl.* like that of the *quad.*, as R here points out. See the Note on p. 899, l. 14—l. l. Put a full stop at the end of the line.

P. 1037, l. 4. Read اَنْمَلَةٌ—l. 5. See the Note on p. 935, l. 9—ll. 10-12. A foreign word, like جَوْرَبٌ, is of course, strictly speaking, not an augmented *tril.*; but is treated as such, جَوْرَبٌ being given under جرب in the Jh and KF—l. 14. Derenbourg (S. II. 208, l. 17) prints صَرْوَجٌ; but the form in the Th, Jh, Jk, and KF is مَرْوَجَانٌ, *orig.* چروگان—l. 17. كَيْلَجَةٌ (Jh, Jk) : كَيْلَجَةٌ (IY, KF, Sn. IV. 118). Cognomen of the Ḥafīẓ [Abū Bakr (IHjr, TH)] Muḥammad, [or Aḥmad (TH),] Ibn Ṣāliḥ (KF) Ibn ‘Abd ArRaḥmān alBaghdādī alAnmāṭī (IHjr, TH) aṣṢūfī (TH), d. 271 (IHjr, TH) or 272 (TH).

P. 1038, l. 11. Derenbourg (S. II. 209, l. 1) prints مَلَكٌ, but the content requires مَلَّانٌ, as given by Jahn (IY. 666, l. 16).

P. 1040, l. 21, اِلْيَاسِيْنَ [read with the *disj.* Hamza (K)] in XXXVII. 130. is a *dial. var.* of اِلْيَاسٌ (K, B), the addition of the ي and ن having perhaps some meaning in Syriac. I have not explained it as a *pl.*, because, if it were so, it would be made *det.*

with the *art.* [13] (K). It seems probable that in Mb.83, *l.* 19, and 623, *l.* 3, where **إِلْيَاسِينَ** is explained as a *pl.*, Mb wrote **إِلْيَاسِينَ**, meaning it to be *pl.* of **إِلْيَاسُ** (see *p.* 1040, *l.* 19—*p.* 1041, *l.* 4).

P. 1041, *l.* 1. Ilyās (IKb, Tr, K, B, Nw) Ibn Yā-Sīn (Tr, K, B), of the tribe of Aaron brother of Moses (K, B), the Apostle of the Lord of the Worlds (Nw), sent by God to the inhabitants of Ba'labakk, who use to worship an idol called Ba'l (IKb)—5. AlAsh'ar is Nabī Ibn Udad (Tr, LTA, IKhn, Dh, KF, LL) Ibn Zaid Ibn Yashjub (Tr, LTA, IKhn, Dh, LL) Ibn 'Arib Ibn Zaid Ibn Kahlān (Tr, LTA, LL) Ibn Saba (Tr, Jh, LTA, LL) Ibn Yashjub Ibn Ya'rub Ibn Kaḥṭān (Tr, Jh)—*ll.* 16-17. In **لُعْبَرِي** the fourth becomes penultimate, and in **حَيْرُونُ**, **مَرْمَرِيْسُ**, **عَيْطُمُوسُ**, and **أَحْرَنْجَامُ** the penultimate becomes fourth, by elision of another *aug.* in the first four words, and of two other *augs.* in the last. The first three *ns.* are augmented *trils.*, and the last two augmented *quads.*; but the same rule applies to both kinds (*p.* 1050, *ll.* 13-15). The letter of prolongation in the penultimate, however, of the augmented *quad.* **عَنْكَبُوتُ**, or of the augmented *quin.* **قَرَطْبُوسُ**, cannot be made fourth; and the *pl.* is **فَعَالِلُ** formed from the four *rad.*s. preceding it. But if, as some hold, the fourth *rad.* in **قَرَطْبُوسُ** may be elided instead of the fifth, then the penultimate may become fourth, and the *pl.* will then be **قَرَاطِيْسُ**. See *p.* 936. *ll.* 16-21, and *p.* 1051, *ll.* 14-18; and note that the **ب** is from the same source as the *aug.* letters **م** and **و** [732].

P. 1042, *l.* 23. The version **وَكَحَلِ الْعَيْنَيْنِ**, printed by Derenbourg in S. II, 415, *l.* 8, is wrong, and should be corrected.

P. 1044, l. 10-18. See what S says at p. 1240, ll. 19-22. His opinion that the و of كَنْهَرٌ is not elided in the broken *pl.* or the *dim.* is apparently inconsistent with his opinion that one of the two و s in عَطَرٌ must be elided in both formations. See p. 1242, ll. 9-20, and p. 1316, l. l.—p. 1318, l. 20. And perhaps it is this inconsistency which has produced the difference between R and A, the former going by what S says on كَنْهَرٌ, and the latter by what he lays down on عَطَرٌ.

P. 1045, ll. 3-9. The *quin.*, whose augment is always placed after the 4th or 5th *rad.* [401], loses it by this rule, in addition to the 5th *rad.* (p. 1051, ll. 10-13), because فَعَالٌ is completed by the preceding four *rad.*s, unless the augment be a letter of prolongation after the fourth *rad.*, and this *rad.* be elided, in which case the *pl.* is فَعَالِيٌ (Note on p. 1041, ll. 16-17). The *quad.*, which may have three *aug.*s in various positions [393-400], loses all of them except the soft letter fourth and penultimate, or reducible to this position by elision of the other *aug.*s. (p. 1050, ll. 8-20), because the positions of the ف, ع, and two ل s in فَعَالٌ and فَعَالِيٌ are occupied by the four *rad.*s, so that there remains only the position of the ي in فَعَالِيٌ for the *aug.* to occupy, and this can be taken only by a soft letter occupying in the *sing.* the position above described. The *tril.*, which may have four *aug.*s in various positions [369-391], retains one to occupy the position of the ف, ع, first ل, or second ل in the *pl.*; and may retain a second to occupy the position of the ي in فَعَالِيٌ. The latter can only be a soft letter fourth and penultimate in the *sing.*, or reducible to this position. But the former may be one of three possible *aug.*s.; and various supplementary rules are given (p. 1045, l. 19—p. 1050, l. 8) to determine the choice.

P. 1048, l. l. The A (vol. IV, p. 183) adds “and عَيْطُمُوسُ” [398], and after حَزَابِينُ (p. 1049, l. 3) inserts “and عَطَامِيسُ” [below]: but this *ex.* is out of place here, being an augmented *quad.*, the elision of whose *ي* is to be explained by the rule given below (p. 1050, ll. 8-20), though Jh explains it by the rule here given. A seems to have inserted عَيْطُمُوسُ here because he inserts it in the corresponding passage (vol. IV, p. 192) on the *dim.* (p. 1249, l. 16—p. 1250, l. 13), where it is not out of place, since he makes no distinction there between the augmented *tril.* and the augmented *quad.*, classing both of them, together with the un-augmented and augmented *quin.*, as *ns.* exceeding four letters. See the Note on p. 1250, l. 13.

P. 1052, ll. 5-8. See the Note on p. 1193, l. 14.

P. 1057, l. 6. Lane (p. 282, col. 3) makes بَيُّوضُ *pl.* of بَيِّضٌ, not of بَيِّضَةٌ; but see p. 1060, ll. 17-21, below.

P. 1059, l. 1. Read مِنْ الْحَاجِّ—ll. 10-11. The poem cited by H is attributed to [Sharaf adDīn Abu-lMaḥāsīn Muḥammad Ibn Naṣr Ibn AlḤusain (IKhn)] Ibn ‘Unain [alAnṣārī alKūfī by origin, adDimashkī by birth, the celebrated poet, *b.* 549, *d.* 630 (IKhn)], and occurs in some MSS of his *Diwān*; but this is a mistake of the rhapsodists, the poem being by Abū Sa‘d Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn AlWazīr alMuṭṭalib (CD). Abu-lMa‘ālī Hibat Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn AlMuṭṭalib, Wazīr to AlMustaḥḥir bi-l-lāh (*r.* 487-512), was one of the learned and most erudite and best Wazīrs (Fkhr). He was appointed in 501, and dismissed in 502 (IKhld). The verses, being quoted by H (*d.* 516), cannot, of course, be by Ibn ‘Unain.

P. 1060, ll. 17-21. The rule that the broken *pl.* should be assigned to the *n. un.*, though here observed by S, and expressly laid down by R, is often neglected, sometimes by R himself, ^{أَعْنَابُ} and ^{أَرْطَابُ} being treated as *pls.* of ^{عَنْبٌ} and ^{رُطْبٌ} [237], and ^{سَفَارِجُ} and ^{فَرَارِذُ} as *pls.* of ^{سَفَرَجَلٌ} and ^{فَرَزْدَقٌ} [245].

P. 1063, l. 5. Read ^{قَلَنْسَوَةٌ}—l. 20. Read ^{جَبَّاءٌ}.

P. 1065, ll. 17-18. They do not say ^{أَرَأَيْتُ}, nor ^{أَرَأَيْتُ} (S). S here (S. II. 197, ll. 9-13) seems to be repeating Khl's words—l. 19. Lane (p. 48, col. 2, l. 3) omits "S", i. e., Jh, from his list of authorities for ^{أَرَأَيْتُ}.

P. 1066, ll. 16-17. Derenbourg (S. II. 206, l. 20) prints ^{رَخْلٌ}; but R seems to have read ^{رَخْلٌ} here—l. 19. These are *pls.* of an obsolete *sing.*, which supersede the *pl.* of the *sing.* used. This is the opinion of S and the majority. But some of the GG hold them to be irregular *pls.* of the *sing.* spoken: while IJ holds that the expression is altered to another shape, [for which that *pl.* would be regular (Sn),] and is then pluralized, as in the case of ^{أَبَاطِيلُ}, where he thinks that the *n.* is altered to ^{إِبْطِيلٌ} or ^{أَبْطُولٌ}, and then pluralized (A on the *dim.*); and this opinion is approximate to the first (Sn).

P. 1067, l. 18. This verse, as appears from the next verse cited by Jh (art. ^{حَوَج}), forms part of a poem attributed in the KA (vol. XV, p. 167) to Abū Ḳāis Ibn AlAslat, and in the Is (vol. III, p. 492) to Ḳāis Ibn Rifa'a. See the Notes on p. 738, l. 19, and p. 868, l. 1.

P. 1068, l. 8. Read **الْحَوَائِج** —l. 21. Not mentioned by HKh under this title. Probably IBr's treatise styled by IKhn (p. 378) and HKh (vol. III, p. 205). "Glosses on", and by Syt (BW, p. 168) and AKB (vol. II, p. 529) "Refutation of", the D.

P. 1069, l. 1. The CD (p. 86) has **الرقاشى**, for which I read **الرياشى** —ll. 12-16. See the Note on p. 909, l. 13, and see p. 1089, l. 3.

P. 1070, ll. 18-19. IY (p. 624, l. 10) attributes the fourth saying to AU.

P. 1072, l. 4. Put a full stop after "(DM)".

P. 1073, l. 1. **عُرْل** *unarmed men* (IY) : **غُرْل** *weavers* (Jh). The latter reading seems to be correct.

P. 1075, l. 7. This looks like a transposition, meaning "*off the salt plants of the rugged ground*". See p. XXXVI, l. 11.

P. 1076, l. 12. Derenbourg (S. II. 208, l. 10) prints **فَالْأُمَيْرَةُ** —l. 13. **Ḥakīl** is a land. AnNumaira is a water in the abodes of the Banū Tamīm ; and ArRā'ī says **لَهَا بِحَقِيلِ الْخ**, which shows you that **Ḥakīl** is one of their abodes (Bk).

P. 1077, l. 8. "*that had no well-rope*" means *superficial*, not sunk in the ground, like well-water—l. 10. **بَرْكَةٌ** is a kind of *water-fowl* ; and ISd says that it is also *a frog*, Zuhair's saying **فِي حَفَاتِهِ** being so expounded by some (HH)—l. 22. Read **أَصَائِلُ** —*ibid.* The MASHI (p. 65) reverses the order of **أَصْلُ** and **أَصِيلُ**.

making أَصِيل^٩ *pl.* of أَصْل^٩; but this is an evident mistake—*l.* 23. Read أَعْنَاق^٩—*l.* 1. Read أَكْم^٩.

P. 1078, *l.* 4. Lane (*p.* 73, *col.* 3, and *p.* 353, *col.* 1) gives أَكَامِيم^٩—properly, as he suggests, أَوَاكِيم^٩ [661, 686]—and أَتَامِير^٩ as ultimate *pls.* added by IHsh; but I do not find them in the BS (*p.* 150)—*l.* 7. From R. I. 33, 45—*l.* 16. The *Kitāb al-Hujjat fi 'Ilal* (NA) *al-Kirā'āt* (NA, IKhn) *as Sab'* (NA).

P. 1080, *ll.* 18-20. رِبَاجِي^٩ is a *rel. n.* from قَلْعَةُ رِبَاج *Calatrava*, [a city (MI)] in Spain (LL). The geographies do not give رِبَاج^٩, which is said by Lane (*p.* 1009, *col.* 2), on the authority of a marginal annotation on a copy of the Jh, to be in India.

P. 1081, *l.* 10. عَبَال^٩ is not a *pl.*, but a collective generic *n.*; and for that reason alone is not diptote.

P. 1082, *ll.* 1-2. In Syria (ZJ).

P. 1084, *l.* 1. Read “and (dread) the”.

P. 1086, *l.* 7. Jahn (IY. 675, *l.* 9) prints رَخْل^٩. See *p.* 1066, *ll.* 16-17, and the Note thereon—*l.* 9. إِخْرَء^٩, according to R, is a *pl.*, because its measure, like that of نِسْوَةٌ^٩ [below], is notorious in the *pl.* (see *p.* 898, *l.* 16).

P. 1087, *l.* 19. Bk says (AKB), Uhāza is a country; and is said to be a clan of Dhu-lKalā', of Ḥimyar, which is correct (Bk, AKB).

P. 1089, *ll.* 3-4. Read “[21, 255]”, cutting out the reference to §. 275.

P. 1094, ll. 17-19. The *sing.* of رَوْبَى [is رَوْبَانُ; but (Jh)] is [said by As to be (Jh)] رَأَيْتُ (S, Jh), like هَالِكٌ; *pl.* هَلَكَى (Jh).

P. 1095, ll. 13-15. It is said that AlKhansá was smearing her camels with pitch, having bared her arms; and she was a comely woman, having fore-arms firm in flesh. Then Duraid Ibn AsSimma passed by her: and he sent to her, suing for her in marriage; and praised her in an ode containing this verse (AAz).

P. 1098, l. 9. Ibn Hishām, the author of the SR, cites this verse in his Life [of the Apostle, at p. 514], saying "One of those who fled on the day of Badr was Khalid Ibn AlA'lam, who was the man that said فَلَکَسْنَا عَلَى الْخَمِ, and did not say truly in that, but was the first to flee on the day of Badr, and was then overtaken, and captured," which seems to say that he was the author of this verse; whereas it was not so, but he quoted it only as an example (AKB)—l. 10. AlHuṣain Ibn AlḤumām Ibn Rabi'a.....Ibn Sahm Ibn Murra alMurri (T, AKB), of the Murra of Ghatafān (T), a heathen cavalier and poet (AKB).

P. 1099, l. 10. Jh and the KF give اُرْوَانٌ a broken *pl.* اُرُونٌ, like بُونٌ [below].

P. 1100, l. 7. Jadhima alAbrash says رَبَّما أَوْفَيْتُ الْخَمِ [505] (Jh).

P. 1102, ll. 11-12. Mālik Ibn AlḤārith an Nakha'i (Mb, T, Is), known as AlAshtar, the chief of his people (Is), one of [Jaar (IKhn)] AnNakha' Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'Ula Ibn Jald (Mb) Ibn Mālik [Madhḥij (IKhn)] Ibn Udad (IHb), a [great (IKhn)] clan of Madhḥij (IKhn, LL) in AlYaman (IKhn), d. 38 (Is).

P. 1105, l. 22. By "it" is meant "what he mentions".

P. 1107, l. 14. From the same poem as the verse in p. 980, l. 22.

P. 1109, ll. 10-11. This verse is attributed (1) by Abū Tamām to Tharwān Ibn Fazāra Ibn 'Abd Yaghūth al'Āmirī, a Companion, whose pedigree is given by IKlb, and, on his authority, by IHjr in the Is, as Tharwān Ibn Fazāra Ibn 'Abd Yaghūth Ibn Zuhair aṣṢatm, also called Zuhair alAkbar, Ibn Rabi'a Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Rabi'a Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Ṣa'sa'a : (2) by S to Khidāsh Ibn Zuhair, this Zuhair being the Zuhair aṣṢatm mentioned ; and Khidāsh being brother of 'Abd Yaghūth, grandfather of Tharwān aṣṢaḥābī ; and being said by AlMarzubānī to be a heathen, while IHjr in the Is brings him into the division of the Converts, who reached the time of the Prophet, but did not meet him, saying that Khidāsh was present at Ḥunsin with the idolators, and afterwards become a Muslim : (3) by AAA to Zurāra Ibn Farwān, [a poet (ID)] of the Banū 'Āmir Ibn Ṣa'sa'a ; but I have not seen this Zurāra in [any of] the four divisions of the Is, nor in the *Jamharat alAnsāb* of IKlb ; and God knows ! (AKB). AAA here follows his Master ID (see ID. 180)—*ibid*. This is the well-known version, which is transmitted by S and later GG. But AMArb, in his Refutation of ISf's Exposition of the Verses of S, says "How should the gazelle and the ass be mothers, when they are male animals ? And the correct version is what AN recited to us, *vid*.

أَظْبَىٰ نَانَ أُمِّكَ أَمْ حِمَارُ

Whether a gazelle covered thy mother, or an ass" (AKB). Yākūt [author of the Mk] says of AN, I do not know any master of his ; nor any pupil other than AMArb ; and I think that this was a

man who went out to the desert, and picked up his learning from the Arabs who dwell in tents (BW). And AMArb used to try to blacken his color, anointing himself with oil, and sitting in the sun, in imitation of the Arabs of the desert, in order that his cognomen "AlA'rābī" might be justified (NA).

P. 1110, ll. 18-19. From the same poem as verses on pp. 307 and 510.

P. 1116, ll. 12-14. حَمَامَةٌ is made *fem.* by the ه; and, there being no corresponding male, since حَمَامَةٌ itself denotes the *male* here, is a *lit. fem.*—l. 22. From the same poem as verses on pp. XXXIV and 990—*ibid.* صُلبٌ, *orig.* صُلبٌ (IY): صُلبٌ with two ʾammas, *pl.* of the صليبٌ *cross* [246] of the Christians (MN).

P. 1117, l. 6. I have not met with the name of its author (MN). إِلَى مَلِكٍ *to a king* (Aud), *to the light of whose fire I betake myself.*

P. 1118, l. l. Put a comma after "(IY)".

P. 1127, ll. 18-19. Abū Ḥamza Anas Ibn Mālik alAnṣārī alKhazrajī an Najjārī alBaṣrī, the servant of the Apostle of God, d. 90 or 91 or 92 or 93 or 95 or 97, at the age of more than 100 years, having been ten years old before the Hijra (Nw). He was the last of the Companions to die at AlBaṣra (IKb, HH).

P. 1128, l. 10. Read "or".

P. 1130, l. 17. Read فَاعِلٌ.

P. 1132, l. 8. Dele "to"—l. 19. Put a comma after "them"—l. 23. Read "resemblance".

P. 1138 l. 9. Read لَأَقْوَامَ.

P. 1139, ll. 21-23. See the pedigree given in the Note on p. 947, ll. 17-18—l. 24. From the same poem as the verse at p. 587, l. 8.

P. 1140 l. 1. AlGhabīṭ is a place near Falj on the road from AlBaṣra to Makka (AKB)—l. 16. Diyāf is not mentioned in the Bk (AKB).

P. 1141, l. 20. Put a comma after “Nnwaira”—l. 22 From the same poem as verses on pp. 353 and 42 A, and vol. II, p. 341.

P. 1143, l. 3. Here the use of the *pl.* with the smaller number is explained by IY as intended to prevent the *pl.* of paucity in the *sp.* understood from being taken for a *sing.*; but in §. 325. B it is explained by R as adopted for agreement with the form of the *sp.*, which is a *pl.*; as the use of the *sing.* with the larger number is adopted for agreement with the form of the *sp.*, which is a *sing.* [315].

P. 1145, l. 1. Read قَامَ.

P. 1146, l. l. Read “stantive”.

P. 1147, l. 10. اَدَمَى (Jh, R, Aud, KF, A), with the ُ (Sn). Lane (p. 45, col. 3) gives اَرَمَى.

P. 1156, l. 22. Read اَهْطَلْ—*ibid.* IA and Sn have سَحَابٌ for مَطَرٌ.

P. 1157, l. 1. Dieterici (IA. 323) prints رَوَّغَاءَ (p. 1156, l. 21) and اَرَوَّغَ, with the dotted غ; but MKh (vol. II, p. 177, ll. 2-4) shows that these words should be spelt with the undotted ع—ll.

18-19. Dieterici is wrong in printing *فَعَالَاءَ* and *قُصَاصَاءَ* (IA. 323) ; and Lane (p. 2528, col. 1) is right in thinking *قُصَاصَاءَ* to be a mistake.

P. 1158, ll. 15-19. *فَعَالَى* as a *pl.* is frequent [248, 272].

P. 1159, l. 12. *دَائَاءَ* (Aud. 208, l. 2) : *قَادَاءَ* (R. II. 135, l. 23). They are the same in measure and meaning [385].

P. 1160, l. 3. Aud Damm also of its initial is transmitted, as in [the Commentary of] IA on the Tashīl (Sn)—l. 4. With a ت pronounced with Fath, then a quiescent ر, then a ن pronounced with Damm, and then a dotted ض (Sn). Lane (p. 1147, col. 1) says that *تَرْكُضَاءَ* is incorrect—l. 5. With Kasr of the ت and ن (Sn)—l. 11. The A (vol. IV, p. 127, l. 8) has *مَعْلُولَاءَ*, an evident mistake for *فَعْلُولَاءَ*.

P. 1165, l. 13. AlKhazraji as Salamī, who was present at Badr, [when he was 33 years old (AGh)] ; and died in the Khilāfa of 'Umar (AGh, Is), at an age exceeding 50 years (Is)—l. 14. He said it on the day of [the meeting of the Anṣār in] the Hall (Md, Agh, Is) of the Banū Sā'ida (Agh) Ibn Ka'b Ibn AlKhazraj (SR, MDh), at the swearing of allegiance to Abū Bakr, meaning that he was a man whose judgment [and understanding (Md)] would be profitable (Md, Agh). See Md. I, 27 and P. I.47.

P. 1167, ll. 8-9. *مُهَيِّمِينَ* is *act. part.* of *هَيَّيْنَنَ* (Sn), and *مَبْيَظِرِينَ* of *بَيَّظَرَ*.

P. 1172, l. 1. IA's formula "the | of the *فَعْلَانُ* whose *sem.* is *فَعْلَى*" is defective, because it excludes the substantive, whether a proper name, like *عُثْمَانُ* ; or a generic n., like *زَعْفَرَانُ* [282]—ll.

9-10. A here (A. IV. 195, l. 20) refers to the passage (A. IV. 194, l. 24) corresponding to the preceding passage (p. 1171, l. 17-p. 1172, l. 9) from the Aud.

P. 1175, l. 20. The stop after ضَيَّان should be a comma.

P. 1176, l. 13. There is no word سَبْعَان. There is السَّبْعَان [236, 250, 385], a name of a place; but the substantive here is by hypothesis not a proper name.

P. 1177, l. 5. Read وَرَيْشِينَ.

P. 1179, l. 14. Read ظَرْبَاءَ — l. 15. And, if anything like ظَرْبَاءَ occurred, the Hamza would be for feminization, because this formation is not of the *cat.* of حَرْبَاءَ and عِلْبَاءَ (S). By "this formation" I understand فَعْلَاءَ, as contrasted with فَعْلَاءَ, in which the Hamza is for co-ordination [273]; and therefore I read ظَرْبَانِ and ظَرْبَاءَ for ظَرْبَانِ and ظَرْبَاءَ in S. II. 108, ll. 8-10, where Derenbourg in printing ظَرْبَانِ and ظَرْبَاءَ seems to have been misled by S's comparison of ظَرْبَانِ to سَرْبَالِ in ll. 11-12, a comparison limited, in my opinion, to the number of letters and the position of the *aug.* ا, as appears from what is said by S in ll. 1-2, and from the *ex.* وَرَشَانِ mentioned by him in l. 12. The form ظَرْبَاءَ or ظَرْبَاءَ is not given in the HH. The rule laid down by R (p. 1176, ll. 1-20) requires the *dim.* of ظَرْبَانِ to be ظَرْبِيَانِ, whatever be the form of the broken *pl.*: but the rule formulated by the GG (p. 1171, l. l.—p. 1172,

l. 1, and p. 1179, ll. 7-10) requires the *dim.* to be ظَرَبِينَ, because of the broken *pl.* ظَرَابِينَ; and having, therefore, to account for its being ظَرَبَانُ, they essay to do so by ignoring the *pl.* ظَرَابِينَ, and pointing to the *pl.* ظَرَابِي, which, though commonly regarded as derived from ظَرَابِينَ by substitution of a ي for its ن [248, 685], is here used to suggest the existence of an imaginary *sing.* ظَرَبَاء, where the prolonged Hamza is for feminization; so that the | and ن in ظَرَبَانُ resemble the | and Hamza in ظَرَبَاء, since both are *aug.* (p. 1017, ll. 6-9); and it is common ground that, when the | and ن resemble the | and Hamza, the | is not converted into ي in the *dim.* (p. 1175, l. 1).

P. 1180, l. 12. Put a comma after "283".

P. 1181, ll. 4-17. The only real exception to the rule that the letter after the ي of the *dim.* should be pronounced with Kasr in the *dim.* of the *n.* exceeding three letters is where the said letter comes immediately before the † of أَفْعَالُ: for in the three cases added by IH and IHsh, and the five other cases added by R, the final augment, or last member, being regarded as a separate word, is not taken into account in forming the *dim.* [283]; but the *dim.* is formed from the preceding part of the word, which part by hypothesis consists of only three letters, since we are dealing with words in which the letter immediately before the final augment, or last member, comes next after the ي of the *dim.* (p. 1171, l. 17—p. 1172, l. 11, and p. 1181, ll. 6-17), which is inserted after the second letter of the *non-dim.*; so that in all these eight cases the *dim.* is not formed from a *n.* exceeding three letters, but from a

tril. fragment, being simply **فَعِيلٌ** with the final augment, or last member, of the *non-dim.* tacked on to it. Moreover one of the eight cases is not an exception for another reason (*p.* 1181, *ll.* 13-15). But the case of **أَفْعَالٌ** is really an exception, because the **ا** and **ج** are not separable from the preceding part of the word, since the **ج** is not *aug.*, but a *rad.* part of the word.

P. 1184, *l.* 15. Read “the **ا** and **ن**”.

P. 1185, *l.* 4. Read **عَلَيْكَ** — *l.* 8. Read **تَرَسُّطٌ**.

P. 1187, *l.* 5. **عَطَا** in the *non-dim.* contains a cause of conversion of the **ج**, but no cause of elision. In the *dim.* the old conversion of the **ج** is removed; but a cause of conversion of the **ا**, a new cause of conversion of the **ج**, and a cause of elision of the **ج** supervene [279, 281]—*Ibid.* Read “such as”.

P. 1189, *l.* 2. A Companion, entered in the first division of the *Is* by *IHjr*, who does not mention his name [Note on *p.* 343, *l.* 21], but says (AKB), It is mentioned that he became a Muslim, and afterwards came to the Prophet, and said to him “Make adultery lawful for me”. The Prophet said “Woodst thou like such as that to be done towards thee?” He said “No”. The Prophet said “Then like for thy brother what thou likest for thyself”. He said “Then pray God [for me (AKB)] that it may depart from me (AGh, *Is*, AKB). And *Hassān* says, mentioning that, **سَأَلَتْ هَذَيْلُ آلِخَ** [658] (AGh). The *Is* has **الرِّبَا** *usury* for **الرِّبَا** *adultery*—*l.* 11. See the Note on *p.* 932, *l.* 8.

P. 1192, *l.* 4. **يُضَيِّعُ** (IY. 717, *l.* 3) : **يُضَيِّعُ** (S. II. 126, *l.* 18); but there is no reason why *Derenbourg* should make it diptote—*ll.* 8-9.

Derenbourg prints مَرِيّ, but يَرِيّ (S. II. 126, l. 16); and apparently would print مَرِيع, if it happened to be in the *nom.* in S's text. Jahn gives مَرِيّ and مَرِيع (IY. 717, l. 6), plainly contrary to the explanations of S and R (ll. 10-13). مَرِيّ requires the ي of the *o. f.* مَرْنِيّ to be restored, as well as the Hamza, and then the two to be transposed. مَرِيّ is evidently required by the explanations of S and R; and مَرِيع is *dim.* of مَرَعِيّ a *pasturage*, like مَكْنِيّ *im.* of مَلْهِيّ [278]—ll. 9-10. يَرِيّ is *orig.* يَرِيْتِي, being فَعِيلٌ from يَرْتِي: and is diptote for the same reason as يُؤْضِعُ (l. 14), i. e., because of the quality of proper name combined with verbal measure; but is pronounced with Tanwin for the same reason as يُعِيلُ, *orig.* يُعِيلِي [Note on p. 43, ll. 14-20]. Cf. p. 1193, ll. 5-9—l. 14. On يُؤْضِعُ see the last Note—l. 18. أَشِيرُ (IY. 717, l. 13); but see p. 1171, ll. 10-13.

P. 1193, l. 22. All through §. 276 the letter elided in هَار and شَاك, *orig.* هَار and شَاك, is supposed to be the ع of فَاعِل, i. e., the و. If, however, it be the *aug.* ا of فَاعِل, as Z says in the K on IX. 110, then, هَار and شَاك being thus contracted into هَوْر and شَوْك, which afterwards become هَار and شَاك [684, 703, 711], the *dims.* are of course هَوْبَر and شَوَيْك, like بَوَيْب *dim.* of بَاب [278].

P. 1194, l. 6. IY (p. 717, l. 22) has "while, in the *dim.*, what follows the initial": but I have omitted "what follows" as out of place.

P. 1198, l. 14. *Pl.* of مِثَانٌ (MN). His saying أَلْمِثَانِيقِ , not أَلْمِثَانِيقِ , is an instance of conformity to the opinion of the KK, that the letter of prolongation in the penultimate may be elided without putting the ي as a compensation for it, as before explained [253] (Sn). See p. 1052, ll. 5-8.

P. 1204, l. 2. For شَوَى in S. II. 128, l. 13, read شَوَى .

P. 1207, l. 3. ثَقَبٌ (S. II. 130, l. 13; Jh. I. 210), which is perhaps the proper reading here, instead of ثَقَبٌ printed by Jahn (IY. 720, l. 21) ; and means *holes, perforations, bores* smaller than ثَقَبٌ .

P. 1208, l. 13. The restriction "when a proper name" is inserted here, as in many other places, in order that the *pl.* may be regarded as a *sing.*, and form its *dim.* as such, and not as a *pl.* [285]. Cf. the Note on p. 1321, l. 15.

P. 1213, l. 5. Read غَزَوْ .

P. 1214, l. 12. Not مَكَيِّى , as strangely printed by Lane (p. 683, col. 2, and p. 2085, col. 2). This is conclusively proved by its *pl.* مَكَيُّونَ , as مَكَيُّونَ in a verse cited in T. 45, explained in the MN as *orig.* مَكَيُّونَ إِيَّانَ . Lane is apparently misled by Jh's saying that the ل is retained, by which he means that the ل is not arbitrarily elided, as in عَطَى and أَحَى , where the third ي is, in IH's words, elided as forgotten, i. e., completely lopped off, together with the vowel of the second ي , to which the inflection of the third

is then transferred. The third *ي* euphonically elided in *مَحْيٍ* disappears in the presence of Tanwīn; but re-appears in the absence of Tanwīn, as *مَحْيِيكَ* and *الْمَحْيِي*: while, during its disappearance, its memory is preserved by the Kasr of the second *ي*; and for this reason, or because it sometimes appears in pause [643], it is often expressed in print, as in the Egyptian edition of the *Ṣaḥaḥ* (vol. II, p. 463), or in MS, as perhaps in Lane's copies of that work. See p. 1336, l. 3.

P. 1217, l. 1. *آرُس* (S. II. 134, l. 7). But S here means the Hamza to be elided (Cf. p. 1218, ll. 4-6); not transposed, and then softened into *ا*. For *آرُس*, like *أَكُلُ* *I eat*, would be as much on the measure of the *v.* as *أَرُوس*.

P. 1218, l. 1. S and Jh mean that, if *أَحْيٍ* were triptote because of its variation from *أَفْعِلُ*, then *أَصَمُ* and *أَرُسُ* would be triptote because of their variation from *أَفْعِلُ*, and *أَصِيمُ* because of its variation from *أَفْعِلُ*—l. 10. In Lane (p. 681, col. 3) *dele* “‘Amr Ibn-el-’Alà or” and “(according to different copies of the Ṣ,)”, there being no use in perpetuating the accidental omission of “Abū” by some copyists.

P. 1219, l. 20. Read “elides”.

P. 1220, l. 7. Read *مَرْيِيَّةٌ*—l. 8. In S. II. 132, l. 16, read *أَرْوِيَّةٌ* for *أَرْوِيَّةٌ*.

P. 1226, ll. 4-5. Cf. “Justice Shallow”—*Ibid.* The words *كَدَا تَجَسَّمُ فِي عَيْنِي كَدَا* in Lane (p. 424, col. 3, art. *جسم*, 5) should

be rendered "*He or It, assumed such a form, or shape in my eye,*" not "*Such a thing assumed a form, or shape, in my eye, as Lane translates them, كَذَا being in the acc., like عَدَلًا in R's phrase تَجَسَّيْتُ عَدَلًا here, not in the nom., as Lane supposes. The ex. is designed to show the construction, as well as the sense.*"

P. 1228, ll. 1-2. Read "*marriage-feast*"—ll. 8-9. A born poet, who was contemporary with the two dynasties, the Umawi and [the beginning of (KA)] the 'Abbāsi (KA, FW). Lane (p. 1993, col. 1) gives his name as 'Abd AlMu'min.

P. 1229, l. 7. Read كَذَا.

P. 1232, l. 18. حَوْلَا is a [proper (Jrb)] name (IY, R, Jrb) of a man (IY, R), [or] of a place (Jrb). حَوْلَا is a place (ZJ), a town in AnNahrawān, ruined with it (MI). See p. 1147, l. 13, where R also calls it a place.

P. 1237, ll. 20-21. Cf. p. 870, ll. 20-25.

P. 1241, l. 21. Dozy (Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes, vol. I, p. 490) is quite mistaken in stating that أَذْهَبَ in the M, p. 87, l. 4, means "*plus apte à être élide*". The words of the M are أَبْقَيْتَ أَذْهَبَهَا فِي الْفَائِدَةِ وَحَذَفْتَ أُخْتَهَا *You retain the more useful, and elide its fellow,* for which IH in the SH, p. 37, l. 3, has يُحَذَفُ أَكْثَرُهَا فَأَيْدَى *The less useful of the two is elided.* The ذَهَاب implied in أَذْهَبَ here does not mean *elision*, but *extent of usefulness*; and the *aug.* that goes further in usefulness is "*moins apte à être élide,*" not "*plus apte*".

P. 1248, l. 17. The *dim.* of أَبِيرَةٌ is أَبِيرُهُ (Jh, KF) ; and this is the saying of Mb (Jh). Mb says أَبِيرُهُ and أُسَيِّعُ (A), by eliding the fifth, and putting the ى as a compensation for it (Sn). This compensatory ى before the ى and ع in the *dim.* has no connection with the *aug.* ى after the ى and ع in the *non-dim.*—l. l. Thus these *ns.* are *tril.*, *quad.*, or *quin.*, according to different opinions. And, when they are held to be *tril.*, أَبِيرُهُ and سُيِّعُ may be defended on the ground that elision of the Hamza enables the ى to be retained ; and أَبِيرُهُ or أَبِيرُهُ, and أُسَيِّعُ or أُسَيِّعُ, on the ground that the Hamza, being initial, should be retained in preference to the م and ل, which are final.

P. 1250, ll. 13-21. IHsh in the Aud (p. 222), being under the impression that the passage of the IM paraphrased below (p. 1251, ll. 8-12) from the IA and A is intended by IM as an exception to the rule previously laid down by him (p. 1249, ll. 16-21), goes on here to except the *post.*, the last member of the synthetic *comp.*, the sign of the *du.*, and the sign of the sound *pl.* ; and, after observing that, if a *n.* ending in any of these terminations might form a broken *pl.*, the rule of elision would necessarily be applied to that termination, raises the objection that, this rule not being applicable to the *post.* in either the broken *pl.* or the *dim.* (p. 1251, ll. 3-7), IM ought not to have included the *post.* among the exceptions to the rule that what is elided in the broken *pl.* is elided in the *dim.* This impression, which seems to have been shared by IA (p. 341, ll. 6-7) and A (vol. IV, p. 198, ll. 26-28), is shown by Sn (vol. IV, p. 197, l. 14—p. 198, l. 1) to be erroneous, IM's intention being only to intimate that, with these eight things, it is sufficient

for the form of the *dim.* to be constructively attained by treating them as separate, irrespectively of the consideration whether they are similarly treated in the broken *pl.*, or not ; while, as a matter of fact, seven of them, i. e., all but the *post.*, are not so treated. And this explanation is adopted by MKh (*vol.* II, *p.* 196, *l.* 30—*p.* 197, *l.* 2).

P. 1251, *ll.* 5-6. The *conj.* Hamza of the *sing.* seems to be here treated as a substantive letter.

P. 1252, *l.* 2. Dieterici (*IA.* 341, *l.* 8) prints بُعَيْلِكَ .

P. 1255, *l.* 2. And in لَغَيْرِي [below] also, because the ي before the *;* becomes penultimate upon elision of the *l* of feminization—*l.* 13. A (*vol.* IV, *p.* 193, *l.* 20) has “in the *sing.*”, because IM treats of compensation in the broken *pl.* and the *dim.* together ; and Sn (*vol.* IV. 193, *l.* 13) uses the same expression. The *sing.* and the *non-dim.* are of course identical.

P. 1256, *l.* 22—*p.* 1257, *l.* 15. I have re-arranged these *exs.* to make the meaning clearer. See R. 98, *ll.* 15—*l.* *l.*

P. 1257, *ll.* 2-3. The R (*p.* 98, *l.* 16) has “that *sing.*” ; but some of the *exs.* require “that *pl.*”—*ll.* 8, 13. Jahn prints جَرَبَحُونَ (IY. 731, *l.* *l.*) and جَرَبَحَاتُ (IY. 732, *l.* 1)—*l.* 9. See the Note on *ll.* 2-3—*l.* 16. Z intends شُوع to be an *ex.* of a *pl.* of multitude whose *sing.* has no *pl.* of paucity ; but some allow أَشْأَع [317].

P. 1260, *ll.* 10-11. It is difficult to see how مَشَابِهُ and مَحَاسِنُ can relate to the rational *masc.*, and still remain *pl.*, because, if

either of them were a proper name of a man, it would be *sing.* in sense. Perhaps R means to show, irrespectively of their actual meaning, how their *dims.* would be formed if they related to the rational *masc.*—*l.* 19. Its author is said to be unknown, and it is said to be forged (MN, AKB).

P. 1265, *ll.* 13-20. ^{اِنْسَان} is *orig.* ^{اِنْسِيَان}, from which they elide the ^ي; and therefore, when they have recourse to the *dim.*, they say ^{اَنِيسِيَان}, restoring the ^ي in the *dim.* And they do that in another word, saying ^{لَيْلِيَّة} in the *dim.* of ^{لَيْلَة}, because its *o. f.* is ^{لَيْلَا} [below] (ID). Thus the Baṣrī ID adopts the opinion of the KK.

P. 1270, *l.* 1. For ^{مَلِيح} in Lane (*p.* 2732, *col.* 1) read ^{مَلِيح} (*dim.* of ^{مَلِيح}), as in S. II. 137, *l.* 12, M. 88, *l.* 7, and IY. 734, *l.* 23. S omits ^{يَد} in this *ex.*

P. 1273, *l.* 21. ^{عُنْتَرِيْس}, if authentic, is anomalous, like ^{عُنَيْكِيْت} [283, 674]. The *dim.* of ^{عُنْتَرِيْس} is said by S and R to be ^{عُنْتَرِيْس} [283].

P. 1276, *l.* 7. IY gives ^{جَنْهِيْر} as an instance of the ^ي of compensation, which is plainly wrong—*ll.* 19-20. The Sn (*vol.* IV, *p.* 208, *l.* 5) has ^{أَبِيْرِيَة} and ^{بُرِيْهِم}; but in the *curt. dim.* the *aug.* letter of prolongation in the penultimate of the *non-dim.* disappears, as in ^{قُرَيْطِيْس} for ^{قُرَيْطِيْس}, and the ^ي of compensation is not inserted. Therefore, according to S, on elision of the Hamza the,

aug. ا , and the *aug.* ي , there remains برهم , which forms بُرْهِمُ ; and, according to Mb, on elision of the *aug.* ا , the *aug.* ي , and the last *rad.* م , there remains أبره , which forms أَبْرَه .

P. 1277, ll. 13-14. See Md. I. 401 and P. II. 85—l. 19. See Md. II. 310 and P. II. 908—l. 22. See Md. I. 149 and P. I. 297.

P. 1281, ll. 7-8. Jh on ^{٥٤}أَمْسِ says "except Friday", giving S as his authority. See Lane (μ. 99, col. 2). But I do not find this exception in S. II. 138, ll. 13-14.

P. 1282, l. 7. Read "339".

P. 1283, l. 3. After "Zaid" insert "[339]".

P. 1285, l. 22. Put a comma after "into ,".

P. 1286, l. 22. Put a comma after "dim."

P. 1287, l. 14. Read "Tashil".

P. 1297, l. 19. The second hemistich is by AtTau'am alYashkurī, who was engaged in a poetic contest with Imra AlKais, in which the latter gave out the first hemistich of each verse, and the former then supplied the second.

P. 1298, l. 13. One of the Banū Muḥārib Ibn 'Amr Ibn Wadī'a [Ibn Lukaiz Ibn Afṣā (IKb)] Ibn 'Abd AlKais, in relation to whom he is called al'Abdī, a well-known bad poet (AKB), who satirized Jarir (ID). Mb asserts that Jarir and AlFarazdaq made him judge between them: and that he then adjudged AlFarazdaq to be more noble than Jarir, and AlFarazdaq's kindred, the Banū Mujaṣhi', than Jarir's kindred, the Banū Kulaib; but Jarir to be the better poet of the two (AKB)—ll. 17-18. There is another version مَتَى مَا يُحَكِّمَ Whenever he is made judge (AKB). See p. 771. l. l.—p. 772, l. 9.

P. 1300, l. 12. Read "(I am)".

P. 1305, l. 2. A place in the cultivated parts of Al'Trāk, said by Khl to be adjacent to the region of Mesopotamia. Good wine is called after it. AlA'shà says

تَخَيَّرَهَا أَخُو عَانَاتٍ دَهْرًا * وَرَجَى بِرَّهَا عَامًا فَعَامًا

An inhabitant of 'Ānāt selected it once upon a time, and hoped for its goodness year by year, also related أَخُو عَانَاتٍ (Bk)—l. 3. أَنْزَعَاتٍ with Kasr [or Fath (KF)] of the ر, a place in Syria (Jh, KF, LL)—Ibid. أَنْزَعَى (S. II. 83, l. 18) : أَنْزَعَى (LTA, Dh). See p. 1309, l. 7—1310, l. 8. Apparently it ought to be أَنْزَعَى—l. 9. Naṣībīn, [or, as some of the Arabs say, Naṣībūn (MI),] a [flourishing (MI)] city in [the regions of (MI)] Mesopotamia (Mk, MI, LL), on the main road of the caravans from Mauṣil to Syria, and nine parasangs from Sinjār (MI).

P. 1306, l. 2. It was flourishing, populous : but, when the Greeks took Aleppo in the year 351, the inhabitants of Ḳinnasrīn were alarmed, and evacuated it, dispersing abroad in the countries ; and nothing remained in it, except a caravansary, where the caravans stop (MI).

P. 1308, ll. 9-12. The *rel. ns.* نَمِرِي, شَقَرِي, and دُولِي may be derived from the proper names AnNamir, Shaḳira, and AdDu'il—*Ibid.* Namarī is from (1) AnNamir Ibn Kāsiṭ..... Ibn Asad Ibn Rabi'a Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān, among whom are many ; (2) AnNamir Ibn 'Uthmān (KAb) Ibn Naṣr Ibn Zahrān..... Ibn Mālik Ibn Naṣr Ibn AlAzd (IHb). Shaḳira is [Mu'āwiya Ibn (IHb)] AlḤārith Ibn Tamīm (IHb, Mb, LL) Ibn Murr (IHb). And AdDu'il [Ibn Bakr Ibn 'Abd Manāt Ibn Kināna (IIIb)] is a clan of Kināna (IKhn) Ibn Khuzaima, the kindred of AAD (IHb)—l. 13

AlHārith received the cognomen AlHabit (The man with a swollen belly), because he ate much gum, and his belly swelled from it (ID).

P. 1313, l. 9. AṣṢammān is a [red (ZJ, Mk, MI)] mountain [in the neighbourhood of AdDahnā (Mk), in the land of Tamīm (MI)], extending for three nights (Bk, ZJ, Mk, MI), not lofty (Bk, Mk, MI), named الصَّانُ because of its ruggedness (Bk).

P. 1321, l. 15. The restriction "when proper names" is intended to obviate the necessity for restoration to the *sing.* [310]. Cf. the Note on p. 1208, l. 13.

P. 1329, ll. 14-20. In S. II. 75, l. 9, read مُثْنَى (like مَعْلَى) for مَثْنَى printed by Derenbourg.

P. 1332, l. 20. There is no سَرَّوَة in the Dictionaries or Geographies. It seems to be an imaginary word.

P. 1339, ll. 11-12. Jirwa Ibn Naḍla (IHb, IY) Ibn MalīkIbn Ḥūmais (IHb)—l. 19. Put a comma after "[300]".

P. 1340, l. 5. الْبَطِيَّةُ, as in S (vol. II, p. 70, l. 21), R (p. 123, l. 3), and KF (p. 924, l. 4) : not بَطِيَّةٌ, as in Lane (p. 222, col. 1). Lane's authorities appear not to be aware that it is a proper name.

P. 1345, ll. 2-6. The clause "whether they denote.....combination of two double *س* s" is interpolated from R. 109, ll. 6-8, in the passage from R. 125, l. 4, commenced at p. 1344, l. 21.

P. 1349, l. 21. Hīrā is a mountain at [the distance of three miles from (MI)] Makka (Bk, MI). As says, It is made *masc.* and trip-tote by some, and *fem.* and diptote by others (Bk)—*Ibid.* Kūbā is the name of two places, one on the road from AlBaṣra to Makka,

and the other at AlMadina. It is made *masc.* and triptote by some of the Arabs, and *fem.* and diptote by others (Bk).

P. 1352, ll. 23—l. l. In order that you may be able to inflect it, because the *n.* that a *rel. n.* is formed from must be susceptible of being *infl.* independently of the *ى* of relation [300].

P. 1354, ll. 20-22. But in that case it has no *rel. n.*

P. 1355, ll. 14-18. According to those who add an *ا*, and then convert it into Hamza, the Hamza of *لَا* is like that of *كَسَاء*; and on this ground IA, IHsh, and A allow *لَاوِي*. But, according to those who add a Hamza from the very first, the Hamza of *لَا* is like that of *قَرَاء*; and on this ground they disallow *لَاوِي*. Whatever be the origin of the Hamza in *لَا*, however, the *ا*, which is *rad.*, differs from the *ا* of *كَسَاء*, which is *aug.*; and on this ground R does not allow *لَاوِي*. Cf. the opinion of R, IHsh, and A on *مَاء* water [304].

P. 1360, l. 1. For "be" read "he"—l. 11. Read *الْمَرْئِي*. If, as S holds, the vowel of the *ف* be retained on restoration of the *ع*, then *الْمَرْي* becomes *الْمَرْئِي*; so that, the second being mobile, the *ى* must be elided, as in *يَتَقَى* [301]; and, the word being thus reduced to three letters, the second must be pronounced with Fath, as in *دِثْل* [296]—*Ibid.* Read *الْمَرْئِي*—l. 12. Read *الْمَرْأِي*.

P. 1363, ll. 5-11. See p. 1371, l. 13, and the Note thereon.

P. 1367, l. 1. Not *إِمْرِي* and *إِمْرَعِي*, as printed by Derenbourg in S. II. 81, ll. 1-2. See ll. 10-12 below; and p. 1377, ll. 21-22;

and IY. 766, l. 23. This is according to the *dial.* that makes the vowel of the , conform to the vowel of the Hamza in ^{أَمْرُو} [16]. According to the *dials.* that make the vowel of the , Faṭḥ in all cases or Damm in all cases, the *rel. n.* is ^{أَمْرِي} or ^{أَمْرِي}.

P. 1369, ll. 21-22. The "original formation of the *masc.*" means the original vocalization of the ف and ع, whether the ل be restored, as in ^{أَخَوَاتُ}; or not, as in ^{بَنَاتُ} [234].

P. 1370, l. 3. ^{كَلَوِي} printed by Derenbourg in S. II. 78, l. 18, should be ^{كَلَوِي}, as in IY. 764, l. 14, and SH. 48, l. 8.

P. 1371, l. 13. But see p. 874, l. 26, and p. 1363, ll. 5-11; and *cf. vol. II, p. 16, l. 21—p. 16 a, l. 4.* The passage in the S (*vol. II, p. 78, ll. 15-17*) here paraphrased by R is extremely involved and obscure—l. 17. I adopt the *var.* ^{بِنْتِي} given in S. II 78, note 18, as plainly required by what R says here and below (*p. 1372, l. 21—p. 1373, l. 13*); not ^{بِنْتِي} given by Derenbourg in l. 18 of the text.

P. 1375, l. 3. ^{كَلَوِي} in IY. 764, l. 15, seems to be a misprint—*Ibid.* And apparently he says ^{كَلْتِي} and ^{كَلْتَاوِي} also, like ^{مَلْهِي} and ^{مَلْهَارِي} [300]—ll. 4-7. IY, who asserts that Jr considers the ت to be the ة of feminization, gives two other reasons, (1) that the ة is not a sign of feminization in the *sing.*, except when it is preceded by a Faṭḥa, as in ^{فَاتِمَةُ}, or an ا, as in ^{سَعْلَةُ} [272]; while the ل in ^{كَلْتَا} is quiescent: and (2) that the sign of feminization is never a medial, but always a final. But these are inapplicable according to the opinion distinctly stated by R,

and evidently implied by Jh and A, that the ت does not contain the sense of feminization—*l.* 7. The object of the condition is to turn كَلَّتَا into a *sing.* [117], so that it may become *decl.* as a trip-tote or diptote.

P. 1379, *l.* 24. Here and in *p.* 1380, *l.* 2, IY has إَحْدَرِي for إَحْدِي given by R. إَحْدِي being like حَبَلِي, either form is allowable [301]—*l.* 1. ذَرَاعٌ an *ell* is *fem.*

P. 1380, *l.* 2. See the Note on *p.* 1379, *l.* 24—*l.* 10. Put a comma after “IY” at the end of the line—*l.* 19. Not كَرْنِي, as printed by Jahn in IY. 766, *l.* 3.

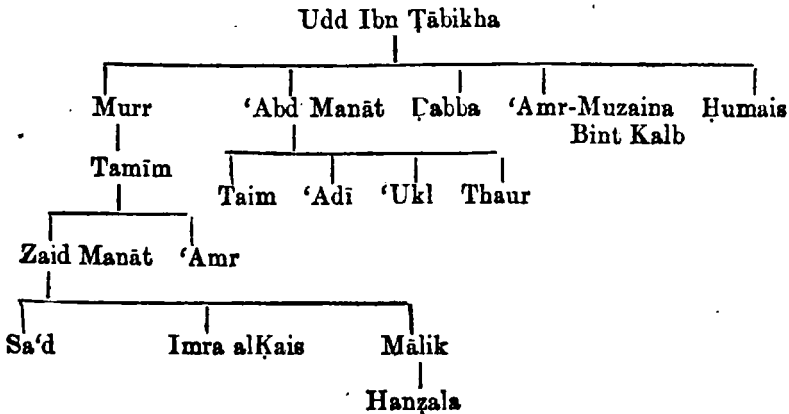
P. 1381, *l.* 16. The عَاجِنٌ is he that, from old age, is unable to rise except after bearing on his two hands, as though he were kneading (R)—*l.* 19. IY has “but Abu-l-‘Abbās disapproves”, which I take to mean Th, mentioned just before. See the head-note to the Abbreviations of References.

P. 1383, *l.* 21. Or rather اَلْغَلَامُ لَزِيدٍ the man-servant belonging to Zaid. See *p.* 343, *ll.* 10-12—*l.* 24. Not اِمْرَتِي, as printed by Derenbourg in S. II. 85, *l.* 11. See the Note on *p.* 1367, *l.* 1—*l.* 1. Not مَرَّتِي, as printed by Broch in M. 92, *l.* 6, and Jahn in IY. 766, *l.* 23. See *p.* 1367, *ll.* 7-16; and *p.* 1377, *ll.* 22-23; and S. II. 81, *l.* 4, and 85, *l.* 11; and IHb. 8 and Dh. 477. Of course مَرَّةٌ, a *dial. var.* of اِمْرَةٌ, would make مَرَّتِي. See Lane, *p.* 2703, *col.* 2.

P. 1384, *l.* 6. Read اَرْبَعَةً—*l.* 8. Not اَلْمَرَّتِي, as printed by Broch in M. 92, *l.* 7, and Jahn in IY. 766, *l.* 19, and 767, *l.* 16. See what is said above by AAz (*p.* 1383, *l.* 1.—1384, *l.* 1).

P. 1387, l. 1. تَقْعَبَسْ (A). So in the MSS, with precedence of the ق ; but analogy requires the ع to precede, because the word is [formed from] a *rel. n.* of عَبْد الْقَيْسِ Sn.)

P. 1393, l. 23. The Ribāb were Taim. [Ibn 'Abd Manāt (IKb)], 'Adi [Ibn 'Abd Manāt, of whom was the poet Dhu-rRumma (IKb)], 'Ukl, [Muzaina (ID),] and Ḍabba (IKb, ID). They were so named [because they formed a confederacy, saying "Band yourselves together like the رِبَابَة", which is a rag wherein the arrows are collected together : or, as some say (ID),] because they dipped their hands into رُبْ *date-juice*, and then swore one to the other (ID, Jh) upon it (Jh) ; but the first saying is better (ID) : or, as As says, because they تَرَبَّوْا *formed a coalition* (Jh). Jh, followed by R and A, substitutes Thaur for Muzaina.



P. 1394, ll. 8-13. Lane (p. 1005, col. 1) gives the following extraordinary paraphrase of this passage from the Jh :—"according to a rule generally observed when a [single] man has a *pl.* word for his name, as كَلَاب etc.", which is wrong on the face of it, because,

according to it, the *rel. n.* of كَلَابٌ ought to be كُنْبِي; while it is exactly the opposite of what is laid down by Jh, who says that, when a single individual has a *pl.* word for his name, it is not restored to the *sing.*—*l.* 16. Read رِبَابِي .

P. 1395, *l.* 21. Read “Abù”.

P. 1396, *ll.* 3-8. A learned Jurist (Tr, IHjr). His name is said to have been Dhakwān, Ṭā’ūs being his cognomen (IHjr). He dwelt in AlJanad, a well-known town in AlYaman (Nw). He died in the year 106 (Tr, Nw, IHjr, TH), as the majority say (Nw); or 101 (TH); or 110 and odd (Nw, TH): but the first is the well-known date (Nw). He was then more than seventy years old (Tr, Nw, TH). See *vol.* II, *p.* 22A—*l.* 5. Read “alFārisi”—*ll.* 10-11. From Dhimār, a town two stages from the Ṣan’ā of AlYaman (Nw). He was born in the year 34 (TH). And he died in the year 110, [113 (TH),] or 114 (Tr, Nw, TH), or 110 and odd (IHjr).

P. 1402, *l.* 4. I have not met with the name of its author (MN)—*l.* 18. Khuzaiba is the name of a mine (MI).

P. 1405, *l.* 13. He died (Nw, MAB) in the year 9 (MAB), during the lifetime of the Prophet, who prayed over him, and shrouded him in his own shirt (Nw).

P. 1408, *l.* 11. Read “32”.

P. 1410, *l.* 10. Read “33”.

P. 1412, *l.* 4. When you double [the ل of بَابِلِي], you abbreviate [the |], and put the ب before the ي of relation; but, when you prolong [the |], you make [the ل in] it single, and say بَابِلَاتِي with a Hamza (CD). And [H says that (CD)] those who prolong

[the | of] **بَاتِلَاء** allow its *rel. ns.* to be **بَاتِلَاوِي** and **بَاتِلَاوِي**, as the *rel. ns.* of **حَرْبَاء** are **حَرْبَاوِي** and **حَرْبَاوِي** (D). But the Hamza of **بَاتِلَاء**, being for feminization, must be converted into و; whereas the Hamza of **عَلْبَاء** [and **حَرْبَاء**], being a co-ordinative *aug.*, may be converted or left [304]: so says IBr (CD). And [similarly (CD)] **الْحَلَوَانِي** the Confectioner [or **الْحَلَوَانِي** (Dh)] is said of Shams alA'imma 'Abd Al'Aziz Ibn Ahmad (Dh, CD) alBukhārī, the learned man of the East, *d.* 456 (Dh), which, IHjr says, is with a Hamza (CD). It is [said in the KF to be (CD)] a *rel. n.* from **حَلَاوَة** *sweetness* or *sweetmeat* (Dh, CD): but this is a blunder, because, if it were so, **حَلَاوِي** would be said [302]; and the truth is that it is a *rel. n.* from **حَلَوَاء** *sweetmeat* (CD).

P. 1420, l. 7. Jahn prints **رَضِيَتْ** (IY. 773, l. 22).

P. 1422, ll. 5-6. Ks was so called because he entered AlKūfa, and came to Hamza Ibn Ḥabīb azZayyāt, enveloped in a wrapper, whereupon Hamza said "who will read?" and it was said to him "*The wearer of the wrapper*"; or, as is said, because he entered the holy land, *clad in a wrapper* (IKhn). See vol. II, p. 24A—l. 7. Fr was so called, though he neither *manufactured furs*, nor *sold them*, because he **كَانَ يَفْرِى الْكَلَامَ** *used to trim the speech* (IKhn, MAB).